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THE HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL
OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE.

VOL. III.



**BISHOP AMBROSIIUS DENIES THE EMPEROR THEODOSIUS'S
ADMISSION INTO HIS CHURCH** *Prontouque*

"You have imitated David in his crime; imitate, then, his repentance."

Gibbon's Rome, Vol. III. Page, 226

Painting by Gebhard Engel

❧ ❧ ❧ THE HISTORY OF ❧ ❧ ❧

The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire

By EDWARD GIBBON

WITH NOTES BY

Dean Milman, M. Guizot and Dr. William Smith



COMPLETE IN SIX VOLUMES

VOLUME III

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THE HISTORY

OF

THE DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Government and Death of Jovian.—Election of Valentinian, who Associates his Brother Valens, and Makes the Final Division of the Eastern and Western Empires.—Revolt of Procopius.—Civil and Ecclesiastical Administration.—Germany.—Britain.—Africa.—The East.—The Danube.—Death of Valentinian.—His two Sons, Gratian and Valentinian II., Succeed to the Western Empire.

THE death of Julian had left the public affairs of the empire in a very doubtful and dangerous situation. The Roman army was saved by an inglorious, perhaps a necessary, treaty;¹ and the first moments of peace were consecrated by the pious Jovian to restore the domestic tranquillity of the Church and State. The indiscretion of his predecessor, instead of reconciling, had artfully fomented the religious war; and the balance which he affected to preserve between the hostile factions served only to perpetuate the contest by the vicissitudes of hope and fear, by the rival claims of ancient possession and actual favor. The Christians had

State of the
Church.
A D 363.

¹ The medals of Jovian adorn him with victories, laurel crowns, and prostrate captives. Ducange, *Famil Byzantin.* p. 52. Flattery is a foolish suicide; she destroys herself with her own hands.

forgotten the spirit of the Gospel, and the pagans had imbibed the spirit of the Church. In private families the sentiments of nature were extinguished by the blind fury of zeal and revenge; the majesty of the laws was violated or abused; the cities of the East were stained with blood; and the most implacable enemies of the Romans were in the bosom of their country. Jovian was educated in the profession of Christianity; and as he marched from Nisibis to Antioch, the banner of the Cross, the LABARUM of Constantine, which was again displayed at the head of the legions, announced to the people the faith of their new emperor. As soon as he ascended the throne, he transmitted a circular epistle to all the governors of provinces, in which he confessed the divine truth and secured the legal establishment of the Christian religion. The insidious edicts of Julian were abolished, the ecclesiastical immunities were restored and enlarged, and Jovian condescended to lament that the distress of the times obliged him to diminish the measure of charitable distributions.² The Christians were unanimous in the loud and sincere applause which they bestowed on the pious successor of Julian; but they were still ignorant what creed or what synod he would choose for the standard of orthodoxy, and the peace of the Church immediately revived those eager disputes which had been suspended during the season of persecution. The episcopal leaders of the contending sects, convinced from experience how much their fate would depend on the earliest impressions that were made on the mind of an untutored soldier, hastened to the court of Edessa, or Antioch. The highways of the East were crowded with Homoousian, and Arian, and Semi-Arian, and Eunomian bishops, who struggled to outstrip each other in the holy race; the apartments of the palace resounded with their clamors, and the ears of the prince were assaulted, and perhaps

² Jovian restored to the Church τὸν ἀρχαῖον κόσμον—a forcible and comprehensive expression (Philostorgius, l. viii. c. 5, with Godefroy's Dissertations, p. 329. Sozomen, l. vi. c. 8). The new law which condemned the rape or marriage of nuns (Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. xxv. leg. 2) is exaggerated by Sozomen, who supposes that an amorous glance, the adultery of the heart, was punished with death by the evangelic legislator.

astonished, by the singular mixture of metaphysical argument and passionate invective.* The moderation of Jovian, who recommended concord and charity, and referred the disputants to the sentence of a future council, was interpreted as a symptom of indifference; but his attachment to the Nicene Creed was at length discovered and declared by the reverence which he expressed for the *celestial*⁴ virtues of the great Athanasius. The intrepid veteran of the faith, at the age of seventy, had issued from his retreat on the first intelligence of the tyrant's death. The acclamations of the people seated him once more on the archiepiscopal throne, and he wisely accepted or anticipated the invitation of Jovian. The venerable figure of Athanasius, his calm courage and insinuating eloquence, sustained the reputation which he had already acquired in the courts of four successive princes.* As soon as he had gained the confidence and secured the faith of the Christian emperor, he returned in triumph to his diocese, and continued, with mature counsels and undiminished vigor, to direct, ten years longer,⁵ the ecclesiastical government of Alexandria, Egypt, and the Catholic Church. Before his departure from Antioch, he assured Jovian that his orthodox devotion would be rewarded with a long and peaceful reign. Athanasius had reason to hope that he should be allowed either the merit of a success-

* Compare Socrates, l. iii. c. 25, and Philostorgius, l. viii. c. 6, with Godefroy's Dissertations, p. 330.

⁴ The word *celestial* faintly expresses the impious and extravagant flattery of the emperor to the archbishop, τῆς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν τῶν ὅλων οὐμώσεως. (See the original epistle in Athanasius, tom. ii. p. 33.) Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. xxi. p. 392) celebrates the friendship of Jovian and Athanasius. The primate's journey was advised by the Egyptian monks (Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. viii. p. 221).

⁵ Athanasius, at the court of Antioch, is agreeably represented by La Bletterie (Hist. de Jovien, tom. i. p. 121-148): he translates the singular and original conferences of the emperor, the Primate of Egypt, and the Arian deputies. The Abbé is not satisfied with the coarse pleasantry of Jovian; but his partiality for Athanasius assumes, in his eyes, the character of justice.

⁶ The true era of his death is perplexed with some difficulties (Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. viii. p. 719-728). But the date (A.D. 373, May 2) which seems the most consistent with history and reason is ratified by his authentic Life (Maffei, Osservazioni Letterarie, tom. iii. p. 81).

ful prediction, or the excuse of a grateful though ineffectual prayer.*

The slightest force, when it is applied to assist and guide the natural descent of its object, operates with irresistible weight; and Jovian had the good fortune to embrace the religious opinions which were supported by the spirit of the times and the zeal and numbers of the most powerful sect.* Under his reign, Christianity obtained an easy and lasting victory; and as soon as the smile of royal patronage was withdrawn, the genius of paganism, which had been fondly raised and cherished by the arts of Julian, sank irrecoverably in the dust. In many cities the temples were shut or deserted; the philosophers who had abused their transient favor thought it prudent to shave their beards and disguise their profession; and the Christians rejoiced that they were now in a condition to forgive or to revenge the injuries which they had suffered under the preceding reign.* The consternation of the pagan world was dispelled by a wise and gracious edict of toleration, in which Jovian explicitly declared that although he should severely punish the sacrilegious rites of magic, his subjects might exercise with freedom and safety the ceremonies of the ancient worship. The memory of this law has been preserved by the orator Themistius, who was deputed by the Senate of Constantinople to express their loyal devotion for the new emperor. Themistius expatiates on the clemency of the Divine Nature, the facility of human error, the rights of conscience, and the independence of the mind, and, with some eloquence, inculcates the principles of philosophical toleration, whose aid Superstition herself, in the hour of her distress, is not ashamed to implore. He justly observes that in the recent

* See the observations of Valesius and Jortin (Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv. p. 38) on the original letter of Athanasius, which is preserved by Theodoret (l. iv. c. 8). In some MSS. this indiscreet promise is omitted, perhaps by the Catholics, jealous of the prophetic fame of their leader.

* Athanasius (apud Theodoret, l. iv. c. 8) magnifies the number of the orthodox who composed the whole world, *πάρεξ ὀλίγων τῶν τὰ Ἀρείου φρονούντων*. This assertion was verified in the space of thirty or forty years.

* Socrates, l. iii. c. 24. Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 181) and Libanius (Orat. Parentalis, c. 148, p. 369) express the living sentiments of their respective factions.

changes both religions had been alternately disgraced by the seeming acquisition of worthless proselytes, of those votaries of the reigning purple who could pass, without a reason and without a blush, from the Church to the Temple, and from the altars of Jupiter to the sacred table of the Christians.¹⁰

In the space of seven months, the Roman troops who were now returned to Antioch had performed a march of fifteen hundred miles, in which they had endured all the hardships of war, of famine, and of climate. Notwithstanding their services, their fatigues, and the approach of winter, the timid and impatient Jovian allowed only to the men and horses a respite of six weeks. The emperor could not sustain the indiscreet and malicious raillery of the people of Antioch.¹¹ He was impatient to possess the palace of Constantinople, and to prevent the ambition of some competitor who might occupy the vacant allegiance of Europe; but he soon received the grateful intelligence that his authority was acknowledged from the Thracian Bosphorus to the Atlantic Ocean. By the first letters which he despatched from the camp of Mesopotamia, he had delegated the military command of Gaul and Illyricum to Malarich, a brave and faithful officer of the nation of the Franks, and to his father-in-law, Count Lucillian, who had formerly distinguished his courage and conduct in the defence of Nisibis. Malarich had declined an office to which he thought himself unequal; and Lucillian was massacred at Rheims in an accidental mutiny of the Batavian cohorts.¹² But the moderation of Jovinus, mas-

His progress
from Anti-
och.
A.D. 368.
October.

¹⁰ Themistius, Orat. v. p. 68–71, edit. Harduin, Paris, 1684. The Abbé de la Bletterie judiciously remarks (Hist. de Jovien, tom. i. p. 199) that Sozomen has forgotten the general toleration, and Themistius the establishment of the Catholic religion. Each of them turned away from the object which he disliked, and wished to suppress the part of the edict the least honorable, in his opinion, to the Emperor Jovian.

¹¹ Οἱ δὲ Ἀντιοχείς οὐχ ἡδέως διέκειντο πρὸς αὐτὸν· ἀλλ' ἐπέσκωπον αὐτὸν ψεδαῖς καὶ παρψεδαις καὶ τοῖς καλουμένοις φαμώσσοις (*famosis libellis*).—Johan. Antiochen. in Excerpt. Valesian. p. 845. The libels of Antioch may be admitted on very slight evidence.

¹² Compare Ammianus (xxv. 10), who omits the name of the Batavians, with Zosimus (l. iii. [c. 35] p. 197), who removes the scene of action from Rheims to Sirmium.

ter-general of the cavalry, who forgave the intention of his disgrace, soon appeased the tumult and confirmed the uncertain minds of the soldiers. The oath of fidelity was administered and taken with loyal acclamations; and the deputies of the Western armies¹² saluted their new sovereign as he descended from Mount Taurus to the city of Tyana, in Cappadocia. From Tyana he continued his hasty march to Ancyra, capital of the province of Galatia, where Jovian assumed, with his infant son, the name and ensigns of the consulship.¹⁴

A.D. 364.
Jan. 1.

Dadastana,¹⁵ an obscure town, almost at an equal distance between Ancyra and Nice, was marked for the fatal term of his journey and his life. After indulging himself with a plentiful, perhaps an intemperate, supper, he retired to rest, and the next morning the Emperor Jovian was found dead in

Death of Jo-
vian.
Feb. 17.

his bed. The cause of this sudden death was variously understood. By some it was ascribed to the consequences of an indigestion occasioned either by the quantity of the wine or the quality of the mushrooms which he had swallowed in the evening. According to others, he was suffocated in his sleep by the vapor of charcoal, which extracted from the walls of the apartment the unwholesome moisture of the fresh plaster.¹⁶ But the want of a regular inquiry into the death of a prince whose reign and person were soon forgotten appears to have been the only circum-

¹² Quos capita scholarum ordo castrensis appellat.—Ammian. xxv. 10, and Valles. ad locum.

¹⁴ "Cujus vagitus, pertinaciter reluctantis, ne in curuli sellâ veheretur ex more, id quod mox accidit portendebat" [Amm. l. c.]. Augustus and his successors respectfully solicited a dispensation of age for the sons or nephews whom they raised to the consulship. But the curule chair of the first Brutus had never been dishonored by an infant.

¹⁵ The Itinerary of Antoninus fixes Dadastana 125 Roman miles from Nice, 117 from Ancyra (Wesseling, Itinerar. p. 142). The pilgrim of Bordeaux, by omitting some stages, reduces the whole space from 242 to 181 miles. Wesseling, p. 574.

¹⁶ See Ammianus (xxv. 10), Eutropius (x. 18 [9]), who might likewise be present; Jerome (tom. i. p. 26 [tom. i. p. 341, edit Vallars.] ad Heliodorum), Orosius (vii. 81), Sozomen (l. vi. c. 6), Zosimus (l. iii. [c. 35] p. 197, 198), and Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiii. [c. 14] p. 28, 29). We cannot expect a perfect agreement, and we shall not discuss minute differences.

stance which countenanced the malicious whispers of poison and domestic guilt." The body of Jovian was sent to Constantinople to be interred with his predecessors, and the sad procession was met on the road by his wife Charito, the daughter of Count Lucillian, who still wept the recent death of her father, and was hastening to dry her tears in the embraces of an imperial husband. Her disappointment and grief were embittered by the anxiety of maternal tenderness. Six weeks before the death of Jovian, his infant son had been placed in the curule chair, adorned with the title of *Nobilissimus* and the vain ensigns of the consulship. Unconscious of his fortune, the royal youth, who from his grandfather assumed the name of Varronian, was reminded only by the jealousy of the government that he was the son of an emperor. Sixteen years afterwards he was still alive; but he had already been deprived of an eye, and his afflicted mother expected every hour that the innocent victim would be torn from her arms to appease with his blood the suspicions of the reigning prince.¹⁷

After the death of Jovian, the throne of the Roman world remained ten days¹⁸ without a master. The ministers and generals still continued to meet in council, to exercise their respective functions, to maintain the public order, and peaceably to conduct the army to the city of Nice, in Bithynia, which was chosen for the place of the election.²⁰ In a solemn assembly of the civil and military

Vacancy of
the throne.
Feb. 17-26.

¹⁷ Ammianus, unmindful of his usual candor and good sense, compares the death of the harmless Jovian to that of the second Africanus, who had excited the fears and resentment of the popular faction.

¹⁸ Chrysostom, tom. i. p. 336-349, edit. Montfaucon. The Christian orator attempts to comfort a widow by the examples of illustrious misfortunes; and observes that of nine emperors (including the Cæsar Gallus) who had reigned in his time, only two (Constantine and Constantius) died a natural death. Such vague consolations have never wiped away a single tear.

¹⁹ Ten days appear scarcely sufficient for the march and election. But it may be observed—1. That the generals might command the expeditious use of the public posts for themselves, their attendants, and messengers. 2. That the troops, for the ease of the cities, marched in many divisions; and that the head of the column might arrive at Nice when the rear halted at Ancyra.

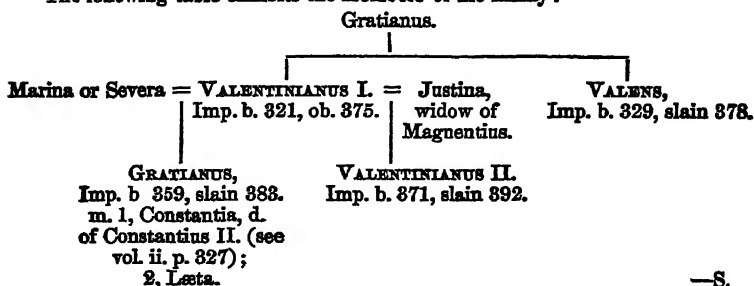
²⁰ Ammianus, xxvi. 1; Zosimus, l. iii. [c. 36] p. 198; Philostorgius, l. viii. c. 8; and Godefroy, Dissertat. p. 384. Philostorgius, who appears to have obtained

powers of the empire, the diadem was again unanimously offered to the præfect Sallust. He enjoyed the glory of a second refusal; and when the virtues of the father were alleged in favor of his son, the præfect, with the firmness of a disinterested patriot, declared to the electors that the feeble age of the one and the unexperienced youth of the other were equally incapable of the laborious duties of government. Several candidates were proposed, and, after weighing the objections of character or situation, they were successively rejected; but as soon as the name of Valentinian was pronounced, the merit of that officer united the suffrages of the whole assembly, and obtained the sincere approbation of Sallust himself. Valentinian² was the son of Count Gratian,* a native of Cibalis, in Pannonia, who from an obscure condition had raised him-

some curious and authentic intelligence, ascribes the choice of Valentinian to the præfect Sallust,^b the master-general Arintheus, Dagalaiphus, count of the domestics, and the patrician Datianus, whose pressing recommendations from Ancyra had a weighty influence in the election.

^a Ammianus (xxx. 7, 9) and the younger Victor [Epit. c. 45] have furnished the portrait of Valentinian, which naturally precedes and illustrates the history of his reign.^c

* The following table exhibits the members of the family:



—S.

^b Not the præfect Sallust, but Secundus (*Σεκυνδου τε τοῦ ἐπαρχου*). Gibbon seems to have been misled by a note of Godefroy. Valois says, "Gothofredus in annotationibus ad hunc locum, notat hunc Secundum Præfectum Prætorio eundem esse cum Sallustio; et olim quidem ita senseram in Annot. ad lib. 22, Amm. Marc. p. 266, meamque opinionem secutus est Gothofr. in dicto loco. Verum postea re attentius examinata hunc Secundum deprehendi alium esse a Sallustio," etc. —Vol. iii. p. 523, edit. Cant.—S.

^c Symmachus, in a fragment of an oration published by M. Mai, describes Valentinian as born among the snows of Illyria, and habituated to military labor amid the heat and dust of Libya "Genitus in frigoribus, educatus in solibus."—Symm. Orat. Frag. edit. Niebuhr, p. 5.—M.

self, by matchless strength and dexterity, to the military commands of Africa and Britain, from which he retired with an ample fortune and suspicious integrity. The rank and services of Gratian contributed, however, to smooth the first steps of the promotion of his son, and afforded him an early opportunity of displaying those solid and useful qualifications which raised his character above the ordinary level of his fellow-soldiers. The person of Valentinian was tall, graceful, and majestic. His manly countenance, deeply marked with the impression of sense and spirit, inspired his friends with awe and his enemies with fear; and to second the efforts of his undaunted courage, the son of Gratian had inherited the advantages of a strong and healthy constitution. By the habits of chastity and temperance, which restrain the appetites and invigorate the faculties, Valentinian preserved his own and the public esteem. The avocations of a military life had diverted his youth from the elegant pursuits of literature: he was ignorant of the Greek language and the arts of rhetoric; but as the mind of the orator was never disconcerted by timid perplexity, he was able, as often as the occasion prompted him, to deliver his decided sentiments with bold and ready elocution. The laws of martial discipline were the only laws that he had studied; and he was soon distinguished by the laborious diligence and inflexible severity with which he discharged and enforced the duties of the camp. In the time of Julian, he provoked the danger of disgrace by the contempt which he publicly expressed for the reigning religion;²² and it should seem from his subsequent conduct that the indiscreet and unseasonable freedom of Valentinian was the effect of military spirit rather than of Christian zeal. He was pardoned, however, and still employed by a prince who

²² At Antioch, where he was obliged to attend the emperor to the temple, he struck a priest who had presumed to purify him with lustral water (Sozomen, l. vi. c. 6. Theodoret, l. iii. c. 16). Such public defiance might become Valentinian, but it could have no room for the unworthy delation of the philosopher Maximus, which supposes some more private offence (Zosimus, l. iv. [c. 2] p. 200, 201).

* According to Ammianus, he wrote elegantly, and was skilled in painting and modelling: "Scribens decorè, venustèque piugens et fingens," xxx. 9.—M.

esteemed his merit;²³ and in the various events of the Persian war he improved the reputation which he had already acquired on the banks of the Rhine. The celerity and success with which he executed an important commission recommended him to the favor of Jovian, and to the honorable command of the second *school*, or company, of Targeteers of the domestic guards. In the march from Antioch, he had reached his quarters at Ancyra, when he was unexpectedly summoned, without guilt and without intrigue, to assume, in the forty-third year of his age, the absolute government of the Roman empire.

The invitation of the ministers and generals at Nice was of little moment unless it were confirmed by the voice of the army. The aged Sallust, who had long observed the irregular fluctuations of popular assemblies, proposed, under pain of death, that none of those persons whose rank in the service might excite a party in their favor should appear in public on the day of the inauguration. Yet such was the prevalence of ancient superstition that a whole day was voluntarily added to this dangerous interval because it happened to be the intercalation of the Bisextile.²⁴ At length, when the hour was supposed to be propitious, Valentinian showed himself from a lofty tribunal; the judicious choice was applauded, and the new prince was solemnly invested with the diadem and the purple amidst the acclamations of the troops, who were disposed in martial order

He is acknowledged by the army, A.D. 354, Feb. 26;

²³ Socrates, l. iv. A previous exile to Melitene or Thebais (the first might be possible) is interposed by Sozomen (l. vi. c. 6) and Philostorgius (l. vii. c. 7, with Godefroy's Dissertations, p. 293).

²⁴ Ammianus, in a long, because unseasonable, digression (xxiv. 1, and Valesius ad locum), rashly supposes that he understands an astronomical question of which his readers are ignorant. It is treated with more judgment and propriety by Censorinus (de Die Natali, c. 20) and Macrobius (Saturnal. l. i. c. 12-16). The appellation of *Bisextile*, which marks the inauspicious year (Augustin. ad Januarius, Epist. 119), is derived from the repetition of the sixth day of the calends of March.^a

^a Gibbon probably meant to write "the repetition of the sixth day before the calends of March," which is the fact. In the leap-year (to use a modern phrase) the last days of February were called: Feb. 28=A.D. VII. Kal. Mart.; Feb. 24=A.D. VI. Kal. Mart. posteriorem; Feb. 25=A.D. VI. Kal. Mart. priorem; Feb. 26=A.D. V. Kal. Mart.; Feb. 27=A.D. IV. Kal. Mart.; Feb. 28=A.D. III. Kal. Mart.; Feb. 29=Prid. Kal. Mart.—Smith's Dict. of Greek and Rom. Antiq., p. 281, 2d edit.—S.

round the tribunal. But when he stretched forth his hand to address the armed multitude, a busy whisper was accidentally started in the ranks, and insensibly swelled into a loud and imperious clamor, that he should name without delay a colleague in the empire. The intrepid calmness of Valentinian obtained silence and commanded respect, and he thus addressed the assembly: "A few minutes since it was in *your* power, fellow-soldiers, to have left me in the obscurity of a private station. Judging from the testimony of my past life that I deserved to reign, you have placed me on the throne. It is now *my* duty to consult the safety and interest of the republic. The weight of the universe is undoubtedly too great for the hands of a feeble mortal. I am conscious of the limits of my abilities and the uncertainty of my life, and, far from declining, I am anxious to solicit, the assistance of a worthy colleague. But where discord may be fatal, the choice of a faithful friend requires mature and serious deliberation. That deliberation shall be *my* care. Let *your* conduct be dutiful and consistent. Retire to your quarters; refresh your minds and bodies; and expect the accustomed donative on the accession of a new emperor."²⁵ The astonished troops, with a mixture of pride, of satisfaction, and of terror, confessed the voice of their master. Their angry clamors subsided into silent reverence; and Valentinian, encompassed with the eagles of the legions and the various banners of the cavalry and infantry, was conducted in warlike pomp to the palace of Nice. As he was sensible, however, of the importance of preventing some rash declaration of the soldiers, he consulted the assembly of the chiefs, and their real sentiments were concisely expressed by the generous freedom of Dagalaiphus. "Most excellent prince," said that officer, "if you consider only your family, you have a brother; if you love the republic, look round for the most deserving of the Romans."²⁶ The emperor, who suppressed his displeasure

²⁵ Valentinian's first speech is full in Ammianus (xxiv. 2), concise and sententious in Philostorgius (l. viii. c. 8).

²⁶ Si tuos amas, Imperator optime, habes fratrem; si Rempublicam, quære quem vestias.—Ammian. xxvi. 4. In the division of the empire, Valentinian retained that sincere counsellor for himself (c. 6).

without altering his intention, slowly proceeded from Nice to Nicomedia and Constantinople. In one of the suburbs of that capital,²⁷ thirty days after his own elevation, he bestowed the title of Augustus on his brother Valens;²⁸ and as the boldest patriots were convinced that their opposition, without being serviceable to their country, would be fatal to themselves, the declaration of his absolute will was received with silent submission. Valens was now in the thirty-sixth year of his age; but his abilities had never been exercised in any employment, military or civil, and his character had not inspired the world with any sanguine expectations. He possessed, however, one quality which recommended him to Valentinian and preserved the domestic peace of the empire—a devout and grateful attachment to his benefactor, whose superiority of genius, as well as of authority, Valens humbly and cheerfully acknowledged in every action of his life.²⁹

Before Valentinian divided the provinces, he reformed the administration of the empire. All ranks of subjects who had been injured or oppressed under the reign of Julian were invited to support their public accusations. The silence of mankind attested the spotless integrity of the præfect Sallust,³⁰ and his own pressing solicitations that he might be permitted to retire from the business of the State were rejected by Valentinian with the most honorable expressions of friendship and esteem. But

and associates his brother Valens.
A.D. 364.
March 28.

The final division of the Eastern and Western empires.
A.D. 364.
June.

²⁷ "In suburbano," Ammian. xxvi. 4. The famous *Hebdomon*, or Field of Mars, was distant from Constantinople either seven stadia or seven miles. See Valesius and his brother, ad loc.; and Ducange, Const. l. ii p. 140, 141, 172, 173.

²⁸ *Participem quidem legitimum potestatus; sed in modum apparitoris morigerum, ut progrediens aperiet textus.*—Ammian. xxvi. 4.

²⁹ Notwithstanding the evidence of Zonaras, Suidas, and the Paschal Chronicle, M. de Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 671) wishes to disbelieve these stories "si avantageuses à un payen."

³⁰ Symmachus praises the liberality of Valentinian in raising his brother at once to the rank of Augustus, not training him through the slow and probationary degree of Cæsar. "Exigui animi vices munus partiantur, tua liberalitas desiderii nihil reliquit."—Symm. Orat. p. 7, edit. Niebuhr, Berlin, 1816, reprinted from Mai.—M.

among the favorites of the late emperor there were many who had abused his credulity or superstition, and who could no longer hope to be protected either by favor or justice.²⁰ The greater part of the ministers of the palace and the governors of the provinces were removed from their respective stations, yet the eminent merit of some officers was distinguished from the obnoxious crowd, and, notwithstanding the opposite clamors of zeal and resentment, the whole proceedings of this delicate inquiry appear to have been conducted with a reasonable share of wisdom and moderation.²¹ The festivity of a new reign received a short and suspicious interruption from the sudden illness of the two princes; but, as soon as their health was restored, they left Constantinople in the beginning of the spring. In the castle or palace of Mediana, only three miles from Naissus, they executed the solemn and final division of the Roman empire.²² Valentinian bestowed on his brother the rich præfecture of the *East*, from the Lower Danube to the confines of Persia; whilst he reserved for his immediate government the warlike* præfectures of *Illyricum*, *Italy*, and *Gaul*, from the extremity of Greece to the Caledonian rampart, and from the rampart of Caledonia to the foot of Mount Atlas. The provincial administration remained on its former basis, but a double supply of generals and magistrates was required for two councils and two courts. The division was made with a just regard to their peculiar merit and situation, and seven master-generals were soon created either of the cavalry or infantry. When this important business had been amicably transacted, Valentinian and Valens embraced for the last time. The Emperor of the West established his temporary residence

²⁰ Eunapius celebrates and exaggerates the sufferings of Maximus (p. 82, 83 [p. 102, edit. Comm.]); yet he allows that this sophist or magician, the guilty favorite of Julian, and the personal enemy of Valentinian, was dismissed on the payment of a small fine.

²¹ The loose assertions of a general disgrace (Zosimus, l. iv. [c. 2] p. 201) are detected and refuted by Tillemont (tom. v. p. 21).

²² Ammianus, xxvi. 5.

* Ipse supra impacati Rheni semibarbaras ripas raptum vexilla constituens. . . . Princeps creatus ad difficilem militiam revertisti.—Symm. Orat. 81.—M.

at Milan, and the Emperor of the East returned to Constantinople to assume the dominion of fifty provinces, of whose language he was totally ignorant.³²

The tranquillity of the East was soon disturbed by rebellion, and the throne of Valens was threatened by the daring attempts of a rival whose affinity to the Emperor Julian³³ was his sole merit, and had been his only crime. Procopius had been hastily promoted from the obscure station of a tribune and a notary to the joint command of the army of Mesopotamia; the public opinion already named him as the successor of a prince who was destitute of natural heirs; and a vain rumor was propagated by his friends or his enemies that Julian, before the altar of the Moon at Carrhæ, had privately invested Procopius with the imperial purple.³⁴ He endeavored, by his dutiful and submissive behavior, to disarm the jealousy of Jovian, resigned without a contest his military command, and retired, with his wife and family, to cultivate the ample patrimony which he possessed in the province of Cappadocia. These useful and innocent occupations were interrupted by the appearance of an officer with a band of soldiers, who, in the name of his new sovereigns, Valentinian and Valens, was despatched to conduct the unfortunate Procopius either to a perpetual prison or an ignominious death. His presence of mind procured him a longer respite and a more splendid fate. Without presuming to dispute the royal mandate, he requested the indulgence of a few moments to embrace his weeping family, and, while the vigilance of his guards

Revolt of
Procopius.
A.D. 365.
Sept. 22.

³² Ammianus says, in general terms, "subagrestis ingenii, nec bellicis nec libralibus studiis eruditus" (Ammian. xxxi. 14). The orator Themistius, with the genuine impertinence of a Greek, wished for the first time to speak the Latin language, the dialect of his sovereign, *τὴν διάλεκτον κραιούσαν*. Oiat. vi. p. 71.

³³ The uncertain degree of alliance, or consanguinity, is expressed by the words *ἀνέψιος*, cognatus, consobrinus (See Valesius ad Ammian. xxiii. 3). The mother of Procopius might be a sister of Basilina and Count Julian, the mother and uncle of the Apostate. Ducange, Fam. Byzantin p. 49.

³⁴ Ammian. xxiii. 3, xxvi. 6. He mentions the report with much hesitation: "susurravit obscurior fama; nemo enim dicti auctor exstint verus." It serves, however, to mark that Procopius was a pagan. Yet his religion does not appear to have promoted, or obstructed, his pretensions.

was relaxed by a plentiful entertainment, he dexterously escaped to the sea-coast of the Euxine, from whence he passed over to the country of Bosphorus. In that sequestered region he remained many months, exposed to the hardships of exile, of solitude, and of want; his melancholy temper brooding over his misfortunes, and his mind agitated by the just apprehension that, if any accident should discover his name, the faithless barbarians would violate, without much scruple, the laws of hospitality. In a moment of impatience and despair, Procopius embarked in a merchant-vessel which made sail for Constantinople, and boldly aspired to the rank of a sovereign because he was not allowed to enjoy the security of a subject. At first he lurked in the villages of Bithynia, continually changing his habitation and his disguise.* By degrees he ventured into the capital, trusted his life and fortune to the fidelity of two friends, a senator and a eunuch, and conceived some hopes of success from the intelligence which he obtained of the actual state of public affairs. The body of the people was infected with a spirit of discontent. They regretted the justice and the abilities of Sallust, who had been imprudently dismissed from the præfecture of the East. They despised the character of Valens, which was rude without vigor, and feeble without mildness. They dreaded the influence of his father-in-law, the patrician Petronius, a cruel and rapacious minister, who rigorously exacted all the arrears of tribute that might remain unpaid since the reign of the Emperor Aurelian. The circumstances were propitious to the designs of a usurper. The hostile measures of the Persians required the presence of Valens in Syria; from the Danube to the Euphrates the troops were in motion, and the capital was occasionally filled with the soldiers who passed or repassed the Thracian Bosphorus. Two cohorts of Gauls were persuaded to listen to the secret proposals of the conspirators, which were recommended by the promise of a liberal donative; and, as they still revered the

* One of his retreats was a country-house of Eunomius, the heretic. The master was absent, innocent, ignorant; yet he narrowly escaped a sentence of death, and was banished into the remote parts of Mauritania (Philostorg. l. ix. c. 5, 8, and Godefroy's Dissert. p. 369-378).

memory of Julian, they easily consented to support the hereditary claim of his proscribed kinsman. At the dawn of day they were drawn up near the baths of Anastasia, and Procopius, clothed in a purple garment more suitable to a player than to a monarch, appeared, as if he rose from the dead, in the midst of Constantinople. The soldiers, who were prepared for his reception, saluted their trembling prince with shouts of joy and vows of fidelity. Their numbers were soon increased by a sturdy band of peasants collected from the adjacent country, and Procopius, shielded by the arms of his adherents, was successively conducted to the tribunal, the senate, and the palace. During the first moments of his tumultuous reign he was astonished and terrified by the gloomy silence of the people, who were either ignorant of the cause or apprehensive of the event. But his military strength was superior to any actual resistance. The malcontents flocked to the standard of rebellion; the poor were excited by the hopes, and the rich were intimidated by the fear, of a general pillage; and the obstinate credulity of the multitude was once more deceived by the promised advantages of a revolution. The magistrates were seized, the prisons and arsenals broken open, the gates and the entrance of the harbor were diligently occupied; and in a few hours Procopius became the absolute, though precarious, master of the imperial city.* The usurper improved this unexpected success with some degree of courage and dexterity. He artfully propagated the rumors and opinions the most favorable to his interest, while he deluded the populace by giving audience to the frequent but imaginary ambassadors of distant nations. The large bodies of troops stationed in the cities of Thrace and the fortresses of the Lower Danube were gradually involved in the guilt of rebellion, and the Gothic princes consented to supply the sovereign of Constantinople with the formidable strength of several thousand auxiliaries.

* It may be suspected, from a fragment of Eunapius, that the heathen and philosophic party espoused the cause of Procopius. Heraclius, the Cynic, a man who had been honored by a philosophic controversy with Julian, striking the ground with his staff, incited him to courage with the line of Homer, *ἄλκιμος ἔσσο*—*ἵνα ρίς σε καὶ θύγῃων ἐθ' εἴπῃ*. Eunapius, Mai, p. 267, or in Niebuhr's edition, p. 73.—M.

His generals passed the Bosphorus, and subdued, without an effort, the unarmed but wealthy provinces of Bithynia and Asia. After an honorable defence, the city and island of Cyzicus yielded to his power; the renowned legions of the Jovians and Herculians embraced the cause of the usurper whom they were ordered to crush; and, as the veterans were continually augmented with new levies, he soon appeared at the head of an army whose valor as well as numbers were not unequal to the greatness of the contest. The son of Hormisdas,³⁷ a youth of spirit and ability, condescended to draw his sword against the lawful Emperor of the East, and the Persian prince was immediately invested with the ancient and extraordinary powers of a Roman proconsul. The alliance of Faustina, the widow of the Emperor Constantius, who intrusted herself and her daughter to the hands of the usurper, added dignity and reputation to his cause. The princess Constantia, who was then about five years of age, accompanied, in a litter, the march of the army. She was shown to the multitude in the arms of her adopted father, and, as often as she passed through the ranks, the tenderness of the soldiers was inflamed into martial fury:³⁸ they recollected the glories of the house of Constantine, and they declared, with loyal acclamation, that they would shed the last drop of their blood in the defence of the royal infant.³⁹

In the meanwhile Valentinian was alarmed and perplexed by the doubtful intelligence of the revolt of the East.⁴⁰ The

³⁷ Hormisdæ maturo juveni Hormisdæ regalis illius filio, potestatem Proconsulis detulit; et civilia, more veterum, et bella, recturo.—*Ammian. xxvi. 8.* The Persian prince escaped with honor and safety, and was afterwards (A.D. 380) restored to the same extraordinary office of Proconsul of Bithynia (*Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 204.*) I am ignorant whether the race of Sassan was propagated. I find (A.D. 514) a Pope Hormisdas; but he was a native of Frusino, in Italy (*Pagi. Brev. Pontific. tom. i. p. 247.*)

³⁸ The infant rebel was afterwards the wife of the Emperor Gratian, but she died young and childless. See *Ducange, Fam. Byzantin. p. 48, 59.*

³⁹ "Sequimini culminis summi prosapiam," was the language of Procopius, who affected to despise the obscure birth and fortuitous election of the upstart Pannonian. *Ammian. xxvi. 7.*

⁴⁰ Symmachus describes his embarrassment: "The Germans are the common enemies of the State, Procopius the private foe of the emperor; his first care must be victory, his second revenge."—*Symm. Orat. p. 11.—M.*

difficulties of a German war forced him to confine his immediate care to the safety of his own dominions; and, as every channel of communication was stopped or corrupted, he listened, with doubtful anxiety, to the rumors which were industriously spread that the defeat and death of Valens had left Procopius sole master of the Eastern provinces. Valens was not dead; but on the news of the rebellion, which he received at Cæsarea, he basely despaired of his life and fortune, proposed to negotiate with the usurper, and discovered his secret inclination to abdicate the imperial purple. The timid monarch was saved from disgrace and ruin by the firmness of his ministers, and their abilities soon decided in his favor the event of the civil war. In a season of tranquillity, Sallust had resigned without a murmur; but, as soon as the public safety was attacked, he ambitiously solicited the pre-eminence of toil and danger; and the restoration of that virtuous minister to the præfecture of the East was the first step which indicated the repentance of Valens and satisfied the minds of the people. The reign of Procopius was apparently supported by powerful armies and obedient provinces. But many of the principal officers, military as well as civil, had been urged, either by motives of duty or interest, to withdraw themselves from the guilty scene, or to watch the moment of betraying and deserting the cause of the usurper. Lupicinus advanced by hasty marches to bring the legions of Syria to the aid of Valens. Arintheus, who in strength, beauty, and valor excelled all the heroes of the age, attacked with a small troop a superior body of the rebels. When he beheld the faces of the soldiers who had served under his banner, he commanded them, with a loud voice, to seize and deliver up their pretended leader, and such was the ascendant of his genius that this extraordinary order was instantly obeyed.⁴⁰ Arbetio, a re-

⁴⁰ "Et dedignatus hominem superare certamine despicabilem, auctoritatis et celsi fiducia corporis, ipsis hostibus jussit, suum vincitorem rectorem; atque ita tumarum antesignanus umbratilis compensus suorum manibus." The strength and beauty of Arintheus, the new Hercules, are celebrated by St. Basil, who supposes that God had created him as an inimitable model of the human species. The painters and sculptors could not express his figure, the historians appeared fabulous when they related his exploits (Ammian. xxvi. [c. 8] and Vales. ad loc.).

spectable veteran of the great Constantine, who had been distinguished by the honors of the consulship, was persuaded to leave his retirement, and once more to conduct an army into the field. In the heat of action, calmly taking off his helmet, he showed his gray hairs and venerable countenance, saluted the soldiers of Procopius by the endearing names of children and companions, and exhorted them no longer to support the desperate cause of a contemptible tyrant, but to follow their old commander, who had so often led them to honor and victory. In the two engagements of Thyatira^a and Nacolia the unfortunate Procopius was deserted by his troops, who were seduced by the instructions and example of their perfidious officers. After wandering some time among the woods and mountains of Phrygia, he was betrayed by his desponding followers, conducted to the imperial camp, and immediately beheaded. He suffered the ordinary fate of an unsuccessful usurper, but the acts of cruelty which were exercised by the conqueror, under the forms of legal justice, excited the pity and indignation of mankind.^a

Such, indeed, are the common and natural fruits of despotism and rebellion. But the inquisition into the crime of magic,*

^a The same field of battle is placed by Ammianus in Lycia, and by Zosimus at Thyatira, which are at the distance of 150 miles from each other. But "Thyatira alluitur Lyco" (Plin. Hist. Natur. v. 31; Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 79); and the transcribers might easily convert an obscure river into a well-known province.^b

^a The adventures, usurpation, and fall of Procopius are related in a regular series by Ammianus (xxvi. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10) and Zosimus (l. iv. [c. 4 seq.] p. 203—

* This infamous inquisition into sorcery and witchcraft has been of greater influence on human affairs than is commonly supposed. The persecution against philosophers and their libraries was carried on with so much fury that from this time (A.D. 374) the names of the Gentile philosophers became almost extinct, and the Christian philosophy and religion, particularly in the East, established their ascendancy. I am surprised that Gibbon has not made this observation. Heyne, Note on Zosimus, l. iv. 14, p. 637. Besides vast heaps of manuscripts publicly destroyed throughout the East, men of letters burned their whole libraries lest some fatal volume should expose them to the malices of the informers and the extreme penalty of the law. Amm. Marc. xxix. 2.—M.

^b Ammianus [xxvi. 9] and Zosimus [iv. 25] place the last battle at Nacolia, in Phrygia; Ammianus altogether omits the former battle near Thyatira. Procopius was on his march ("iter tendebat") towards Lycia. See Wagner's note in loc.—M.

which, under the reign of the two brothers, was so rigorously prosecuted both at Rome and Antioch, was interpreted as the fatal symptom either of the displeasure of Heaven or of the depravity of mankind.⁴² Let us not hesitate to indulge a liberal pride that in the present age the enlightened part of Europe has abolished⁴³ a cruel and odious prejudice, which reigned in every climate of the globe and adhered to every system of religious opinions.⁴⁴ The nations and the sects of the Roman world admitted, with equal credulity and similar abhorrence, the reality of that infernal art⁴⁵ which was able to control the eternal order of the planets and the voluntary operations of the human mind. They dreaded the mysterious power of spells and incantations, of potent herbs and execrable rites, which could extinguish or recall life, inflame the passions of the soul, blast the works of creation, and extort from the reluctant demons the secrets of futurity. They believed, with the wildest inconsistency, that this preternatural dominion of the air, of earth, and of hell was exercised, from the vilest motives of

210). They often illustrate, and seldom contradict, each other. Themistius (Orat. vii. p. 91, 92) adds some base panegyric, and Eunapius (p. 83, 84 [p. 104, edit. Comm.]) some malicious satire.⁴²

⁴³ Libanius de Ulciscend. Julian. Nece, c. ix. [x] p. 158, 159. The sophist deplores the public frenzy, but he does not (after their deaths) impeach the justice of the emperors.

⁴⁴ The French and English lawyers of the present age allow the *theory* and deny the *practice* of witchcraft (Denisart, Recueil de Décisions de Jurisprudence, au mot *Sorciers*, tom. iv. p. 553. Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. iv. p. 60). As private reason always prevents or outstrips public wisdom, the President Montesquieu (Esprit des Loix, l. xii. c. 5, 6) rejects the *existence* of magic.

⁴⁵ See Œuvres de Bayle, tom. iii. p. 567-589. The sceptic of Rotterdam exhibits, according to his custom, a strange medley of loose knowledge and lively wit.

⁴⁶ The pagans distinguished between good and bad magic, the Themic and the Goetic (Hist. de l'Académie, etc., tom. vii. p. 25). But they could not have defended this obscure distinction against the acute logic of Bayle. In the Jewish and Christian system *all* demons are infernal spirits, and *all* commerce with them is idolatry, apostasy, etc., which deserves death and damnation.

⁴² Symmachus joins with Themistius in praising the clemency of Valens. "Sic victorise moderatus est, quasi contra se nemo pugnauit."—Symm. Orat. p. 12. —M.

malice or gain, by some wrinkled hags and itinerant sorcerers, who passed their obscure lives in penury and contempt.⁴⁷ The arts of magic were equally condemned by the public opinion and by the laws of Rome; but, as they tended to gratify the most imperious passions of the heart of man, they were continually proscribed and continually practised.⁴⁸ An imaginary cause is capable of producing the most serious and mischievous effects. The dark predictions of the death of an emperor or the success of a conspiracy were calculated only to stimulate the hopes of ambition and to dissolve the ties of fidelity, and the intentional guilt of magic was aggravated by the actual crimes of treason and sacrilege.⁴⁹ Such vain terrors disturbed the peace of society and the happiness of individuals; and the harmless flame which insensibly melted a waxen image might derive a powerful and pernicious energy from the affrighted fancy of the person whom it was maliciously designed to represent.⁵⁰ From the infusion of those herbs which were supposed to possess a supernatural influence, it was an easy step to the use of more substantial poison; and the folly of man-

⁴⁷ The *Camdia* of Horace (*Carm.* l. v. *Od.* 5 [*Epod.* 5], with Dacier's and Sanadon's illustrations) is a vulgar witch. The *Erichtho* of Lucan (*Pharsal.* vi. 480-827) is tedious, disgusting, but sometimes sublime. She chides the delay of the Furies; and threatens, with tremendous obscurity, to pronounce their real names; to reveal the true infernal countenance of Hecate; to invoke the secret powers that lie *below* hell, etc.

⁴⁸ *Genus hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod in civitate nostrâ et vetabitur semper et retinebitur.*—Tacit. *Hist.* i. 22. See Augustin. *de Civitate Dei*, l. viii. c. 19, and the Theodosian Code, l. ix. tit. xvi. with Godefroy's Commentary.

⁴⁹ The persecution of Antioch was occasioned by a criminal consultation. The twenty-four letters of the alphabet were arranged round a magic tripod; and a dancing ring, which had been placed in the centre, pointed to the four first letters in the name of the future emperor, Θ. Ε. Ο. Δ. Theodorus (perhaps with many others, who owned the fatal syllables) was executed. Theodosius succeeded. Lardner (*Heathen Testimonies*, vol. iv. p. 353-372) has copiously and fairly examined this dark transaction of the reign of Valens.

⁵⁰ *Limus ut hic durescit, et hæc ut cera liquescit
Uno eodemque igni . . .*—Virgil. *Bucolic.* viii. 80.

Devovet absentes, simulacraque cerea figit.

Ovid. in *Epist. Hypsil.* ad Jason. 91 [*Ep.* vi.].

Such vain incantations could affect the mind and increase the disease of Germanicus. Tacit. *Annal.* ii. 69.

kind sometimes became the instrument and the mask of the most atrocious crimes. As soon as the zeal of informers was encouraged by the ministers of Valens and Valentinian, they could not refuse to listen to another charge too frequently mingled in the scenes of domestic guilt—a charge of a softer and less malignant nature, for which the pious though excessive rigor of Constantine had recently decreed the punishment of death.^a This deadly and incoherent mixture of treason and magic, of poison and adultery, afforded infinite gradations of guilt and innocence, of excuse and aggravation, which in these proceedings appear to have been confounded by the angry or corrupt passions of the judges. They easily discovered that the degree of their industry and discernment was estimated by the imperial court according to the number of executions that were furnished from their respective tribunals. It was not without extreme reluctance that they pronounced a sentence of acquittal, but they eagerly admitted such evidence as was stained with perjury or procured by torture to prove the most improbable charges against the most respectable characters. The progress of the inquiry continually opened new subjects of criminal prosecution. The audacious informer, whose falsehood was detected, retired with impunity; but the wretched victim who discovered his real or pretended accomplices was seldom permitted to receive the price of his infamy. From the extremity of Italy and Asia the young and the aged were dragged in chains to the tribunals of Rome and Antioch. Senators, matrons, and philosophers expired in ignominious and cruel tortures. The soldiers who were appointed to guard the prisons declared, with a murmur of pity and indignation, that their numbers were insufficient to oppose the flight or resistance of the multitude of captives. The wealthiest families were ruined by fines and confiscations; the most innocent citizens trembled for their safety; and we may form some notion of the magnitude of the evil from the extravagant assertion of an ancient writer, that in the obnoxious provinces the prison-

^a See Heineccius, *Antiquitat. Juris Roman.* tom. ii. p. 353, etc. *Cod. Theod.* lib. i. tit. vii. with Godefroy's Commentary.

ers, the exiles, and the fugitives formed the greatest part of the inhabitants.²²

When Tacitus describes the deaths of the innocent and illustrious Romans who were sacrificed to the cruelty of the first Cæsars, the art of the historian or the merit of the sufferers excites in our breasts the most lively sensations of terror, of admiration, and of pity. The coarse and undistinguishing pencil of Ammianus has delineated his bloody figures with tedious and disgusting accuracy. But as our attention is no longer engaged by the contrast of freedom and servitude, of recent greatness and of actual misery, we should turn with horror from the frequent executions which disgraced, both at Rome and Antioch, the reign of the two brothers.²³ Valens was of a timid,²⁴ and Valentinian of a choleric, disposition.²⁵ An anxious regard to his personal safety was the ruling principle of the administration of Valens. In the condition of a subject he had kissed, with trembling awe, the hand of the oppressor; and when he ascended the throne, he reasonably expected that the same fears which had subdued his own mind would secure the patient submission of his people. The favorites of Valens obtained, by the privilege of rapine and confiscation, the wealth which his economy would have refused.²⁶ They urged with persuasive eloquence *that*, in

The cruelty of
Valentinian
and Valens.
A.D. 364-375.

²² The cruel persecution of Rome and Antioch is described, and most probably exaggerated, by Ammianus (xxviii. 1, xxix. 1, 2) and Zosimus (l. iv. [c. 13] p. 216-218). The philosopher Maximus, with some justice, was involved in the charge of magic (Eunapius in Vit. Sophist. p. 88, 89 [p. 110, edit. Comm.]), and young Chrysostom, who had accidentally found one of the proscribed books, gave himself for lost (Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs. tom. v. p. 340).

²³ Consult the last six books of Ammianus, and more particularly the portraits of the two royal brothers (xxx. 8, 9, xxxi. 14). Tillemont has collected (tom. v. p. 12-18, p. 127-133) from all antiquity their virtues and vices.

²⁴ The younger Victor asserts that he was "*valde timidus*" [Epit. c. 46]; yet he behaved, as almost every man would do, with decent resolution at the head of an army. The same historian attempts to prove that his anger was harmless Ammianus observes, with more candor and judgment, "*incidentia crimina ad contemptam vel læsam principis amplitudinem trahens, in sanguinem sæviebat*" [xxx. 14].

²⁵ *Cum esset in acerbitatem naturæ calore propensior . . . pœnas per ignes angebat et gladios.*—Ammian. xxx. 8. See xxvii. 7.

²⁶ I have transferred the reproach of avarice from Valens to his servants. Av.

all cases of treason, suspicion is equivalent to proof; *that* the power supposes the intention of mischief; *that* the intention is not less criminal than the act; and *that* a subject no longer deserves to live if his life may threaten the safety or disturb the repose of his sovereign. The judgment of Valentinian was sometimes deceived and his confidence abused; but he would have silenced the informers with a contemptuous smile had they presumed to alarm his fortitude by the sound of danger. They praised his inflexible love of justice; and, in the pursuit of justice, the emperor was easily tempted to consider clemency as a weakness and passion as a virtue. As long as he wrestled with his equals in the bold competition of an active and ambitious life, Valentinian was seldom injured, and never insulted, with impunity. If his prudence was arraigned, his spirit was applauded; and the proudest and most powerful generals were apprehensive of provoking the resentment of a fearless soldier. After he became master of the world, he unfortunately forgot that where no resistance can be made, no courage can be exerted; and instead of consulting the dictates of reason and magnanimity, he indulged the furious emotions of his temper at a time when they were disgraceful to himself and fatal to the defenceless objects of his displeasure. In the government of his household or of his empire, slight, or even imaginary offences—a hasty word, a casual omission, an involuntary delay—were chastised by a sentence of immediate death. The expressions which issued the most readily from the mouth of the Emperor of the West were, “Strike off his head!”—“Burn him alive!”—“Let him be beaten with clubs till he expires!”[”] and his most favored ministers soon understood that, by a rash attempt to dispute or suspend the execution of his sanguinary commands, they might involve them-

arice more properly belongs to ministers than to kings, in whom that passion is commonly extinguished by absolute possession.

” He sometimes expressed a sentence of death with a tone of pleasantry: “*Abi, Comes, et muta ei caput, qui sibi mutari provinciam capit.*” A boy who had slipped too hastily a Spartan hound, an armorer who had made a polished cuirass that wanted some grains of the legitimate weight, etc., were the victims of his fury.

selves in the guilt and punishment of disobedience. The repeated gratification of this savage justice hardened the mind of Valentinian against pity and remorse; and the sallies of passion were confirmed by the habits of cruelty.* He could behold with calm satisfaction the convulsive agonies of torture and death; he reserved his friendship for those faithful servants whose temper was the most congenial to his own. The merit of Maximin, who had slaughtered the noblest families of Rome, was rewarded with the royal approbation and the præfecture of Gaul. Two fierce and enormous bears, distinguished by the appellations of *Innocence* and *Mica Aurea*, could alone deserve to share the favor of Maximin. The cages of those trusty guards were always placed near the bedchamber of Valentinian, who frequently amused his eyes with the grateful spectacle of seeing them tear and devour the bleeding limbs of the malefactors who were abandoned to their rage. Their diet and exercises were carefully inspected by the Roman emperor; and when *Innocence* had earned her discharge by a long course of meritorious service, the faithful animal was again restored to the freedom of her native woods."

But in the calmer moments of reflection, when the mind of Valens was not agitated by fear, or that of Valentinian by rage, the tyrant resumed the sentiments, or at least the conduct, of the father of his country. The dispassionate judgment of the Western emperor could clearly perceive and accurately pursue his own and the public interest. And the sovereign of the East, who imitated with equal docility the various examples which he received from his elder brother, was sometimes guided by the wisdom and virtue of the præfect Sallust. Both princes invariably retain-

Their laws
and govern-
ment.

* The Innocents of Milan were an agent and three apparitors, whom Valentinian condemned for signifying a legal summons. Ammianus (xxvii. 7) strangely supposes that all who had been unjustly executed were worshipped as martyrs by the Christians. His impartial silence does not allow us to believe that the great chamberlain Rhodanus was burned alive for an act of oppression (Chron. Paschal. p. 302 [tom. i. p. 588, edit. Bonn]).

** Ut bene meritam in silvas jussit abire *Innoxiam*.—Ammian. xxix. 3, and Valensius ad locum.

ed, in the purple, the chaste and temperate simplicity which had adorned their private life; and, under their reign, the pleasures of the court never cost the people a blush or a sigh. They gradually reformed many of the abuses of the times of Constantius; judiciously adopted and improved the designs of Julian and his successor; and displayed a style and spirit of legislation which might inspire posterity with the most favorable opinion of their character and government. It is not from the master of *Innocence* that we should expect the tender regard for the welfare of his subjects which prompted Valentinian to condemn the exposition of new-born infants,⁸⁰ and to establish fourteen skilful physicians, with stipends and privileges, in the fourteen quarters of Rome. The good sense of an illiterate soldier founded a useful and liberal institution for the education of youth and the support of declining science.⁸¹ It was his intention that the arts of rhetoric and grammar should be taught in the Greek and Latin languages in the metropolis of every province; and as the size and dignity of the school was usually proportioned to the importance of the city, the academies of Rome and Constantinople claimed a just and singular pre-eminence. The fragments of the literary edicts of Valentinian imperfectly represent the School of Constantinople, which was gradually improved by subsequent regulations. That school consisted of thirty-one professors in different branches of learning—one philosopher and two lawyers; five sophists and ten grammarians for the Greek, and three orators and ten grammarians for the Latin, tongue; besides seven scribes, or, as they were then styled, antiquarians, whose laborious pens supplied the public library with fair and correct

⁸⁰ See the Code of Justinian, l. viii. tit. lii leg. 2. "Unusquisque sobolem suam nutriat. Quod si exponendam putaverit animadversioni quæ constituta est subiacet." For the present I shall not interfere in the dispute between Noodt and Binkershoek, how far or how long this unnatural practice had been condemned or abolished by law, philosophy, and the more civilized state of society.

⁸¹ These salutary institutions are explained in the Theodosian Code, l. xiii. tit. iii. *De Professoribus et Medicis*; and l. xiv. tit. ix. *De Studijs Liberalibus Urbis Romæ*. Besides our usual guide (Godefroy), we may consult Giannone (*Istoria di Napoli*, tom. i. p. 105–111), who has treated the interesting subject with the zeal and curiosity of a man of letters who studies his domestic history.

copies of the classic writers. The rule of conduct which was prescribed to the students is the more curious, as it affords the first outlines of the form and discipline of a modern university. It was required that they should bring proper certificates from the magistrates of their native province. Their names, professions, and places of abode were regularly entered in a public register. The studious youth were severely prohibited from wasting their time in feasts or in the theatre; and the term of their education was limited to the age of twenty. The præfect of the city was empowered to chastise the idle and refractory by stripes or expulsion; and he was directed to make an annual report to the master of the offices, that the knowledge and abilities of the scholars might be usefully applied to the public service. The institutions of Valentinian contributed to secure the benefits of peace and plenty; and the cities were guarded by the establishment of the *Defensors*,⁸² freely elected as the tribunes and advocates of the people to support their rights, and to expose their grievances, before the tribunals of the civil magistrates, or even at the foot of the imperial throne. The finances were diligently administered by two princes who had been so long accustomed to the rigid economy of a private fortune; but in the receipt and application of the revenue, a discerning eye might observe some difference between the government of the East and of the West. Valens was persuaded that royal liberality can be supplied only by public oppression, and his ambition never aspired to secure, by their actual distress, the future strength and prosperity of his people. Instead of increasing the weight of taxes, which in the space of forty years had been gradually doubled, he reduced, in the first years of his reign, one fourth of the tribute of the East.⁸³ Valentinian appears to have been less attentive and less anxious to re-

⁸² Cod. Theodos. l. i. tit. xi. with Godefroy's Paratitlon, which diligently gleans from the rest of the code.

⁸³ Three lines of Ammianus (xxx. 14) countenance a whole oration of Themistius (viii. p. 101-120), full of adulation, pedantry, and commonplace morality. The eloquent M. Thomas (tom. i. p. 366-396) has amused himself with celebrating the virtues and genius of Themistius, who was not unworthy of the age in which he lived.

lieve the burdens of his people. He might reform the abuses of the fiscal administration; but he exacted, without scruple, a very large share of the private property, as he was convinced that the revenues which supported the luxury of individuals would be much more advantageously employed for the defence and improvement of the State. The subjects of the East, who enjoyed the present benefit, applauded the indulgence of their prince. The solid but less splendid merit of Valentinian was felt and acknowledged by the subsequent generation."

But the most honorable circumstance of the character of Valentinian is the firm and temperate impartiality which he uniformly preserved in an age of religious contention. His strong sense, unenlightened, but uncorrupted, by study, declined with respectful indifference the subtle questions of theological debate. The government of the *Earth* claimed his vigilance and satisfied his ambition; and while he remembered that he was the disciple of the Church, he never forgot that he was the sovereign of the clergy. Under the reign of an apostate, he had signalized his zeal for the honor of Christianity. He allowed to his subjects the privilege which he had assumed for himself; and they might accept with gratitude and confidence the general toleration which was granted by a prince addicted to passion, but incapable of fear or of disguise." The pagans, the Jews, and all the various sects which acknowledged the divine authority of Christ were protected by the laws from arbitrary power or popular insult; nor was any mode of worship prohibited by Valentinian except those secret and criminal practices which abused the name of religion for the dark purposes

Valentinian
maintains the
religious tol-
eration.
A.D. 364-375.

"Zosimus, l. iv. [c. 3] p. 202. Ammian. xxx. 9. His reformation of costly abuses might entitle him to the praise of, "in provinciales admodum parens, tributorum ubique molliens sarcinas." By some his frugality was styled avarice (Jerome, Chron. p. 186 [tom. viii. p. 809, edit. Vallars.]).

"Testes sunt leges a me in exordio Imperii mei datæ; quibus unicuique quod animo imbibisset colendi libera facultas tributa est.—Cod. Theodos. l. ix. tit. xvi. leg. 9. To this declaration of Valentinian we may add the various testimonies of Ammianus (xxx. 9), Zosimus (l. iv. [c. 3] p. 204), and Sozomen (l. vi. c. 7, 21). Baronius would naturally blame such rational toleration (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 370, No. 129-182, A.D. 376, No. 3, 4).

of vice and disorder. The art of magic, as it was more cruelly punished, was more strictly proscribed; but the emperor admitted a formal distinction to protect the ancient methods of divination, which were approved by the senate and exercised by the Tuscan haruspices. He had condemned, with the consent of the most rational pagans, the license of nocturnal sacrifices; but he immediately admitted the petition of Prætextatus, Proconsul of Achaia, who represented that the life of the Greeks would become dreary and comfortless if they were deprived of the invaluable blessing of the Eleusinian mysteries.* Philosophy alone can boast (and perhaps it is no more than the boast of philosophy) that her gentle hand is able to eradicate from the human mind the latent and deadly principle of fanaticism. But this truce of twelve years, which was enforced by the wise and vigorous government of Valentinian by suspending the repetition of mutual injuries, contributed to soften the manners and abate the prejudices of the religious factions.

The friend of toleration was unfortunately placed at a distance from the scene of the fiercest controversies. As soon as the Christians of the West had extricated themselves from the snares of the creed of Rimini, they happily relapsed into the slumber of orthodoxy; and the small remains of the Arian party that still subsisted at Sirmium or Milan might be considered rather as objects of contempt than of resentment. But in the provinces of the East—from the Euxine to the extremity of Thebais—the strength and numbers of the hostile factions were more equally balanced; and this equality, instead of recommending the counsels of peace, served only to perpetuate the horrors of religious war. The monks and bishops supported their arguments by invectives, and their invectives were sometimes followed by blows. Athanasius still reigned at Alexandria; the

Valens professes Arianism, and persecutes the Catholics.
A.D. 367-378.

* The Eleusinian mysteries continued to be celebrated during the whole of the second half of the fourth century (Asterius, *Homil.* p. 193; Epiphanius, *adv. Hæreses*, iii. p. 1092), till they were put an end to by the destruction of the temple at Eleusis, and by the devastation of Greece in the invasion of the Goths under Alaric in 395. Eunapius in *Vita Maximi*, p. 52, 53; Fallmerayer, *Geschichte Moreas*, i. p. 119 seq.; Lasanlx, *Der Untergang des Hellenismus*, p. 84.—S.

thrones of Constantinople and Antioch were occupied by Arian prelates; and every episcopal vacancy was the occasion of a popular tumult. The Homoousians were fortified by the reconciliation of fifty-nine Macedonian, or Semi-Arian, bishops; but their secret reluctance to embrace the divinity of the Holy Ghost clouded the splendor of the triumph; and the declaration of Valens, who, in the first years of his reign, had imitated the impartial conduct of his brother, was an important victory on the side of Arianism. The two brothers had passed their private life in the condition of catechumens; but the piety of Valens prompted him to solicit the sacrament of baptism before he exposed his person to the dangers of a Gothic war. He naturally addressed himself to Eudoxus,* bishop of the imperial city; and if the ignorant monarch was instructed by that Arian pastor in the principles of heterodox theology, his misfortune rather than his guilt was the inevitable consequence of his erroneous choice. Whatever had been the determination of the emperor, he must have offended a numerous party of his Christian subjects, as the leaders both of the Homoousians and of the Arians believed that, if they were not suffered to reign, they were most cruelly injured and oppressed. After he had taken this decisive step, it was extremely difficult for him to preserve either the virtue or the reputation of impartiality. He never aspired, like Constantius, to the fame of a profound theologian; but, as he had received with simplicity and respect the tenets of Eudoxus, Valens resigned his conscience to the direction of his ecclesiastical guides, and promoted by the influence of his authority the reunion of the *Athanasian heretics* to the body of the Catholic Church. At first he pitied their blindness; by degrees he was provoked at their obstinacy; and he insensibly hated those sectaries to

* Eudoxus was of a mild and timid disposition. When he baptized Valens (A.D. 367) he must have been extremely old, since he had studied theology fifty-five years before under Lucian, a learned and pious martyr. Philostorg. l. ii. c. 14-16, l. iv. c. 4, with Godefroy, p. 82, 206, and Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. v. p. 474-480, etc.

* Through the influence of his wife, say the ecclesiastical writers.—M.

whom he was an object of hatred." The feeble mind of Valens was always swayed by the persons with whom he familiarly conversed; and the exile and imprisonment of private citizens are the favors the most readily granted in a despotic court. Such punishments were frequently inflicted on the leaders of the Homoousian party; and the misfortune of four-score ecclesiastics of Constantinople who, perhaps accidentally, were burned on shipboard, was imputed to the cruel and premeditated malice of the emperor and his Arian ministers. In every contest the Catholics (if we may anticipate that name) were obliged to pay the penalty of their own faults and of those of their adversaries. In every election the claims of the Arian candidate obtained the preference; and if they were opposed by the majority of the people, he was usually supported by the authority of the civil magistrats, or even by the terrors of a military force. The enemies of Athanasius attempted to disturb the last years of his venerable age; and his temporary retreat to his father's sepulchre has been celebrated as a fifth exile. But the zeal of a great people, who instantly flew to arms, intimidated the præfect; and the archbishop was permitted to end his life in peace and in glory after a reign of forty-seven years. The death of Athanasius was the signal of the persecution of Egypt; and the pagan minister of Valens, who forcibly seated the worthless Lucius on the archiepiscopal throne, purchased the favor of the reigning party by the blood and sufferings of their Christian brethren. The free toleration of the heathen and Jewish worship was bitterly lamented as a circumstance which aggravated the misery of the Catholics and the guilt of the impious tyrant of the East."

Death of Ath-
anasius.
A.D. 373.
May 2.

The triumph of the orthodox party has left a deep stain of persecution on the memory of Valens; and the character of a prince who derived his virtues as well as his vices from a feeble

⁶⁷ Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.* xxv. p. 482) insults the persecuting spirit of the Arians as an infallible symptom of error and heresy.

⁶⁸ This sketch of the ecclesiastical government of Valens is drawn from Socrates (*l.* iv.), Sozomen (*l.* vi.), Theodoret (*l.* iv.), and the immense compilations of Tillemont (particularly tom. vi. viii. and ix.).

understanding and a pusillanimous temper scarcely deserves the labor of an apology. Yet candor may discover some reasons to suspect that the ecclesiastical ministers of Valens often exceeded the orders, or even the intentions, of their master; and that the real measure of facts has been very liberally magnified by the vehement declamation and easy credulity of his antagonists." 1. The silence of Valentinian may suggest a probable argument that the partial severities which were exercised in the name and provinces of his colleague amounted only to some obscure and inconsiderable deviations from the established system of religious toleration; and the judicious historian, who has praised the equal temper of the elder brother, has not thought himself obliged to contrast the tranquillity of the West with the cruel persecution of the East." 2. Whatever credit may be allowed to vague and distant reports, the character, or at least the behavior, of Valens may be most distinctly seen in his personal transactions with the eloquent Basil, Archbishop of Cæsarea, who had succeeded Athanasius in the management of the Trinitarian cause.¹¹ The circumstantial narrative has been composed by the friends and admirers of Basil; and as soon as we have stripped away a thick coat of rhetoric and miracle, we shall be astonished by the unexpected mildness of the Arian tyrant who admired the firmness of his character, or was apprehensive, if he employed violence, of a general revolt in the province of Cappadocia. The archbishop, who asserted with

¹⁰ Dr. Jortin (*Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iv. p. 78) has already conceived and intimated the same suspicion.

¹⁰ This reflection is so obvious and forcible that Orosius (l. vii. c. 32, 33) delays the persecution till after the death of Valentinian. Socrates, on the other hand, supposes (l. iii. [iv.] c. 32) that it was appeased by a philosophical oration which Themistius pronounced in the year 374 (*Orat. xii. p. 154*, in Latin only). Such contradictions diminish the evidence and reduce the term of the persecution of Valens.

¹¹ Tillemont, whom I follow and abridge, has extracted (*Mém Ecclés. tom. viii. p. 153-167*) the most authentic circumstances from the panegyrics of the two Gregories, the brother and the friend of Basil. The letters of Basil himself (*Dupin, Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique, tom. ii. p. 155-180*) do not present the image of a very lively persecution.

inflexible pride" the truth of his opinions and the dignity of his rank, was left in the free possession of his conscience and his throne. The emperor devoutly assisted at the solemn service of the cathedral, and, instead of a sentence of banishment, subscribed the donation of a valuable estate for the use of a hospital which Basil had lately founded in the neighborhood of Cæsarea.⁷³ 3. I am not able to discover that any law (such as Theodosius afterwards enacted against the Arians) was published by Valens against the Athanasian sectaries; and the edict which excited the most violent clamors may not appear so extremely reprehensible. The emperor had observed that several of his subjects, gratifying their lazy disposition under the pretence of religion, had associated themselves with the monks of Egypt; and he directed the Count of the East to drag them from their solitude and to compel those deserters of society to accept the fair alternative of renouncing their temporal possessions, or of discharging the public duties of men and citizens.⁷⁴ The ministers of Valens seem to have extended the sense of this penal statute, since they claimed a right of enlisting the young and able-bodied monks in the imperial armies. A detachment of cavalry and infantry, consisting of three thousand men, marched from Alexandria into the

⁷³ "Basilius Cæsariensis episcopus Cappadociæ clarus habetur . . . qui multa continentis et ingenii bona uno superbiæ malo perdidit" [Chron. Ann. 2892, tom. viii. p. 816, edit. Vallarsa.]. This irreverent passage is perfectly in the style and character of St. Jerome. It does not appear in Scaliger's edition of his Chronicle; but Isaac Vossius found it in some old MSS. which had not been reformed by the monks.^a

⁷⁴ This noble and charitable foundation (almost a new city) surpassed in merit, if not in greatness, the pyramids, or the walls of Babylon. It was principally intended for the reception of lepers (Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. xx. p. 439).

⁷⁴ Cod. Theodos. l. xii. tit. i. leg. 63. Godefroy (tom. iv. p. 409-413) performs the duty of a commentator and advocate. Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclési.* tom. viii. p. 808) supposes a second law to excuse his orthodox friends, who had misrepresented the edict of Valens and suppressed the liberty of choice.

^a In almost all the MSS. of Jerome the words "qui—perdidit" refer to Photinus; but Vossius, on the authority of one Paduan MS., transfers them to Basil. Hence the statement of Gibbon is not quite accurate. See Vallarsa's note ad loc.—8.

adjacent desert of Nitria," which was peopled by five thousand monks. The soldiers were conducted by Arian priests; and it is reported that a considerable slaughter was made in the monasteries which disobeyed the commands of their sovereign."

The strict regulations which have been framed by the wisdom of modern legislators to restrain the wealth and avarice of the clergy may be originally deduced from the example of the Emperor Valentinian. His edict," addressed to Damasus, Bishop of Rome, was publicly read in the churches of the city. He admonished the ecclesiastics and monks not to frequent the houses of widows and virgins, and menaced their disobedience with the animadversion of the civil judge. The director was no longer permitted to receive any gift or legacy or inheritance from the liberality of his spiritual daughter. Every testament contrary to this edict was declared null and void; and the illegal donation was confiscated for the use of the treasury. By a subsequent regulation, it should seem that the same provisions were extended to nuns and bishops; and that all persons of the ecclesiastical order were rendered incapable of receiving any testamentary gifts, and strictly confined to the natural and legal rights of inheritance. As the guardian of domestic happiness and virtue, Valentinian applied this severe remedy to the growing evil. In the capital of the empire the females of noble and opulent houses possessed a very ample share of independent property; and many of those devout females had embraced the doctrines of Christianity, not only with the cold

Valentinian
restrains the
avarice of the
clergy.
A.D. 370.

" See D'Anville, Description de l'Égypte, p. 74. Hereafter I shall consider the monastic institutions.

" Socrates, l. iv. c. 24, 25. Orosius, l. vii. c. 33. Jerome, in Chron. p. 189 [tom. viii. p. 816, edit. Vallars.], and tom. ii. p. 212. The monks of Egypt performed many miracles, which prove the truth of their faith. "Right," says Jortin (Remarks, vol. iv. p. 79), "but what proves the truth of those miracles?"

" Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 20. Godefroy (tom. vi. p. 49), after the example of Baronius, impartially collects all that the fathers have said on the subject of this important law, whose spirit was long afterwards revived by the Emperor Frederic II., Edward I. of England, and other Christian princes who reigned after the twelfth century.

assent of the understanding, but with the warmth of affection, and perhaps with the eagerness of fashion. They sacrificed the pleasures of dress and luxury; and renounced, for the praise of chastity, the soft endearments of conjugal society. Some ecclesiastic, of real or apparent sanctity, was chosen to direct their timorous conscience and to amuse the vacant tenderness of their heart; and the unbounded confidence which they hastily bestowed was often abused by knaves and enthusiasts, who hastened from the extremities of the East to enjoy, on a splendid theatre, the privileges of the monastic profession. By their contempt of the world, they insensibly acquired its most desirable advantages—the lively attachment, perhaps, of a young and beautiful woman, the delicate plenty of an opulent household, and the respectful homage of the slaves, the freedmen, and the clients of a senatorial family. The immense fortunes of the Roman ladies were gradually consumed in lavish alms and expensive pilgrimages; and the artful monk, who had assigned himself the first, or possibly the sole place, in the testament of his spiritual daughter, still presumed to declare, with the smooth face of hypocrisy, that *he* was only the instrument of charity, and the steward of the poor. The lucrative but disgraceful trade⁷⁸ which was exercised by the clergy to defraud the expectations of the natural heirs had provoked the indignation of a superstitious age; and two of the most respectable of the Latin fathers very honestly confess that the ignominious edict of Valentinian was just and necessary, and that the Christian priests had deserved to lose a privilege which was still enjoyed by comedians, charioteers, and the ministers of idols. But the wisdom and authority of the legislator are seldom victorious in a contest with the vigilant dexterity of private interest; and Jerome or Ambrose might patiently ac-

⁷⁸ The expressions which I have used are temperate and feeble if compared with the vehement invectives of Jerome (tom. i. p. 13, 45, 144, etc. [tom. i. p. 259, etc., edit. Vallars.]). In *his* turn he was reproached with the guilt which he imputed to his brother monks; and the *Sceleratus*, the *Versipellis*, was publicly accused as the lover of the widow Paula (tom. ii. p. 363). He undoubtedly possessed the affections both of the mother and the daughter; but he declares that he never abused his influence to any selfish or sensual purpose.

quiesce in the justice of an ineffectual or salutary law. If the ecclesiastics were checked in the pursuit of personal emolument, they would exert a more laudable industry to increase the wealth of the Church, and dignify their covetousness with the specious names of piety and patriotism."

Damasus, Bishop of Rome, who was constrained to stigmatize the avarice of his clergy by the publication of the law of Valentianian, had the good sense, or the good fortune, to engage in his service the zeal and abilities of the learned Jerome; and the grateful saint has celebrated the merit and purity of a very ambiguous character.⁹⁰ But the splendid vices of the Church of Rome under the reign of Valentianian and Damasus have been curiously observed by the historian Ammianus, who delivers his impartial sense in these expressive words: "The præfecture of Juvenius was accompanied with peace and plenty, but the tranquillity of his government was soon disturbed by a bloody sedition of the distracted people. The ardor of Damasus and Ursinus to seize the episcopal seat surpassed the ordinary measure of human ambition. They contended with the rage of party; the quarrel was maintained by the wounds and death of their followers; and the præfect, unable to resist or to appease the tumult, was constrained by superior violence to retire into the suburbs. Damasus prevailed: the well-disputed victory remained on the side of his faction; one hundred and thirty-seven dead bodies" were found in the *Basilica* of Sici-

Ambition
and luxury
of Damasus,
Bishop of
Rome.
A.D. 366-384.

⁹⁰ "Pudet dicere, sacerdotes idolorum, mimi et aurigæ, et scorta, hæreditates capiunt: solis clericis ac monachis hæc [hoc]^a lege prohibetur. Et non prohibetur a persecutoribus, sed a principibus Christianis. Nec de lege queror; sed doleo cur meruerimus hanc legem." Jerome (tom. i. p. 13 [tom. i. p. 258, edit. Vallars.]) discreetly insinuates the secret policy of his patron Damasus.

⁹¹ Three words of Jerome, *sanctæ memoriæ Damasus* (tom. ii. p. 109 [Ep. ad Pammachium. tom. i. p. 228, edit. Vallars.]), wash away all his stains, and blind the devout eyes of Tillemont (Mém. Ecclési. tom. viii. p. 386-424).

⁹² Jerome himself is forced to allow, "crudelissimæ interfectiones diversi sexûs

^a It is plain that the reading *hoc* (as in Vallars.), not *hæc*, is necessary to the sense.

The law forbidding the clergy to receive inheritances was the *Constitutio Valentianianæ* Imp. ad Damasum Papam, afterwards abrogated by the *Novella* of Marcian, Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. iii.—S.

nius," where the Christians hold their religious assemblies; and it was long before the angry minds of the people resumed their accustomed tranquillity. When I consider the splendor of the capital, I am not astonished that so valuable a prize should inflame the desires of ambitious men, and produce the fiercest and most obstinate contests. The successful candidate is secure that he will be enriched by the offerings of matrons;" that, as soon as his dress is composed with becoming care and elegance, he may proceed in his chariot through the streets of Rome;" and that the sumptuousness of the imperial table will not equal the profuse and delicate entertainments provided by the taste and at the expense of the Roman pontiffs. "How much more rationally" (continues the honest pagan) "would those pontiffs consult their true happiness, if, instead of alleging the greatness of the city as an excuse for their manners, they would imitate the exemplary life of some provincial bishops, whose temperance and sobriety, whose mean apparel and downcast looks, recommend their pure and modest virtue to the Deity and his true worshippers!" The schism of Damasus and Ursinus was extinguished by the exile of the latter; and the wisdom of the præfect Prætextatus" restored the tran-

perpetrated" (in Chron. p. 186 [tom. viii. p. 809, edit. Vallars.]). But an original *libel* or petition of two presbyters of the adverse party has unaccountably escaped. They affirm that the doors of the basilica were burned, and that the roof was untiled; that Damasus marched at the head of his own clergy, grave-diggers, charioteers, and hired gladiators; that none of *his* party were killed, but that one hundred and sixty dead bodies were found. This petition is published by the P. Sirmond, in the first volume of his works.

"The *Basilica* of Sicininus, or Liberius, is probably the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore, on the Esquiline Hill. Baronius, A.D. 367, No. 3; and Donatus, *Roma Antiqua et Nova*, l. iv. c. 3, p. 462.

"The enemies of Damasus styled him *Auriscalpius Matronarum*, the ladies' ear-scratcher.

"Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. xxxii. p. 526) describes the pride and luxury of the prelates who reigned in the imperial cities—their gilt car, fiery steeds, numerous train, etc. The crowd gave way as to a wild beast.

"Ammian. xxvii. 3. "Perpetuo Numini, *verisque* ejus cultoribus." The incomparable pliancy of a polytheist!

"Ammianus, who makes a fair report of his præfecture (xxvii. 9), styles him "præclaræ indolis, gravitatisque senator" (xxii. 7, and Vales. ad loc.). A curious inscription (Gruter MCII. No. 2) records, in two columns, his religious and civil

quillity of the city. Prætextatus was a philosophic pagan, a man of learning, of taste, and politeness, who disguised a reproach in the form of a jest when he assured Damasus that if he could obtain the bishopric of Rome, he himself would immediately embrace the Christian religion.⁸⁷ This lively picture of the wealth and luxury of the popes in the fourth century becomes the more curious as it represents the intermediate degree between the humble poverty of the apostolic fisherman and the royal state of a temporal prince whose dominions extended from the confines of Naples to the banks of the Po.

When the suffrage of the generals and of the army committed the sceptre of the Roman empire to the hands of Valentinian, his reputation in arms, his military skill and experience, and his rigid attachment to the forms as well

Foreign
wars.
A.D. 364-375.

as spirit of ancient discipline were the principal motives of their judicious choice. The eagerness of the troops who pressed him to nominate his colleague was justified by the dangerous situation of public affairs; and Valentinian himself was conscious that the abilities of the most active mind were unequal to the defence of the distant frontiers of an invaded monarchy. As soon as the death of Julian had relieved the barbarians from the terror of his name, the most sanguine hopes of rapine and conquest excited the nations of the East, of the North, and of the South. Their inroads were often vex-

atious, and sometimes formidable; but, during the twelve years of the reign of Valentinian, his firmness and vigilance protected his own dominions; and his powerful genius seemed to inspire and direct the feeble counsels of his brother. Perhaps the method of annals would more forcibly express the urgent and divided cares of the two em-

A.D. 364-375.

honors. In one line he was Pontiff of the Sun and of Vesta, Augur, Quindecimvir, Hierophant, etc., etc. In the other, 1. Quæstor candidatus, more probably titular. 2. Prætor. 3. Corrector of Tuscany and Umbria. 4. Consular of Lusitania. 5. Proconsul of Achaia. 6. Præfect of Rome. 7. Prætorian Præfect of Italy. 8. Of Illyricum. 9. Consul elect; but he died before the beginning of the year 385. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 241, 736.

⁸⁷ "Facite me Romanæ urbis episcopum, et eio protinus Christianus" (Jerome, tom. ii. p. 165 [contra Joann. Ierosol. tom. ii. p. 415, edit. Vallais.]). It is more than probable that Damasus would not have purchased his conversion at such a price.

perors; but the attention of the reader, likewise, would be distracted by a tedious and desultory narrative. A separate view of the five great theatres of war—I. Germany; II. Britain; III. Africa; IV. The East; and V. The Danube—will impress a more distinct image of the military state of the empire under the reigns of Valentinian and Valens.

I. The ambassadors of the Alemanni had been offended by the harsh and haughty behavior of Ursacius, master of the offices,⁸⁸ who, by an act of unseasonable parsimony, had diminished the value as well as the quantity of the presents to which they were entitled, either from custom or treaty, on the accession of a new emperor. They expressed, and they communicated to their countrymen, their strong sense of the national affront. The irascible minds of the chiefs were exasperated by the suspicion of contempt; and the martial youth crowded to their standard. Before Valentinian could pass the Alps, the villages of Gaul were in flames; before his general Dagalaiphus could encounter the Alemanni, they had secured the captives and the spoil in the forests of Germany. In the beginning of the ensuing year, the military force of the whole nation, in deep and solid columns, broke through the barrier of the Rhine during the severity of a northern winter. Two Roman counts were defeated and mortally wounded; and the standard of the Heruli and Batavians fell into the hands of the conquerors, who displayed, with insulting shouts and menaces, the trophy of their victory. The standard was recovered; but the Batavians had not redeemed the shame of their disgrace and flight in the eyes of their severe judge. It was the opinion of Valentinian that his soldiers must learn to fear their commander before they could cease to fear the enemy. The troops were solemnly assembled; and the trembling Batavians were enclosed within the circle of the imperial army. Valentinian then ascended his tribunal; and, as if he disdained to punish cowardice with death, he inflicted a stain of indelible ignominy

I. GERMANY.
The Alemanni invade Gaul.
A.D. 366.

A.D. 366.
January.

⁸⁸ Ammian. xxvi. 5. Valesius adds a long and good note on the master of the offices.

on the officers whose misconduct and pusillanimity were found to be the first occasion of the defeat. The Batavians were degraded from their rank, stripped of their arms, and condemned to be sold for slaves to the highest bidder. At this tremendous sentence the troops fell prostrate on the ground, deprecated the indignation of their sovereign, and protested that if he would indulge them in another trial, they would approve themselves not unworthy of the name of Romans, and of his soldiers. Valentinian, with affected reluctance, yielded to their entreaties: the Batavians resumed their arms; and, with their arms, the invincible resolution of wiping away their disgrace in the blood of the Alemanni.* The principal command was declined by Dagalaiphus; and that experienced general, who had represented, perhaps with too much prudence, the extreme difficulties of the undertaking, had the mortification, before the end of the campaign, of seeing his rival Jovinus convert those difficulties into a decisive advantage over the scattered forces of the barbarians. At the head of a well-disciplined army of cavalry, infantry, and light troops, Jovinus advanced with cautious and rapid steps to Scarponna,** in the territory of Metz, where he surprised a large division of the Alemanni before they had time to run to their arms, and flushed his soldiers with the confidence of an easy and bloodless victory. Another division, or rather army, of the enemy, after the cruel and wanton devastation of the adjacent country, reposed themselves on the shady banks of the Moselle. Jovinus, who had viewed the ground with the eye of a general, made his silent approach through a deep and woody vale, till he could distinctly perceive the indolent security of the Germans. Some were bathing their huge limbs in the river; others were combing their long and flaxen hair; others, again, were swallowing large draughts of rich and delicious wine. On a

Their defeat.

* Ammian. xxvii. 1. Zosimus, l. iv. [c. 9] p. 208. The disgrace of the Batavians is suppressed by the contemporary soldier, from a regard for military honor, which could not affect a Greek rhetorician of the succeeding age.

** See D'Anville, Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 587. The name of the Moselle, which is not specified by Ammianus, is clearly understood by Mascou (Hist. of the Ancient Germans, vii. 2).

sudden they heard the sound of the Roman trumpet; they saw the enemy in their camp. Astonishment produced disorder; disorder was followed by flight and dismay; and the confused multitude of the bravest warriors was pierced by the swords and javelins of the legionaries and auxiliaries. The fugitives escaped to the third and most considerable camp in the Catalaunian plains, near Châlons, in Champagne; the straggling detachments were hastily recalled to their standard; and the barbarian chiefs, alarmed and admonished by the fate of their companions, prepared to encounter in a decisive battle the victorious forces of the lieutenant of Valentinian. The bloody and obstinate conflict lasted a whole summer's day, with equal valor and with alternate success. The Romans at length prevailed, with the loss of about twelve hundred men. Six thousand of the Alemanni were slain, four thousand were wounded; and the brave Jovinus, after chasing the flying remnant of their host as far as the banks of the Rhine, returned to Paris to receive the applause of his sovereign, and the ensigns of the consulship for the ensuing year.⁹¹ The triumph of the

July.

Romans was indeed sullied by their treatment of the captive king, whom they hanged on a gibbet without the knowledge of their indignant general. This disgraceful act of cruelty, which might be imputed to the fury of the troops, was followed by the deliberate murder of Withicab, the son of Vadomair, a German prince, of a weak and sickly constitution, but of a daring and formidable spirit. The domestic assassin was instigated and protected by the Romans;⁹² and the violation of the laws of humanity and justice betrayed their secret apprehension of the weakness of the declining empire. The use of the dagger is seldom adopted in public councils, as long as they retain any confidence in the power of the sword.

While the Alemanni appeared to be humbled by their recent calamities, the pride of Valentinian was mortified by the unexpected surprisal of Moguntiacum, or Mentz, the principal city of the Upper Germany. In the unsuspecting moment of

⁹¹ The battles are described by Ammianus (xxvii. 2) and by Zosimus (l. iv. [c. 9] p. 209), who supposes Valentinian to have been present.

⁹² *Studio solicitante nostrorum, occubuit.*—Ammian. xxvii. 10.

a Christian festival,* Rando, a bold and artful chieftain, who had long meditated his attempt, suddenly passed the Rhine, entered the defenceless town, and retired with a multitude of captives of either sex. Valentinian resolved to execute severe vengeance on the whole body of the nation. Count Sebastian, with the bands of Italy and Illyricum, was ordered to invade their country, most probably on the side of Rhætia. The emperor in person, accompanied by his son Gratian, passed the Rhine at the head of a formidable army, which was supported on both flanks by Jovinus and Severus, the two masters-general of the cavalry and infantry of the West. The Alemanni, unable to prevent the devastation of their villages, fixed their camp on a lofty and almost inaccessible mountain in the modern duchy of Wirtemberg, and resolutely expected the approach of the Romans. The life of Valentinian was exposed to imminent danger by the intrepid curiosity with which he persisted to explore some secret and unguarded path. A troop of barbarians suddenly rose from their ambuscade; and the emperor, who vigorously spurred his horse down a steep and slippery descent, was obliged to leave behind him his armor-bearer, and his helmet, magnificently enriched with gold and precious stones. At the signal of the general assault, the Roman troops encompassed and ascended the mountain of Solicinium on three different sides. Every step which they gained increased their ardor, and abated the resistance of the enemy; and after their united forces had occupied the summit of the hill, they impetuously urged the barbarians down the northern descent, where Count Sebastian was posted to intercept their retreat. After this signal victory, Valentinian returned to his winter-quarters at Treves, where he indulged the public joy by the exhibition of splendid and triumphal games." But the wise monarch, in-

"The expedition of Valentinian is related by Ammianus (xxvii. 10), and celebrated by Ausonius (Mosell. 421, etc.), who foolishly supposes that the Romans were ignorant of the sources of the Danube.^b

* Probably Easter. Wagner.—M.

^b Ausonius merely says that they are not recorded in Roman history:

"Et fontem Latii ignotum annabus Istri."

stead of aspiring to the conquest of Germany, confined his attention to the important and laborious defence of the Gallic frontier against an enemy whose strength was renewed by a stream of daring volunteers, which incessantly flowed from the most distant tribes of the North.* The banks of the Rhine,* from its source to the straits of the ocean, were closely planted with strong castles and convenient towers; new works and new arms were invented by the ingenuity of a prince who was skilled in the mechanical arts; and his numerous levies of Roman and barbarian youth were severely trained in all the exercises of war. The progress of the work, which was sometimes opposed by modest representations and sometimes by

* *Immanis enim natio, jam inde ab incunabulis primis varietate casuum immuta; ita sæpius adolescit, ut fuisse longis sæculis æstimeretur intacta.*—Ammian. xxviii. 5. The Count de Buat (*Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. vi. p. 370) ascribes the fecundity of the Alemanni to their easy adoption of strangers^b

* The course of the Neckar was likewise strongly guarded. The hyperbolic eulogy of Symmachus asserts that the Neckar first became known to the Romans by the conquests and fortifications of Valentinian. "*Nunc primum victorius tuis externus fluvius publicatur. Gaudeat servitute, captivus innotuit.*"—Symm. Orat. p. 22.—M.

^b "This explanation," says Mr. Malthus, "only removes the difficulty a little further off. It makes the earth rest upon the tortoise, but does not tell us on what the tortoise rests. We may still ask what northern reservoir supplied this incessant stream of daring adventurers? Montesquieu's solution of the problem will, I think, hardly be admitted (*Grandeur et Décadence des Romains*, c. 16, p. 187). . . . The whole difficulty, however, is at once removed if we apply to the German nations, at that time, a fact which is so generally known to have occurred in America, and suppose that, when not checked by wars and famine, they increased at a rate that would double their numbers in twenty-five or thirty years. The propriety and even the necessity of applying this rate of increase to the inhabitants of ancient Germany will strikingly appear from that most valuable picture of their manners which has been left us by Tacitus (*Tac. de Mor. Germ.* 16 to 20) . . . With these manners, and a habit of enterprise and emigration, which would naturally remove all fears about providing for a family, it is difficult to conceive a society with a stronger principle of increase in it, and we see at once that prolific source of armies and colonies against which the force of the Roman empire so long struggled with difficulty, and under which it ultimately sank. It is not probable that, for two periods together, or even for one, the population within the confines of Germany ever doubled itself in twenty-five years. Their perpetual wars, the rude state of agriculture, and particularly the very strange custom adopted by most of the tribes of marking their barriers by extensive deserts, would prevent any very great actual increase of numbers. At no one period could the country be called well peopled, though it was often redundant in population. . . . Instead of clearing their forests, draining their swamps, and rendering their soil fit to support an extended population, they found it more congenial to their martial habits and impatient dispositions to go in quest of food, of plunder, or of glory into other countries."—Malthus on Population, i. p. 128.—G.

hostile attempts, secured the tranquillity of Gaul during the nine subsequent years of the administration of Valentinian.*

That prudent emperor, who diligently practised the wise maxims of Diocletian, was studious to foment and excite the intestine divisions of the tribes of Germany. About the middle of the fourth century, the countries, perhaps of Lusace and Thuringia, on either side of the Elbe, were occupied by the vague dominion of the BURGUNDIANS—a warlike and numerous people of the Vandal race,** whose obscure name insensibly swelled into a powerful kingdom, and has finally settled on a flourishing province. The most remarkable circumstance in the ancient manners of the Burgundians appears to have been the difference of their civil and ecclesiastical constitution. The appellation of *Hendinos* was given to the king or general, and the title of *Sinistrus* to the high-priest, of the nation. The person of the priest was sacred, and his dignity perpetual; but the temporal government was held by a very precarious tenure. If the events of war accused the courage or conduct of the king, he was immediately deposed; and the injustice of his subjects made him responsible for the fertility of the earth and the regularity of the seasons, which seemed to fall more properly within the sacerdotal department.† The disputed possession of some salt-pits‡ engaged the Alemanni and the Burgundians in frequent

* Ammian. xxvii. 2. Zosimus, l. iv. [c. 16] p. 214. The younger Victor mentions the mechanical genius of Valentinian: “nova arma meditari; fingere terræ seu limo simulacra” [Epit. c. 45].

** Bellicosos et pubis immensæ viribus affluentes; et ideo metuendos finitimis universis.—Ammian. xxviii. 5.

† I am always apt to suspect historians and travellers of improving extraordinary facts into general laws. Ammianus ascribes a similar custom to Egypt; and the Chinese have imputed it to the Ta-tsin, or Roman empire (De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. part i. p. 79).

‡ Salinarum finiumque causâ Alemannis sæpe jurgabant.—Ammian. xxviii. 5. Possibly they disputed the possession of the *Sala*—a river which produced salt, and which had been the object of ancient contention.‡ Tacit. Annal. xiii. 57, and Lipsius ad loc.

* See note, vol. i. p. 628.—S.

‡ There are still extensive salt-works on the Saale, not far from Naumburg.—S.

contests. The latter were easily tempted by the secret solicitations and liberal offers of the emperor; and their fabulous descent from the Roman soldiers who had formerly been left to garrison the fortresses of Drusus was admitted with mutual credulity, as it was conducive to mutual interest.* An army of fourscore thousand Burgundians soon appeared on the banks of the Rhine, and impatiently required the support and subsidies which Valentinian had promised; but they were amused with excuses and delays, till at length, after a fruitless expectation, they were compelled to retire. The arms and fortifications of the Gallic frontier checked the fury of their just resentment; and their massacre of the captives served to embitter the hereditary feud of the Burgundians and the Alemanni. The inconstancy of a wise prince may perhaps be explained by some alteration of circumstances; and perhaps it was the original design of Valentinian to intimidate rather than to destroy; as the balance of power would have been equally overturned by the extirpation of either of the German nations. Among the princes of the Alemanni, Macrianus, who, with a Roman name, had assumed the arts of a soldier and a statesman, deserved his hatred and esteem. The emperor himself, with a light and unencumbered band, condescended to pass the Rhine, marched fifty miles into the country, and would infallibly have seized the object of his pursuit if his judicious measures had not been defeated by the impatience of the troops. Macrianus was afterwards admitted to the honor of a personal conference with the emperor; and the favors which he received fixed him, till the hour of his death, a steady and sincere friend of the republic.¹⁰⁰

* "Jam inde temporibus priscis sobolem se esse Romanam Burgundii sciunt;" and the vague tradition gradually assumed a more regular form (Oros. l. vii. c. 32). It is annihilated by the decisive authority of Pliny, who composed the History of Drusus, and served in Germany (Plin. Secund. Epist. iii. 5) within sixty years after the death of that hero. "*Germanorum genera quinque; Vindili, quorum pars Burgundiones,*" etc. (Hist. Natur. iv. 28).

¹⁰⁰ The wars and negotiations relative to the Burgundians and Alemanni are distinctly related by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxviii. 5, xxix. 4, xxx. 3). Orosius (l. vii. c. 32), and the Chronicles of Jerome and Cassiodorus, fix some dates and add some circumstances.

The land was covered by the fortifications of Valentinian; but the sea-coast of Gaul and Britain was exposed to the depredations of the Saxons. That celebrated name, in which we have a dear and domestic interest, escaped the notice of Tacitus; and in the maps of Ptolemy it faintly marks the narrow neck of the Cimbric peninsula, and three small islands towards the mouth of the Elbe.¹⁰¹ This contracted territory, the present duchy of Schleswig, or perhaps of Holstein, was incapable of pouring forth the inexhaustible swarms of Saxons who reigned over the ocean, who filled the British island with their language, their laws, and their colonies, and who so long defended the liberty of the North against the arms of Charlemagne.¹⁰² The solution of this difficulty is easily derived from the similar manners and loose constitution of the tribes of Germany, which were blended with each other by the slightest accidents of war or friendship.* The situation of the native Saxons disposed them to embrace the hazardous professions of fishermen and pirates; and the success of their first adventures would naturally excite the emulation

¹⁰¹ 'Επὶ τὸν ἀντίον τῆς Κιμβρικῆς Χερσονήσου, Σάξονες. At the northern extremity of the peninsula (the Cimbric promontory of Pliny, iv. 27) Ptolemy fixes the remnant of the *Cimbri*. He fills the interval between the *Saxons* and the *Cimbri* with six obscure tribes, who were united, as early as the sixth century, under the national appellation of *Danes*. See Cluver. *German. Antiq.* l. iii. c. 21, 22, 23.

¹⁰² M. d'Anville (*Établissement des États de l'Europe*, etc., p. 19–26) has marked the extensive limits of the Saxony of Charlemagne.

* Another solution has been proposed by Dr. Latham, which seems to me very probable. He supposes that Saxon was a general appellation given by the Kelt of Britain to the Germans of the sea-coast, and the water systems of the Lower Rhine, Weser, Lower Elbe, and Eyder; to Low Germans on the Rhine, to Frisians and Saxons on the Elbe, and to North Frisians on the Eyder. He observes that "Saxon was a word like *Greek*, i. e. a term which, in the language of the *Hellenes*, was so very special, partial, and unimportant as to have been practically a foreign term, or, at least, anything but a native name, whilst in that of the Romans it was one of general and widely extended import. Hence, *mutatis mutandis*, it is the insignificant Saxones of the neck of the Cimbric Chersonese, and the three Saxon islands first mentioned by Ptolemy, who are the analogues of the equally unimportant Græci of Epirus; and these it was whose name eventually comprised populations as different as the Angles and the Saxons of Saxony, even as the name Græcus in the mouth of a Roman comprised Dorians, Æolians, Macedonians, Athenians, Rhodians, etc. In this way the name was German, but its extended import was Keltic and Roman."—Latham, *Germania* of Tacitus, Epilegomen. p. cxv. seq.—S.

of their bravest countrymen, who were impatient of the gloomy solitude of their woods and mountains. Every tide might float down the Elbe whole fleets of canoes, filled with hardy and intrepid associates, who aspired to behold the unbounded prospect of the ocean, and to taste the wealth and luxury of unknown worlds. It should seem probable, however, that the most numerous auxiliaries of the Saxons were furnished by the nations who dwelt along the shores of the Baltic. They possessed arms and ships, the art of navigation, and the habits of naval war; but the difficulty of issuing through the northern Columns of Hercules¹⁰³ (which during several months of the year are obstructed with ice) confined their skill and courage within the limits of a spacious lake. The rumor of the successful armaments which sailed from the mouth of the Elbe would soon provoke them to cross the narrow isthmus of Schleswig, and to launch their vessels on the great sea. The various troops of pirates and adventurers who fought under the same standard were insensibly united in a permanent society, at first of rapine, and afterwards of government. A military confederation was gradually moulded into a national body by the gentle operation of marriage and consanguinity; and the adjacent tribes, who solicited the alliance, accepted the name and laws of the Saxons. If the fact were not established by the most unquestionable evidence, we should appear to abuse the credulity of our readers by the description of the vessels in which the Saxon pirates ventured to sport in the waves of the German Ocean, the British Channel, and the Bay of Biscay. The keel of their large flat-bottomed boats was framed of light timber, but the sides and upper works consisted only of wicker, with a covering of strong hides.¹⁰⁴ In the course

¹⁰³ The fleet of Drusus had failed in their attempt to pass, or even to approach, the *Sound* (styled, from an obvious resemblance, the Columns of Hercules), and the naval enterprise was never resumed (Tacit. de Moribus German. c. 34). The knowledge which the Romans acquired of the naval powers of the Baltic (c. 44, 45) was obtained by their land journeys in search of amber.

¹⁰⁴ Quin et Aremoricus piratam *Saxona* tractus
Sperabat; cui pelle salum sulcare Britannum
Ludus; et assuto glaucum mare findere Lembo.

Sidon. in Panegy. Avit. 369.

The genius of Cæsar imitated, for a particular service, these rude but light vessels.

of their slow and distant navigations they must always have been exposed to the danger, and very frequently to the misfortune, of shipwreck; and the naval annals of the Saxons were undoubtedly filled with the accounts of the losses which they sustained on the coasts of Britain and Gaul. But the daring spirit of the pirates braved the perils both of the sea and of the shore. Their skill was confirmed by the habits of enterprise; the meanest of their mariners was alike capable of handling an oar, of rearing a sail, or of conducting a vessel; and the Saxons rejoiced in the appearance of a tempest, which concealed their design and dispersed the fleets of the enemy.¹⁰⁸ After they had acquired an accurate knowledge of the maritime provinces of the West, they extended the scene of their depredations, and the most sequestered places had no reason to presume on their security. The Saxon boats drew so little water that they could easily proceed fourscore or a hundred miles up the great rivers; their weight was so inconsiderable that they were transported on wagons from one river to another; and the pirates who had entered the mouth of the Seine or of the Rhine might descend with the rapid stream of the Rhone into the Mediterranean. Under the reign of

A.D. 871. Valentinian, the maritime provinces of Gaul were afflicted by the Saxons: a military count was stationed for the defence of the sea-coast, or Armorican limit;*

which were likewise used by the natives of Britain (*Comment. de Bell. Civil. i. 54*, and *Guichardt, Nouveaux Mémoires Militaires, tom. ii. p. 41, 42*). The British vessels would now astonish the genius of Cæsar.

¹⁰⁸ The best original account of the Saxon pirates may be found in *Sidonius Apollinaris* (*l. viii. Epist. 6, p. 223, edit. Sirmond*), and the best commentary in the *Abbé du Bos* (*Hist. Critique de la Monarchie Française, etc., tom. i. l. i. ch. 16, p. 148-155*. See likewise *p. 77, 78*).

* It would appear, however, that the Saxons were settled at this time on the coast of Gaul, since in the *Notitia* (*Imp. Occid. c. 36*), which must have been drawn up at this period, or shortly afterwards, the "*Littus Saxonicum*" is mentioned as part of the Armorican limit. In the *Notitia* the settlement is named *Grannona*, of which the site is uncertain; but subsequently we find the Saxons permanently settled near Bayeux. In the *Notitia* (*Imp. Occid. c. 25*) the "*Littus Saxonicum per Britannias*" is also mentioned, which would show that the Saxons were settled in our island earlier than is usually supposed, probably at the same time as their brethren on the opposite coast of Gaul. It has indeed been usually supposed that the "*Littus Saxonicum*" derived its name from the enemy to whose attacks it was



SAXON MARAUDERS HARRASSING THE ARMORICAN LIMIT

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"Their skill was confirmed by the habits of enter prize; the meanest of their mariners was alike capable of handling an oar, of rearing a sail, or of conducting a vessel."

Patutina by R. Deygas

Gibbon's Rome, Vol. III.

found his strength or his abilities unexplored the assistance of Severus, master-entirely. The Saxons, surrounded and outnumbered, were forced to relinquish their spoil, and to yield a select band of their tall and robust youth to serve in the imperial armies. They stipulated only a safe and honorable retreat; and the condition was readily granted by the Roman general, who meditated an act of perfidy,¹⁰⁶ imprudent as it was inhuman, while a Saxon remained alive and in arms to revenge the fate of his countrymen. The premature eagerness of the infantry, who were secretly posted in a deep valley, betrayed the ambuscade; and they would perhaps have fallen the victims of their own treachery, if a large body of cuirassiers, alarmed by the noise of the combat, had not hastily advanced to extricate their companions, and to overwhelm the undaunted valor of the Saxons. Some of the prisoners were saved from the edge of the sword to shed their blood in the amphitheatre; and the orator Symmachus complains that twenty-nine of those desperate savages, by strangling themselves with their own hands, had disappointed the amusement of the public. Yet the polite and philosophic citizens of Rome were impressed with the deepest horror when they were informed that the Saxons consecrated to the gods the tithe of their *human* spoil; and that they ascertained by lot the objects of the barbarous sacrifice.¹⁰⁷

II. The fabulous colonies of Egyptians and Trojans, of Scandinavians and Spaniards, which flattered the pride and amused

¹⁰⁶ Ammian. (xxviii. 5) justifies this breach of faith to pirates and robbers; and Orosius (l. vii. c. 32) more clearly expresses their real guilt: "virtute atque agilitate terribiles."

¹⁰⁷ Symmachus (l. ii. Epist. 46) still presumes to mention the sacred names of Socrates and philosophy. Sidonius, Bishop of Clermont, might condemn (l. viii. Epist. 6), with less inconsistency, the human sacrifices of the Saxons.

exposed; but this loose mode of philological and historical interpretation, which was adopted to save the credit of the popular traditions, has been condemned by the best modern critics. Lappenberg, *Hist. of England*, translated by Thorpe, vol. i. p. 46; Kemble, *The Saxons in England*, vol. i. p. 13; Palgrave, *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, vol. i. p. 384.

For the Saxons in England see Editor's note, c. xxviii. note 129.—S.

the credulity of our rude ancestors, have insensibly vanished in the light of science and philosophy.¹⁰⁸ The present age is satisfied with the simple and rational opinion that the islands of Great Britain and Ireland were gradually peopled from the adjacent continent of Gaul. From the coast of Kent to the extremity of Caithness and Ulster, the memory of a Celtic origin was distinctly preserved in the perpetual resemblance of language, of religion, and of manners; and the peculiar characters of the British tribes might be naturally ascribed to the influence of accidental and local circumstances.¹⁰⁹ The Roman province was reduced to the state of civilized and peaceful servitude; the rights of savage freedom were contracted to the narrow limits of Caledonia. The inhabitants of that northern region were divided as early as the reign of Constantine between the two great tribes of the Scots and of the Picts,¹¹⁰ who have since experienced a very different fortune. The power, and almost the memory, of the Picts have been extinguished by their successful rivals; and

II. BRITAIN.
The Scots
and Picts.

¹⁰⁸ In the beginning of the last century the learned Camden was obliged to undermine, with respectful scepticism, the romance of *Brutus* the Trojan, who is now buried in silent oblivion with *Scota*, the daughter of Pharaoh, and her numerous progeny. Yet I am informed that some champions of the *Milesian colony* may still be found among the original natives of Ireland. A people dissatisfied with their present condition grasp at any visions of their past or future glory.

¹⁰⁹ Tacitus, or rather his father-in-law Agricola, might remark the German or Spanish complexion of some British tribes. But it was their sober, deliberate opinion: "In universum tamen æstimanti Gallos vicinum solum occupasse credibile est. Eorum sacra deprehendas . . . sermo haud multum diversus" (in *Vit. Agricol.* c. xi.). Cæsar had observed their common religion (*Comment de Bello Gallico*, vi. 13), and in his time the emigration from the Belgic Gaul was a recent, or at least an historical, event (v. 12). Camden, the British Strabo, has modestly ascertained our genuine antiquities (*Britannia*, vol. i. Introduction, p. ii.—xxx.).

¹¹⁰ In the dark and doubtful paths of Caledonian antiquity, I have chosen for my guides two learned and ingenious Highlanders whom their birth and education had peculiarly qualified for that office. See *Critical Dissertations on the Origin, Antiquities, etc., of the Caledonians*, by Dr. John Macpherson, London, 1768, in 4to; and *Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, by James Macpherson, Esq., London, 1773, in 4to, 3d edit. Dr. Macpherson was a minister in the Isle of Skye; and it is a circumstance honourable for the present age that a work replete with erudition and criticism should have been composed in the most remote of the Hebrides.

the Scots, after maintaining for ages the dignity of an independent kingdom, have multiplied, by an equal and voluntary union, the honors of the English name. The hand of Nature had contributed to mark the ancient distinction of the Scots and Picts. The former were the men of the hills, and the latter those of the plain. The eastern coast of Caledonia may be considered as a level and fertile country, which, even in a rude state of tillage, was capable of producing a considerable quantity of corn; and the epithet of *cruitnich*, or wheat-eaters, expressed the contempt or envy of the carnivorous highlander.* The cultivation of the earth might introduce a more accurate separation of property, and the habits of a sedentary life; but the love of arms and rapine was still the ruling passion of the Picts; and their warriors, who stripped themselves for a day of battle, were distinguished in the eyes of the Romans by the strange fashion of painting their naked bodies with gaudy colors and fantastic figures. The western part of Caledonia irregularly rises into wild and barren hills which scarcely repay the toil of the husbandman, and are most profitably used for the pasture of cattle. The highlanders were condemned to the occupations of shepherds and hunters; and as they seldom were fixed to any permanent habitation, they acquired the expressive name of Scots, which, in the Celtic tongue, is said to be equivalent to that of *wanderers* or *vagrants*. The inhabitants of a barren land were urged to seek a fresh supply of food in the waters. The deep lakes and bays which intersect their country are plentifully stored with fish; and they gradually ventured to cast their nets in the waves of the ocean. The vicinity of the Hebrides, so profusely scattered along the western coast of Scotland, tempted their curiosity and improved their skill; and they acquired by slow

* Mr. Garnett observes, "The idea that they were called *Cruitneach* by the Gael because they were eaters of wheat appears to have no sufficient foundation. Both Lhuyd and O'Brien concur in regarding the word as equivalent to *Crithneach*—variegated, from their custom of staining their bodies. *Cruitneach* may be regularly derived from *cruth*, figure or shape; and in this case both terms, as well as the present name of the Bretons—*Brezounek*, from *Brez* (Welsh *brith*), variegated—would be synonymous with the Latin *Picti*."—Transactions of the Philological Society, vol. i. p. 123.—S.

degrees the art, or rather the habit, of managing their boats in a tempestuous sea, and of steering their nocturnal course by the light of the well-known stars. The two bold headlands of Caledonia almost touch the shores of a spacious island, which obtained, from its luxuriant vegetation, the epithet of *Green*; and has preserved, with a slight alteration, the name of Erin, or Ierne, or Ireland. It is *probable* that in some remote period of antiquity the fertile plains of Ulster received a colony of hungry Scots; and that the strangers of the North who had dared to encounter the arms of the legions spread their conquests over the savage and unwarlike natives of a solitary island. It is *certain* that, in the declining age of the Roman empire, Caledonia, Ireland, and the Isle of Man were inhabited by the Scots; and that the kindred tribes, who were often associated in military enterprise, were deeply affected by the various accidents of their mutual fortunes. They long cherished the lively tradition of their common name and origin; and the missionaries of the Isle of Saints, who diffused the light of Christianity over North Britain, established the vain opinion that their Irish countrymen were the natural as well as spiritual fathers of the Scottish race. The loose and obscure tradition has been preserved by the venerable Bede, who scattered some rays of light over the darkness of the eighth century. On this slight foundation a huge superstructure of fable was gradually reared by the bards and the monks—two orders of men who equally abused the privilege of fiction. The Scottish nation with mistaken pride adopted their Irish genealogy; and the annals of a long line of imaginary kings have been adorned by the fancy of Boethius and the classic elegance of Buchanan.¹¹¹

¹¹¹ The Irish descent of the Scots has been revived in the last moments of its decay, and strenuously supported by the Rev. Mr. Whitaker (*Hist. of Manchester*, vol. i. p. 430, 431; and *Genuine History of the Britons Ascertained*, etc., p. 154-298). Yet he acknowledges, 1. *That* the Scots of Ammianus Marcellinus (A.D. 340) were already settled in Caledonia, and that the Roman authors do not afford any hints of their emigration from another country; 2. *That all* the accounts of such emigrations which have been asserted or received by Irish bards, Scotch historians, or English antiquaries (Buchanan, Camden, Usher, Stillingfleet, etc.) are

Six years after the death of Constantine, the destructive inroads of the Scots and Picts required the presence of his youngest son, who reigned in the Western empire. Constans

totally fabulous; 3. *That* three of the Irish tribes which are mentioned by Ptolemy (A.D. 150) were of Caledonian extraction; 4. *That* a younger branch of Caledonian princes, of the House of Fingal, acquired and possessed the monarchy of Ireland. After these concessions, the remaining difference between Mr. Whittaker and his adversaries is minute and obscure. The *genuine history*, which he produces, of a Feigus, the cousin of Ossian, who was transplanted (A.D. 320) from Ireland to Caledonia, is built on a conjectural supplement to the Eise poetry and the feeble evidence of Richard of Cuenester, a monk of the fourteenth century. The lively spirit of the learned and ingenious antiquarian has tempted him to forget the nature of a question which he so *vehemently* debates and so *absolutely* decides.*

* The origin of the Scots and Picts has been also vehemently debated since the time of Gibbon. With respect to the Scots, it is, however, now generally admitted that they were the Gael of the present day, and the same race as the inhabitants of Ireland. Whether Ireland or Scotland was the original seat of the Scoti is immaterial; but it cannot admit of doubt that in the fourth and following centuries the Scoti were more numerous in Ireland than in Scotland, and that the former island was regarded as their proper home. Thus Claudian says, "*Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne*" (de iv. Cons. Hon. 33); "*totam cum Scotus Iernen movit*" (de Laud. Stilich. ii. 251); and for several centuries Ireland was constantly called "*Scotia*," or the land of the Scots. (For authorities, see Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 568 seq.)

With regard to the Picts there is more difficulty: they have been pronounced by different investigators of their history to have been Germans, Scandinavians, Welsh, Gael, or something distinct from all four. It may, however, be considered almost certain that they were Kelts, and probably nearly allied to the Welsh. Bede represents them as distinct from the Britons and the Scots both in nationality and language; and we may regard them as those ancient Caledonian tribes who maintained their independence, and who continued masters of the northern parts of Britain till the Scots crossed over to the island from Ireland. That the Picts were Kelts, and akin to the Welsh rather than to the Gael, appears from the names of their kings, of whom a genuine list, from the fifth century downwards, is preserved in a manuscript of the Colbertine Library. The names of these kings are not Gaelic, but most of them can be identified as Welsh, though with some distinctions, amounting, at all events, to a difference in dialect. Almost the only Pictish word given as such by an ancient writer is the well-known *Pen val* (or, as it appears in the oldest MSS. of Bede, *Penn fahel*), the name given by the Picts to the *Wall's End*, or eastern termination of the Vallum of Antoninus. The first part of the word is decidedly Welsh, *pen* (head) being contrary to all Gaelic analogy. Again, the name of the *Ochil* hills in Perthshire is better explained from the Welsh *uchel* (high) than from the Gael *uasal*.

The Picts dwelt in the eastern part of Scotland, on both sides of the Grampian hills, from Inverness and Elgin to Dumbarton, or from the Firth of Murray to those of Forth and Clyde; but at a later period, in the southwest of Scotland as far as the Picts' Wall, where on the river Nith, in Dumfriesshire, we meet with a particular tribe of them, the Nithwaræ. See Garnett, *Transactions of the Philological Society*, vol. i. p. 119 seq.; Lappenberg, *Hist. of England*, translated by Thorpe, vol. i. p. 55 seq.—S.

visited his British dominions; but we may form some estimate of the importance of his achievements by the language of panegyric, which celebrates only his triumph over the elements, or, in other words, the good fortune of a safe and easy passage from the port of Boulogne to the harbor of Sandwich.¹¹⁹ The calamities which the afflicted provincials continued to experience from foreign war and domestic tyranny were aggravated by the feeble and corrupt administration of the eunuchs of Constantius; and the transient relief which they might obtain from the virtues of Julian was soon lost by the absence and death of their benefactor. The sums of gold and silver which had been painfully collected, or liberally transmitted, for the payment of the troops were intercepted by the avarice of the commanders; discharges, or, at least, exemptions, from the military service were publicly sold; the distress of the soldiers, who were injuriously deprived of their legal and scanty subsistence, provoked them to frequent desertion; the nerves of discipline were relaxed, and the highways were infested with robbers.¹²⁰ The oppression of the good and the impunity of the wicked equally contributed to diffuse through the island a spirit of discontent and revolt; and every ambitious subject, every desperate exile, might entertain a reasonable hope of subverting the weak and distracted government of Britain. The hostile tribes of the North, who detested the pride and power of the King of the World, suspended their domestic feuds; and the barbarians of the land and sea—the Scots, the Picts, and the Saxons—spread themselves with rapid and irresistible fury from the Wall of Antoninus to the shores of Kent. Every production of art and nature, every object of convenience or luxury, which they were incapable of creating by labor or procuring by trade, was accumulated in the rich and fruitful prov-

¹¹⁹ *Hieme tumentes ac sævientes undas calcæstis Oceani sub remis vestris; . . . insperatam imperatoris faciem Britannus expavit.*—Julius Firmicus Maternus de *Errore Profan.* Relig. p. 464 [p. 59, edit. Lugd. B. 1672], edit. Gronov. ad *calcem Minuc. Fel.* See Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 386).

¹²⁰ Libanius, *Orat.* Parent c. xxxix p. 264. This curious passage has escaped the diligence of our British antiquaries.

ince of Britain.¹¹⁴ A philosopher may deplore the eternal discord of the human race, but he will confess that the desire of spoil is a more rational provocation than the vanity of conquest. From the age of Constantine to that of the Plantagenets this rapacious spirit continued to instigate the poor and hardy Caledonians; but the same people whose generous humanity seems to inspire the songs of Ossian was disgraced by a savage ignorance of the virtues of peace and of the laws of war. Their southern neighbors have felt, and perhaps exaggerated, the cruel depredations of the Scots and Picts,¹¹⁵ and a valiant tribe of Caledonia—the Attacotti,¹¹⁶ the enemies, and afterwards the soldiers, of Valentinian—are accused by an eyewitness of delighting in the taste of human flesh. When they hunted the woods for prey, it is said that they attacked the shepherd rather than his flock; and that they curiously selected the most delicate and brawny parts both of males and females, which they prepared for their horrid repasts.¹¹⁷ If in the neighborhood of the commercial and literary town of Glasgow a race of cannibals has really existed, we may contemplate in the period of the Scottish history the opposite extremes of

¹¹⁴ The Caledonians praised and coveted the gold, the steeds, the lights, etc., of the *stranger*. See Dr. Blair's Dissertation on Ossian, vol. ii. p. 343; and Mr. Macpherson's Introduction, p. 242-286.

¹¹⁵ Lord Lyttelton has circumstantially related (History of Henry II. vol. i. p. 182), and Sir David Dalrymple has slightly mentioned (Annals of Scotland, vol. i. p. 69), a barbarous inroad of the Scots at a time (A.D. 1137) when law, religion, and society must have softened their primitive manners.

¹¹⁶ Attacotti bellicosa hominum natio.—Ammian. xxvii. 8. Camden (Introduct. p. clii.) has restored their true name in the text of Jerome. The bands of Attacotti which Jerome had seen in Gaul were afterwards stationed in Italy and Illyricum (Notitia, S. viii. xxxix. xl.).

¹¹⁷ "Cum ipse adolescentulus in Galliâ viderim Attacottos (or Scotos) gentem Britannicam humanis vesci carnibus; et cum per silvas porcorum greges, et armentorum pecudumque reperiant, pastorum *nates* et feminarum *papillas* solere abscindere; et has solas ciborum delicias arbitrari." Such is the evidence of Jerome (tom. ii. p. 75 [adv. Jovinianum, l. ii. tom. ii. p. 335, edit. Vallars.]), whose veracity I find no reason to question.

* The Attacotti appear to have been akin to the Scoti, with whom they probably crossed over from Ireland to Britain. In the Irish annals they appear under the name of *Aithechtuath*. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Rom. Geography, vol. i. p. 320.—S.

savage and civilized life. Such reflections tend to enlarge the circle of our ideas, and to encourage the pleasing hope that New Zealand may produce in some future age the Hume of the southern hemisphere.

Every messenger who escaped across the British Channel conveyed the most melancholy and alarming tidings to the ears of Valentinian; and the emperor was soon informed that the two military commanders of the province had been surprised and cut off by the barbarians. Severus, count of the domestics, was hastily despatched, and as suddenly recalled, by the Court of Treves. The representations of Jovinus served only to indicate the greatness of the evil; and, after a long and serious consultation, the defence, or rather the recovery, of Britain was intrusted to the abilities of the brave Theodosius. The exploits of that general, the father of a line of emperors, have been celebrated with peculiar complacency by the writers of the age; but his real merit deserved their applause, and his nomination was received by the army and province as a sure presage of approaching victory. He seized the favorable moment of navigation, and securely landed the numerous and veteran bands of the Heruli and Batavians, the Jovians and the Victors. In his march from Sandwich to London, Theodosius defeated several parties of the barbarians, released a multitude of captives; and, after distributing to his soldiers a small portion of the spoil, established the fame of disinterested justice by the restitution of the remainder to the rightful proprietors. The citizens of London, who had almost despaired of their safety, threw open their gates; and as soon as Theodosius had obtained from the Court of Treves the important aid of a military lieutenant and a civil governor, he executed with wisdom and vigor the laborious task of the deliverance of Britain. The vagrant soldiers were recalled to their standard, an edict of amnesty dispelled the public apprehensions, and his cheerful example alleviated the rigor of martial discipline. The scattered and desultory warfare of the barbarians, who infested the land and sea, deprived him of the glory of a signal victory; but the prudent spirit and consummate art of the

Restoration
of Britain by
Theodosius.
A.D. 367-370.

Roman general were displayed in the operations of two campaigns, which successively rescued every part of the province from the hands of a cruel and rapacious enemy. The splendor of the cities and the security of the fortifications were diligently restored by the paternal care of Theodosius, who with a strong hand confined the trembling Caledonians to the northern angle of the island, and perpetuated, by the name and settlement of the new province of *Valentia*, the glories of the reign of Valentinian.¹¹⁸ The voice of poetry and panegyric may add, perhaps with some degree of truth, that the unknown regions of Thule were stained with the blood of the Picts; that the oars of Theodosius dashed the waves of the Hyperborean Ocean; and that the distant Orkneys were the scene of his naval victory over the Saxon pirates.¹¹⁹ He left the province with a fair as well as splendid reputation; and was immediately promoted to the rank of master-general of the cavalry by a prince who could applaud without envy the merit of his servants. In the important station of the Upper Danube, the conqueror of Britain checked and defeated the armies of the Alemanni before he was chosen to suppress the revolt of Africa.

III. The prince who refuses to be the judge instructs his people to consider him as the accomplice of his ministers.

III. AFRICA.
Tyranny of
Romanus.
A.D. 366, etc.

The military command of Africa had been long exercised by Count Romanus, and his abilities were not inadequate to his station; but as sordid interest

¹¹⁸ Ammianus has concisely represented (xx. 1, xxvi. 4, xxvii. 8, xxviii. 3) the whole series of the British war.

¹¹⁹

Honorescit . . . ratibus . . . impervia Thule.

Ille . . . nec falso nomine Pictos

Edomuit. † cotumque vago mucrone secutus

Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.

Claudian. in iii. Cons. Honorii, ver. 53, etc.

———Maduerunt Saxone fuso

Oicades . incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule.

Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

In iv. Cons. Honorii, ver. 31, etc.

See likewise Pacatus (in Panegy. Vet. xii. 5). But it is not easy to appreciate the intrinsic value of flattery and metaphor. Compare the *British* victories of Bolanus (Statius, Silv. v. 2) with his real character (Tacit. in Vit. Agricol. c. 16).

was the sole motive of his conduct, he acted on most occasions as if he had been the enemy of the province and the friend of the barbarians of the desert. The three flourishing cities of Oea, Leptis, and Sabrata, which, under the name of Tripoli, had long constituted a federal union,"²²⁰ were obliged, for the first time, to shut their gates against a hostile invasion. Several of their most honorable citizens were surprised and massacred; the villages and even the suburbs were pillaged; and the vines and fruit-trees of that rich territory were extirpated by the malicious savages of Gætulia. The unhappy provincials implored the protection of Romanus; but they soon found that their military governor was not less cruel and rapacious than the barbarians. As they were incapable of furnishing the four thousand camels and the exorbitant present which he required before he would march to the assistance of Tripoli, his demand was equivalent to a refusal; and he might justly be accused as the author of the public calamity. In the annual assembly of the three cities, they nominated two deputies to lay at the feet of Valentinian the customary offering of a gold victory, and to accompany this tribute of duty, rather than of gratitude, with their humble complaint that they were ruined by the enemy and betrayed by their governor. If the severity of Valentinian had been rightly directed, it would have fallen on the guilty head of Romanus. But the count, long exercised in the arts of corruption, had despatched a swift and trusty messenger to secure the venal friendship of Remigius, master of the offices. The wisdom of the imperial council was deceived by artifice, and their honest indignation was cooled by delay. At length, when the repetition of complaint had been justified by the repetition of public misfortunes, the notary Palladius was sent from the Court of Treves to examine the state of Africa and the conduct of Romanus. The rigid impartiality of Palladius was easily disarmed. He was

²²⁰ Ammianus frequently mentions their "concilium annuum, legitimum," etc. Leptis and Sabrata are long since ruined; but the city of Oea, the native country of Apuleius, still flourishes under the provincial denomination of *Tripoli*. See Cellarius (Geograph. Antiqua, tom. ii. part ii. p. 81), D'Anville (Géographie Ancienne, tom. iii. p. 71, 72), and Marmol (Afrique, tom. ii. p. 562).

tempted to reserve for himself a part of the public treasure which he brought with him for the payment of the troops, and, from the moment that he was conscious of his own guilt, he could no longer refuse to attest the innocence and merit of the count. The charge of the Tripolitans was declared to be false and frivolous, and Palladius himself was sent back from Treves to Africa with a special commission to discover and prosecute the authors of this impious conspiracy against the representatives of the sovereign. His inquiries were managed with so much dexterity and success that he compelled the citizens of Leptis, who had sustained a recent siege of eight days, to contradict the truth of their own decrees and to censure the behavior of their own deputies. A bloody sentence was pronounced, without hesitation, by the rash and headstrong cruelty of Valentinian. The President of Tripoli, who had presumed to pity the distress of the province, was publicly executed at Utica; four distinguished citizens were put to death as the accomplices of the imaginary fraud; and the tongues of two others were cut out by the express order of the emperor. Romanus, elated by impunity and irritated by resistance, was still continued in the military command, till the Africans were provoked, by his avarice, to join the rebellious standard of Firmus, the Moor.¹²¹

His father, Nabal, was one of the richest and most powerful of the Moorish princes who acknowledged the supremacy of Rome. But as he left, either by his wives or concubines, a very numerous posterity, the wealthy inheritance was eagerly disputed, and Zamma, one of his sons, was slain in a domestic quarrel by his brother Firmus. The implacable zeal with which Romanus prosecuted the legal revenge of this murder could be ascribed only to a motive of avarice or personal hatred; but on this occasion his claims were just, his influence was weighty, and Firmus clearly understood that he must either present his neck to the executioner or appeal from the sentence of the imperial consistory

Revolt of Firmus.
A.D. 372.

¹²¹ *Ammian.* xxviii. 6. Tillemont (*Hist des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 25, 676) has discussed the chronological difficulties of the history of Count Romanus.

to his sword and to the people.¹²² He was received as the deliverer of his country; and, as soon as it appeared that Romanus was formidable only to a submissive province, the tyrant of Africa became the object of universal contempt. The ruin of Cæsarea, which was plundered and burned by the licentious barbarians, convinced the refractory cities of the danger of resistance. The power of Firmus was established—at least, in the provinces of Mauritania and Numidia—and it seemed to be his only doubt whether he should assume the diadem of a Moorish king or the purple of a Roman emperor. But the imprudent and unhappy Africans soon discovered that in this rash insurrection they had not sufficiently consulted their own strength or the abilities of their leader. Before he could procure any certain intelligence that the Emperor of the West had fixed the choice of a general, or that a fleet of transports was collected at the mouth of the Rhone, he was suddenly informed that the great Theodosius, with a small band of veterans, had landed near Igilgilis, or Gigeri, on the African coast, and the timid usurper sank under the ascendant of virtue and military genius. Though Firmus possessed arms and treasures, his despair of victory immediately reduced him to the use of those arts which, in the same country and in a similar situation, had formerly been practised by the crafty Jugurtha. He attempted to deceive, by an apparent submission, the vigilance of the Roman general, to seduce the fidelity of his troops, and to protract the duration of the war by successively engaging the independent tribes of Africa to espouse his quarrel or to protect his flight. Theodosius imitated the example and obtained the success of his predecessor Metellus. When Firmus, in the character of a suppliant, accused his own rashness and humbly

Theodosius
recovers Af-
rica
A.D. 378.

¹²² The chronology of Ammianus is loose and obscure; and Orosius (l. vii. c. 83, p. 551, edit. Havercamp.) seems to place the revolt of Firmus after the deaths of Valentinian and Valens.* Tillemont (*Hist. des Emp.* tom. v. p. 691) endeavors to pick his way. The patient and sure-footed mule of the Alps may be trusted in the most slippery paths.

* On the contrary, Orosius says that Theodosius was sent against Firmus by Valentinian.—S.

solicited the clemency of the emperor, the lieutenant of Valentinian received and dismissed him with a friendly embrace; but he diligently required the useful and substantial pledges of a sincere repentance, nor could he be persuaded, by the assurances of peace, to suspend for an instant the operations of an active war. A dark conspiracy was detected by the penetration of Theodosius, and he satisfied without much reluctance the public indignation which he had secretly excited. Several of the guilty accomplices of Firmus were abandoned, according to ancient custom, to the tumult of a military execution; many more, by the amputation of both their hands, continued to exhibit an instructive spectacle of horror. The hatred of the rebels was accompanied with fear, and the fear of the Roman soldiers was mingled with respectful admiration. Amidst the boundless plains of Gætulia and the innumerable valleys of Mount Atlas, it was impossible to prevent the escape of Firmus; and if the usurper could have tired the patience of his antagonist, he would have secured his person in the depth of some remote solitude and expected the hopes of a future revolution. He was subdued by the perseverance of Theodosius, who had formed an inflexible determination that the war should end only by the death of the tyrant, and that every nation of Africa which presumed to support his cause should be involved in his ruin. At the head of a small body of troops, which seldom exceeded three thousand five hundred men, the Roman general advanced with a steady prudence, devoid of rashness or of fear, into the heart of a country where he was sometimes attacked by armies of twenty thousand Moors. The boldness of his charge dismayed the irregular barbarians; they were disconcerted by his seasonable and orderly retreats; they were continually baffled by the unknown resources of the military art; and they felt and confessed the just superiority which was assumed by the leader of a civilized nation. When Theodosius entered the extensive dominions of Igmazen, King of the Isafenses, the haughty savage required, in words of defiance, his name and the object of his expedition. "I am," replied the stern and disdainful count—"I am the general of Valentinian, the lord of the world,

who has sent me hither to pursue and punish a desperate robber. Deliver him instantly into my hands, and be assured that if thou dost not obey the commands of my invincible sovereign, thou and the people over whom thou reignest shall be utterly extirpated.”^a As soon as Igmazen was satisfied that his enemy had strength and resolution to execute the fatal menace, he consented to purchase a necessary peace by the sacrifice of a guilty fugitive. The guards that were placed to secure the person of Firmus deprived him of the hopes of escape; and the Moorish tyrant, after wine had extinguished the sense of danger, disappointed the insulting triumph of the Romans by strangling himself in the night. His dead body, the only present which Igmazen could offer to the conqueror, was carelessly thrown upon a camel; and Theodosius, leading

A.D. 374.

back his victorious troops to Sitifi, was saluted by the warmest acclamations of joy and loyalty.¹²²

Africa had been lost by the vices of Romanus; it was restored by the virtues of Theodosius; and our curiosity may

He is executed at Carthage.
A.D. 376.

be usefully directed to the inquiry of the respective treatment which the two generals received from the imperial court. The authority of Count Romanus

had been suspended by the master-general of the cavalry, and he was committed to safe and honorable custody till the end of the war. His crimes were proved by the most authentic evidence, and the public expected, with some impatience, the decree of severe justice. But the partial and powerful favor of Mellobaudes encouraged him to challenge his legal judges, to obtain repeated delays for the purpose of procuring a crowd of friendly witnesses, and, finally, to cover his guilty conduct by the additional guilt of fraud and forgery. About the same time, the restorer of Britain and Africa, on a vague suspicion that his name and services were superior to the rank of a sub-

¹²² Ammian. xxix. 5. The text of this long chapter (fifteen quarto pages) is broken and corrupted; and the narrative is perplexed by the want of chronological and geographical landmarks.

The war was longer protracted than this sentence would lead us to suppose; it was not till defeated more than once that Igmazen yielded. Amm. xxix. 5.—M.

ject, was ignominiously beheaded at Carthage. Valentinian no longer reigned; and the death of Theodosius as well as the impunity of Romanus may justly be imputed to the arts of the ministers who abused the confidence and deceived the inexperienced youth of his sons.¹²⁴

If the geographical accuracy of Ammianus had been fortunately bestowed on the British exploits of Theodosius, we should have traced with eager curiosity the distinct and domestic footsteps of his march. But the tedious enumeration of the unknown and uninteresting tribes of Africa may be reduced to the general remark—that they were all of the swarthy race of the Moors; that they inhabited the back settlements of the Mauritanian and Numidian provinces—the country, as they have since been termed by the Arabs, of dates and of locusts;¹²⁵ and that, as the Roman power declined in Africa, the boundary of civilized manners and cultivated land was insensibly contracted. Beyond the utmost limits of the Moors, the vast and inhospitable desert of the South extends above a thousand miles to the banks of the Niger. The ancients, who had a very faint and imperfect knowledge of the great peninsula of Africa, were sometimes tempted to believe that the torrid zone must ever remain destitute of inhabitants;¹²⁶ and they sometimes amused their fancy by filling the vacant space with headless men, or rather monsters,¹²⁷ with horned and cloven-footed satyrs,¹²⁸ with fabulous cen-

¹²⁴ Ammian. xxviii. 4. Orosius, l. vii. c. 33, p. 551, 552. Jerome, in Chron. p. 187.

¹²⁵ Leo Africanus (in the *Viaggi di Ramusio*, tom. i. fol. 78–83) has traced a curious picture of the people and the country, which are more minutely described in the *Afrique de Marmol*, tom. iii. p. 1–54.

¹²⁶ This uninhabitable zone was gradually reduced, by the improvements of ancient geography, from forty-five to twenty-four, or even sixteen, degrees of latitude. See a learned and judicious note of Dr. Robertson, *Hist. of America*, vol. i. p. 426.

¹²⁷ *Intra, si credere libet, vix jam homines et magis semiferi . . . Blemmyes, Satyri, etc.*—Pomponius Mela, i. 4, p. 26, edit. Voss. in 8vo. Pliny *philosophically* explains (vi. 85) the irregularities of nature, which he had *credulously* admitted (v. 8).

¹²⁸ If the satyr was the orang-outang, the great human ape (Buffon, *Hist. Nat.* tom. xiv. p. 43, etc.), one of that species might actually be shown alive at Alex-

taurs,¹²⁹ and with human pygmies who waged a bold and doubtful warfare against the cranes.¹³⁰ Carthage would have trembled at the strange intelligence that the countries on either side of the equator were filled with innumerable nations who differed only in their color from the ordinary appearance of the human species; and the subjects of the Roman empire might have anxiously expected that the swarms of barbarians which issued from the North would soon be encountered from the South by new swarms of barbarians, equally fierce and equally formidable. These gloomy terrors would indeed have been dispelled by a more intimate acquaintance with the character of their African enemies. The inaction of the negroes does not seem to be the effect either of their virtue or of their pusillanimity. They indulge, like the rest of mankind, their passions and appetites, and the adjacent tribes are engaged in frequent acts of hostility.¹³¹ But their rude ignorance has never invented any effectual weapons of defence or of destruction; they appear incapable of forming any extensive plans of government or conquest; and the obvious inferiority of their mental faculties has been discovered and abused by the nations of the temperate zone. Sixty thousand blacks are annually embarked from the coast of Guinea never to return to their na-

andria in the reign of Constantine. Yet some difficulty will still remain about the conversation which St. Anthony held with one of these pious savages in the desert of Thebais (Jerome, in Vit. Paul. Eremit. tom. i. p. 238).

¹²⁹ St. Anthony likewise met one of *these* monsters, whose existence was seriously asserted by the Emperor Claudius. The public laughed; but his Præfect of Egypt had the address to send an artful preparation, the embalmed corpse of a *Hippocentaur*, which was preserved almost a century afterwards in the imperial palace. See Pliny (Hist. Natur. vii. 8), and the judicious observations of Fléret (Mémoires de l'Acad. tom. vii. p. 321, etc.).

¹³⁰ The fable of the pygmies is as old as Homer (Iliad, iii. 6). The pygmies of India and Æthiopia were (*trispithami*) twenty-seven inches high. Every spring their cavalry (mounted on rams and goats) marched in battle array to destroy the cranes' eggs, "aliter" (says Pliny) "*futuris gregibus non resisti.*" Their houses were built of mud, feathers, and egg-shells. See Pliny (vi. 35, vii. 2) and Strabo (l. ii. p. 121 [p. 70, edit. Casaub.]).

¹³¹ The third and fourth volumes of the valuable *Histoire des Voyages* describe the present state of the negroes. The nations of the sea-coast have been polished by European commerce, and those of the inland country have been improved by Moorish colonies.

tive country; but they are embarked in chains.¹²² And this constant emigration, which in the space of two centuries might have furnished armies to overrun the globe, accuses the guilt of Europe and the weakness of Africa.

IV. The ignominious treaty which saved the army of Jovian had been faithfully executed on the side of the Romans; and, as they had solemnly renounced the sovereignty and alliance of Armenia and Iberia, those tributary kingdoms were exposed, without protection, to the arms of the Persian monarch.¹²³ Sapor entered the Armenian territories at the head of a formidable host of cuirassiers, of archers, and of mercenary foot; but it was the invariable practice of Sapor to mix war and negotiation, and to consider falsehood and perjury as the most powerful instruments of regal policy. He affected to praise the prudent and moderate conduct of the King of Armenia; and the unsuspecting Tirannus was persuaded, by the repeated assurances of insidious friendship, to deliver his person into the hands of a faithless and cruel enemy. In the midst of a splendid entertainment, he was bound in chains of silver, as an honor due to the blood of the Arsacides; and, after a short confinement in the Tower of Oblivion at Ecbatana, he was released from the miseries of life, either by his own dagger or by that of an assassin.^a The kingdom of Armenia was reduced to the

¹²² *Histoire Philosophique et Politique, etc.*, tom. iv. p. 192.

¹²³ The evidence of Ammianus is original and decisive (xxvii. 12). Moses of Chorene (l. iii. c. 17, p. 249, and c. 84, p. 269) and Procopius (*De Bell. Persico*, l. i. c. 5, p. 17, edit. Louvre [tom. i. p. 29, edit. Bonn]) have been consulted, but those historians, who confound distinct facts, repeat the same events, and introduce strange stories, must be used with diffidence and caution.^b

^a According to M. St. Martin, Sapor, though supported by the two apostate Armenian princes, Meroujan the Ardronnian and Vahan the Mamigonian, was gallantly resisted by Arsaces and his brave though impious wife Pharandsem. His troops were defeated by Vasag, the high constable of the kingdom. But after four years' courageous defence of his kingdom, Arsaces was abandoned by his nobles and obliged to accept the perfidious hospitality of Sapor. He was blinded and imprisoned in the "Castle of Oblivion;" his brave general Vasag was flayed alive, his skin was stuffed and placed near the king in his lonely prison. It was not till many years after (A.D. 371) that he stabbed himself, according to the romantic story (St. M. iii. 387, 389), in a paroxysm of excitement at his restoration to royal honors. St. Martin, *Additions to Le Beau*, iii. 283, 296.—M.

^b The statement of Ammianus is more brief and succinct, but harmonizes with

state of a Persian province; the administration was shared between a distinguished satrap and a favorite eunuch; and Sapor marched, without delay, to subdue the martial spirit of the Iberians. Sauromaces, who reigned in that country by the permission of the emperors, was expelled by a superior force, and, as an insult on the majesty of Rome, the king of kings placed a diadem on the head of his abject vassal Aspacuras. The city of Artogerassa¹³⁴ was the only place of Armenia which presumed to resist the effort of his arms. The treasure deposited in that strong fortress tempted the avarice of Sapor; but the danger of Olympias, the wife or widow of the Armenian king, excited the public compassion and animated the desperate valor of her subjects and soldiers.* The Persians were surprised and repulsed under the walls of Artogerassa by a bold and well-concerted sally of the besieged. But the forces of Sapor were continually renewed and increased; the hopeless courage of the garrison was exhausted; the strength of the walls yielded to the assault; and the proud conqueror, after wasting the rebellious city with fire and sword, led away captive an unfortunate queen, who, in a more auspicious hour, had been the destined bride of the son of Constantine.¹³⁵ Yet if Sapor already triumphed in the easy conquest of two dependent kingdoms, he soon felt that a country is unsubdued as long as the minds of

A.D. 369.

¹³⁴ Perhaps Artagera, or Ardis, under whose walls Caius, the grandson of Augustus, was wounded. This fortress was situate above Amida, near one of the sources of the Tigris. See D'Anville, *Géographie Ancienne*, tom. ii. p. 106.

¹³⁵ Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 701) proves from chronology that Olympias must have been the mother of Para.^b

the more complicated history developed by M. St. Martin from the Armenian writers, and from Procopius, who wrote, as he states, from Armenian authorities.—M.

* Pharandsem, not Olympias, refusing the orders of her captive husband to surrender herself to Sapor, threw herself into Artogerassa. St. Martin, ii. 293, 302. She defended herself for fourteen months, till famine and disease had left few survivors out of 11,000 soldiers and 6000 women who had taken refuge in the fortress. She then threw open the gates with her own hand. M. St. Martin adds, what even the horrors of Oriental warfare will scarcely permit us to credit, that she was exposed by Sapor on a public scaffold to the brutal lusts of his soldiery, and afterwards impaled, iii. 373, etc.—M.

^b An error, according to St. M. 278.—M.

the people are actuated by a hostile and contumacious spirit. The satraps, whom he was obliged to trust, embraced the first opportunity of regaining the affection of their countrymen, and of signalizing their immortal hatred to the Persian name. Since the conversion of the Armenians and Iberians, those nations considered the Christians as the favorites, and the Magians as the adversaries, of the Supreme Being. The influence of the clergy over a superstitious people was uniformly exerted in the cause of Rome; and as long as the successors of Constantine disputed with those of Artaxerxes the sovereignty of the intermediate provinces, the religious connection always threw a decisive advantage into the scale of the empire. A numerous and active party acknowledged Para, the son of Tiranus, as the lawful sovereign of Armenia, and his title to the throne was deeply rooted in the hereditary succession of five hundred years. By the unanimous consent of the Iberians, the country was equally divided between the rival princes; and Aspacuras, who owed his diadem to the choice of Sapor, was obliged to declare that his regard for his children, who were detained as hostages by the tyrant, was the only consideration which prevented him from openly renouncing the alliance of Persia. The Emperor Valens, who respected the obligations of the treaty, and who was apprehensive of involving the East in a dangerous war, ventured, with slow and cautious measures, to support the Roman party in the kingdoms of Iberia and Armenia. Twelve legions established the authority of Sauromaces on the banks of the Cyrus. The Euphrates was protected by the valor of Arintheus. A powerful army, under the command of Count Trajan, and of Vadomair, King of the Alemanni, fixed their camp on the confines of Armenia. But they were strictly enjoined not to commit the first hostilities, which might be understood as a breach of the treaty; and such was the implicit obedience of the Roman general that they retreated, with exemplary patience, under a shower of Persian arrows till they had clearly acquired a just title to an honorable and legitimate victory. Yet these appearances of war insensibly subsided in a vain and tedious negotiation. The contending parties supported their claims by mutual re-

proaches of perfidy and ambition; and it should seem that the original treaty was expressed in very obscure terms, since they were reduced to the necessity of making their inconclusive appeal to the partial testimony of the generals of the two nations who had assisted at the negotiations.¹³⁶ The invasion of the Goths and Huns, which soon afterwards shook the foundations of the Roman empire, exposed the provinces of Asia to the arms of Sapor. But the declining age, and perhaps the infirmities, of the monarch suggested new maxims of tranquillity and moderation. His death, which

A.D. 380.

happened in the full maturity of a reign of seventy years, changed in a moment the court and councils of Persia, and their attention was most probably engaged by domestic troubles and the distant efforts of a Carmanian war.¹³⁷ The

The treaty
of peace.
A.D. 384.

remembrance of ancient injuries was lost in the enjoyment of peace. The kingdoms of Armenia and Iberia were permitted, by the mutual though tacit consent of both empires, to resume their doubtful neutrality. In the first years of the reign of Theodosius, a Persian embassy arrived at Constantinople to excuse the unjustifiable measures of the former reign, and to offer, as the tribute of friendship, or even of respect, a splendid present of gems, of silk, and of Indian elephants.¹³⁸

Adventures
of Para, King
of Armenia.

In the general picture of the affairs of the East under the reign of Valens, the adventures of Para form one of the most striking and singular objects. The noble youth, by the persuasion of his mother Olympias,

¹³⁶ Ammianus (xxvii. 12, xxix. 1, xxx. 1, 2) has described the events, without the dates, of the Persian war. Moses of Chorene (Hist Armen l. iii. c. 28, p. 261; c. 31, p. 266, c. 35, p. 271) affords some additional facts; but it is extremely difficult to separate truth from fable.

¹³⁷ Artaxerxes was the successor and brother (*the cousin-german*) of the great Sapor, and the guardian of his son Sapor III. (Agathias, l. iv. [c. 26] p. 136, edit. Louvre [p. 263, edit. Bonn]). See the Universal History, vol. xi. p. 86, 161. The authors of that unequal work have compiled the Sassanian dynasty with erudition and diligence; but it is a preposterous arrangement to divide the Roman and Oriental accounts into two distinct histories.

¹³⁸ Pacatus in Panegy. Vet. xii. 22; and Orosius, l. vii. c. 34. "Ictumque tum fedus est, quo universus Oriens usque ad nunc (A.D. 416) tranquillissime fruitur."

had escaped through the Persian host that besieged Artogerassa and implored the protection of the Emperor of the East. By his timid councils, Para was alternately supported, and recalled, and restored, and betrayed. The hopes of the Armenians were sometimes raised by the presence of their natural sovereign,* and the ministers of Valens were satisfied that they preserved the integrity of the public faith, if their vassal was not suffered to assume the diadem and title of king. But they soon repented of their own rashness. They were confounded by the reproaches and threats of the Persian monarch. They found reason to distrust the cruel and inconstant temper of Para himself, who sacrificed to the slightest suspicions the lives of his most faithful servants, and held a secret and disgraceful correspondence with the assassin of his father and the enemy of his country. Under the specious pretence of consulting with the emperor on the subject of their common interest, Para was persuaded to descend from the mountains of Armenia, where his party was in arms, and to trust his independence and safety to the discretion of a perfidious court. The King of Armenia, for such he appeared in his own eyes and in those of his nation, was received with due honors by the governors of the provinces through which he passed; but when he arrived at Tarsus, in Cilicia, his progress was stopped under various pretences, his motions were watched with respectful vigilance, and he gradually discovered that he was a prisoner in the hands of the Romans. Para suppressed his indignation, dissembled his fears, and, after secretly preparing his escape, mounted on horseback with three hundred of his faithful followers. The officer stationed at the door of his apartment immediately communicated his flight to the Consular of Cilicia, who overtook him in the suburbs, and endeavored, without success, to dissuade him from prosecuting his rash and dangerous design. A legion was ordered to pursue the royal fugitive; but the pursuit of infantry could not be very alarming to a body of light-cavalry; and upon

* On the reconquest of Armenia by Para, or rather by Mouschegh, the Mamigenian, see St. M. iii. 375, 383.—M.

the first cloud of arrows that was discharged into the air, they retreated with precipitation to the gates of Tarsus. After an incessant march of two days and two nights, Para and his Armenians reached the banks of the Euphrates; but the passage of the river, which they were obliged to swim,^a was attended with some delay and some loss. The country was alarmed, and the two roads, which were only separated by an interval of three miles, had been occupied by a thousand archers on horseback, under the command of a count and a tribune. Para must have yielded to superior force, if the accidental arrival of a friendly traveller had not revealed the danger and the means of escape. A dark and almost impervious path securely conveyed the Armenian troop through the thicket; and Para had left behind him the count and the tribune, while they patiently expected his approach along the public highways. They returned to the imperial court to excuse their want of diligence or success; and seriously alleged that the King of Armenia, who was a skilful magician, had transformed himself and his followers, and passed before their eyes under a borrowed shape.^b After his return to his native kingdom, Para still continued to profess himself the friend and ally of the Romans; but the Romans had injured him too deeply ever to forgive, and the secret sentence of his death was signed

A.D. 374.

in the council of Valens. The execution of the bloody deed was committed to the subtle prudence of Count Trajan, and he had the merit of insinuating himself into the confidence of the credulous prince, that he might find an opportunity of stabbing him to the heart. Para was invited to a Roman banquet, which had been prepared with all the pomp and sensuality of the East; the hall resounded with cheerful music; and the company was already heated with wine, when the count retired for an instant, drew his sword, and gave the signal of the murder. A robust and desperate barbarian instantly rushed on the King of Armenia, and, though

^a On planks floated by bladders.—M.

^b It is curious enough that the Armenian historian, Faustus of Byzantium, represents Para as a magician. His impious mother Pharandsem had devoted him to the demons on his birth. St. Martin, iv 23.—M.

he bravely defended his life with the first weapon that chance offered to his hand, the table of the imperial general was stained with the royal blood of a guest and an ally. Such were the weak and wicked maxims of the Roman administration that, to attain a doubtful object of political interest, the laws of nations and the sacred rights of hospitality were inhumanly violated in the face of the world.¹²⁹

V. During a peaceful interval of thirty years, the Romans secured their frontiers, and the Goths extended their dominions. The victories of the great Hermanric,¹³⁰ King of the Ostrogoths, and the most noble of the race of the Amali, have been compared, by the enthusiasm of his countrymen, to the exploits of Alexander: with this singular and almost incredible difference, that the martial spirit of the Gothic hero, instead of being supported by the vigor of youth, was displayed with glory and success in the extreme period of human life, between the age of fourscore and one hundred and ten years. The independent tribes were persuaded, or compelled, to acknowledge the King of the Ostrogoths as the sovereign of the Gothic nation. The chiefs of the Visigoths, or Thervingi, renounced the royal title, and assumed the more humble appellation of *Judges*; and, among those judges, Athanaric, Fritigern, and Alavivus

¹²⁹ See in Ammianus (xxx. 1) the adventures of Para. Moses of Chorene calls him Tiridates, and tells a long and not improbable story of his son Gnelus, who afterwards made himself popular in Armenia, and provoked the jealousy of the reigning king (l. iii. c. 21, etc., p. 253, etc.).^a

¹³⁰ The concise account of the reign and conquests of Hermanric seems to be one of the valuable fragments which Jornandes (c. 23) borrowed from the Gothic histories of Ablavivus or Cassiodorus.^b

^a This note is a tissue of mistakes. Tiridates and Para are two totally different persons. Tiridates was the father of Gnel, first husband of Pharasmanes, the mother of Para. St. Martin, iv. 27.—M.

^b The Gothic form of Hermanric is Aifmanareika, and probably signified great or powerful king. His exploits were celebrated in the Gothic legends, which appear to have been collected by Cassiodorus, from whom Jornandes, as Gibbon remarks, borrowed his account. Consequently, the narrative given in the text must be regarded as legendary rather than historical. It is probable that the extent of his empire has been greatly exaggerated. See Grimm, *Deutsche Grammatik*, vol. ii. p. 448; *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 88, 208; *Deutsche Heldensage*, p. 2; *Schafarik, Slawische Alterthümer*, vol. i. p. 427.—S.

were the most illustrious, by their personal merit as well as by their vicinity to the Roman provinces. These domestic conquests, which increased the military power of Hermanric, enlarged his ambitious designs. He invaded the adjacent countries of the North, and twelve considerable nations, whose names and limits cannot be accurately defined, successively yielded to the superiority of the Gothic arms.¹⁴¹ The Heruli,^a who inhabited the marshy lands near the lake Mæotis, were renowned for their strength and agility; and the assistance of their light-infantry was eagerly solicited and highly esteemed in all the wars of the barbarians. But the active spirit of the Heruli was subdued by the slow and steady perseverance of the Goths; and, after a bloody action in which the king was slain, the remains of that warlike tribe became a useful accession to the camp of Hermanric. He then marched against the Venedi,^b unskilled in the use of arms, and formidable only by their numbers, which filled the wide extent of the plains of modern Poland. The victorious Goths, who were not inferior in numbers, prevailed in the contest, by the decisive advantages of exercise and discipline. After the submission of the Venedi, the conqueror advanced, without resistance, as far as the confines of the *Æstii*,¹⁴² an ancient people, whose name is still preserved in the province of Esthonia. Those distant inhabitants of the Baltic coast were supported by the labors of agri-

¹⁴¹ M. de Buat (*Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. vi. p. 311-329) investigates, with more industry than success, the nations subdued by the arms of Hermanric. He denies the existence of the *Vasinobronczæ*, on account of the immoderate length of their name. Yet the French envoy to Ratisbon, or Dresden, must have traversed the country of the *Mediomatrici*.

¹⁴² The edition of Grotius (*Jornandes*, p. 642) exhibits the name of *Æstri*. But reason and the Ambrosian MS. have restored the *Æstii*, whose manners and situation are expressed by the pencil of Tacitus (*Germania*, c. 45).^c

^a On the origin and migrations of the Heruli, see Editor's note, ch. xxxix. note 37.—S.

^b The Venedi were undoubtedly Slavonians, as both their name and their locality prove. The Germans have always called all Slavonians Wends, or Vends.—S.

^c Tacitus speaks of "*Æstiorum gentes*," which leads us to expect that it is a collective name; and this is probably the case. It appears to mean the *men of the East*, and to have been a name given by the Germans to their Eastern neighbors, the inhabitants of the present coasts of Prussia, Courland, and Esthonia. Latham, *The Germania of Tacitus*, p. 166 seq.—S.

culture, enriched by the trade of amber, and consecrated by the peculiar worship of the Mother of the Gods. But the scarcity of iron obliged the Æstian warriors to content themselves with wooden clubs; and the reduction of that wealthy country is ascribed to the prudence rather than to the arms of Hermanric. His dominions, which extended from the Danube to the Baltic, included the native seats and the recent acquisitions of the Goths; and he reigned over the greatest part of Germany and Scythia with the authority of a conqueror, and sometimes with the cruelty of a tyrant. But he reigned over a part of the globe incapable of perpetuating and adorning the glory of its heroes. The name of Hermanric is almost buried in oblivion; his exploits are imperfectly known; and the Romans themselves appeared unconscious of the progress of an aspiring power which threatened the liberty of the North and the peace of the empire.¹⁴³

The Goths had contracted an hereditary attachment for the imperial house of Constantine, of whose power and liberality they had received so many signal proofs. They respected the public peace, and if a hostile band sometimes presumed to pass the Roman limit, their irregular conduct was candidly ascribed to the ungovernable spirit of the barbarian youth. Their contempt for two new and obscure princes who had been raised to the throne by a popular election inspired the Goths with bolder hopes; and, while they agitated some design of marching their confederate force under the national standard,¹⁴⁴ they were easily tempted to embrace the party of Procopius, and to foment by their dangerous aid the civil discord of the Romans. The public treaty might stipulate no more than ten thousand auxiliaries; but the design was so zealously adopted by the chiefs of the Visigoths that the army which passed the Danube amounted

The cause
of the
Gothic war.
A.D. 366.

¹⁴³ Ammianus (xxx. 3) observes, in general terms, "Ermenrichi . . . bellicosissimi Regis, et per multa variaque fortiter facta, vicinis gentibus formidati," etc.

¹⁴⁴ Valens . . . docetur relationibus Ducum, gentem Gothorum, eâ tempestate intactam ideoque sævissimam, conspirantem in unum, ad pervadenda parari colluctantia Thraciarum.—Ammian. xxvi. 6.

to the number of thirty thousand men.¹⁴⁶ They marched with the proud confidence that their invincible valor would decide the fate of the Roman empire; and the provinces of Thrace groaned under the weight of the barbarians, who displayed the insolence of masters and the licentiousness of enemies. But the intemperance which gratified their appetites retarded their progress; and before the Goths could receive any certain intelligence of the defeat and death of Procopius, they perceived by the hostile state of the country that the civil and military powers were resumed by his successful rival. A chain of posts and fortifications, skilfully disposed by Valens, or the generals of Valens, resisted their march, prevented their retreat, and intercepted their subsistence. The fierceness of the barbarians was tamed and suspended by hunger; they indignantly threw down their arms at the feet of the conqueror, who offered them food and chains: the numerous captives were distributed in all the cities of the East; and the provincials, who were soon familiarized with their savage appearance, ventured by degrees to measure their own strength with these formidable adversaries, whose name had so long been the object of their terror. The King of Scythia (and Hermanric alone could deserve so lofty a title) was grieved and exasperated by this national calamity. His ambassadors loudly complained at the court of Valens of the infraction of the ancient and solemn alliance which had so long subsisted between the Romans and the Goths. They alleged that they had fulfilled the duty of allies by assisting the kinsman and successor of the Emperor Julian; they required the immediate restitution of the noble captives; and they urged a very singular claim, that the Gothic generals, marching in arms, and in hostile array, were entitled to the sacred character and privileges of ambassadors. The decent but peremptory refusal of these extravagant demands was signified to the barbarians by Victor, master-general of the cavalry, who expressed with force and

¹⁴⁶ M. de Buat (*Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. vi p. 832) has curiously ascertained the real number of these auxiliaries. The 3000 of Ammianus and the 10,000 of Zosimus were only the first divisions of the Gothic army.

dignity the just complaints of the Emperor of the East.¹⁴⁶ The negotiation was interrupted, and the manly exhortations of Valentinian encouraged his timid brother to vindicate the insulted majesty of the empire.¹⁴⁷

The splendor and magnitude of this Gothic war are celebrated by a contemporary historian;¹⁴⁸ but the events scarcely deserve the attention of posterity, except as the preliminary steps of the approaching decline and fall of the empire. Instead of leading the nations of Germany and Scythia to the banks of the Danube, or even to the gates of Constantinople, the aged monarch of the Goths resigned to the brave Athanaric the danger and glory of a defensive war against an enemy who wielded with a feeble hand the powers of a mighty state. A bridge of boats was established upon the Danube, the presence of Valens animated his troops, and his ignorance of the art of war was compensated by personal bravery, and a wise deference to the advice of Victor and Arintheus, his masters-general of the cavalry and infantry. The operations of the campaign were conducted by their skill and experience; but they found it impossible to drive the Visigoths from their strong posts in the mountains, and the devastation of the plains obliged the Romans themselves to repass the Danube on the approach of winter. The incessant rains, which swelled the waters of the river, produced a tacit suspension of arms, and confined the Emperor Valens, during the whole course of the ensuing summer, to his camp of Marcianopolis. The third year of the war was more favor-

Hostilities
and peace.
A.D. 367, 368,
369.

¹⁴⁶ The march and subsequent negotiation are described in the Fragments of Eunapius (Excerpt. Legat. p. 18, edit. Louvre [p. 47, edit. Bonn]). The provincials, who afterwards became familiar with the barbarians, found that their strength was more apparent than real. They were tall of stature, but their legs were clumsy and their shoulders were narrow.

¹⁴⁷ "Valens enim, ut consulto placuerat fratri, cujus regebatur arbitrio, arma concussit in Gothos ratione justâ permotus." Ammianus (xxvii. 4) then proceeds to describe, not the country of the Goths, but the peaceful and obedient province of Thrace, which was not affected by the war.

¹⁴⁸ Eunapius, in Excerpt. Legat. p. 18, 19 [p. 47, 48, edit. Bonn]. The Greek sophist must have considered as *one* and the *same* war the whole series of Gothic history till the victories and peace of Theodosius.

able to the Romans and more pernicious to the Goths. The interruption of trade deprived the barbarians of the objects of luxury, which they already confounded with the necessities of life; and the desolation of a very extensive tract of country threatened them with the horrors of famine. Athanaric was provoked or compelled to risk a battle, which he lost, in the plains; and the pursuit was rendered more bloody by the cruel precaution of the victorious generals, who had promised a large reward for the head of every Goth that was brought into the imperial camp. The submission of the barbarians appeased the resentment of Valens and his council; the emperor listened with satisfaction to the flattering and eloquent remonstrance of the senate of Constantinople, which assumed, for the first time, a share in the public deliberations; and the same generals, Victor and Arintheus, who had successfully directed the conduct of the war, were empowered to regulate the conditions of peace. The freedom of trade which the Goths had hitherto enjoyed was restricted to two cities on the Danube; the rashness of their leaders was severely punished by the suppression of their pensions and subsidies; and the exception, which was stipulated in favor of Athanaric alone, was more advantageous than honorable to the Judge of the Visigoths. Athanaric, who, on this occasion, appears to have consulted his private interest, without expecting the orders of his sovereign, supported his own dignity and that of his tribe in the personal interview which was proposed by the ministers of Valens. He persisted in his declaration that it was impossible for him, without incurring the guilt of perjury, ever to set his foot on the territory of the empire; and it is more than probable that his regard for the sanctity of an oath was confirmed by the recent and fatal examples of Roman treachery. The Danube, which separated the dominions of the two independent nations, was chosen for the scene of the conference. The Emperor of the East and the Judge of the Visigoths, accompanied by an equal number of armed followers, advanced in their respective barges to the middle of the stream. After the ratification of the treaty and the delivery of hostages, Valens returned in triumph to Constantinople, and the Goths re-

mained in a state of tranquillity about six years, till they were violently impelled against the Roman empire by an innumerable host of Scythians, who appeared to issue from the frozen regions of the North.¹⁴⁹

The Emperor of the West, who had resigned to his brother the command of the Lower Danube, reserved for his immediate care the defence of the Rhætian and Illyrian provinces, which spread so many hundred miles along the greatest of the European rivers. The active policy of Valentinian was continually employed in adding new fortifications to the security of the frontier; but the abuse of this policy provoked the just resentment of the barbarians. The Quadi complained that the ground for an intended fortress had been marked out on their territories, and their complaints were urged with so much reason and moderation that Equitius, Master-general of Illyricum, consented to suspend the prosecution of the work till he should be more clearly informed of the will of his sovereign. This fair occasion of injuring a rival, and of advancing the fortune of his son, was eagerly embraced by the inhuman Maximin, the præfect, or rather tyrant, of Gaul. The passions of Valentinian were impatient of control, and he credulously listened to the assurances of his favorite that if the government of Valeria and the direction of the work were intrusted to the zeal of his son Marcellinus, the emperor should no longer be importuned with the audacious remonstrances of the barbarians. The subjects of Rome and the natives of Germany were insulted by the arrogance of a young and worthless minister, who considered his rapid elevation as the proof and reward of his superior merit. He affected, however, to receive the modest application of Gabinus, King of the Quadi, with some attention and regard; but this artful civility concealed a dark and bloody design, and the

War of the
Quadi and
Sarmatians.
A.D. 874.

¹⁴⁹ The Gothic war is described by Ammianus (xxvii 5), Zosimus (l. iv. [c. 10] p. 211-214), and Themistius (Orat. x p. 129-141). The orator Themistius was sent from the senate of Constantinople to congratulate the victorious emperor; and his servile eloquence compares Valens on the Danube to Achilles in the Sea-mander. Jornandes forgets a war peculiar to the Visi-Goths and inglorious to the Gothic name (Mascon's Hist. of the Germans, vii. 3).

credulous prince was persuaded to accept the pressing invitation of Marcellinus. I am at a loss how to vary the narrative of similar crimes, or how to relate that, in the course of the same year, but in remote parts of the empire, the inhospitable table of two imperial generals was stained with the royal blood of two guests and allies, inhumanly murdered by their order and in their presence. The fate of Gabinius and of Para was the same; but the cruel death of their sovereign was resented in a very different manner by the servile temper of the Armenians and the free and daring spirit of the Germans. The Quadi were much declined from that formidable power which, in the time of Marcus Antoninus, had spread terror to the gates of Rome. But they still possessed arms and courage; their courage was animated by despair; and they obtained the usual reinforcement of the cavalry of their Sarmatian allies. So improvident was the assassin Marcellinus that he chose the moment when the bravest veterans had been drawn away to suppress the revolt of Firmus, and the whole province was exposed, with a very feeble defence, to the rage of the exasperated barbarians. They invaded Pannonia in the season of harvest, unmercifully destroyed every object of plunder which they could not easily transport, and either disregarded or demolished the empty fortifications. The princess Constantia, the daughter of the Emperor Constantius, and the granddaughter of the great Constantine, very narrowly escaped. That royal maid, who had innocently supported the revolt of Procopius, was now the destined wife of the heir of the Western empire. She traversed the peaceful province with a splendid and unarmed train. Her person was saved from danger and the republic from disgrace by the active zeal of Messalla, governor of the provinces. As soon as he was informed that the village where she stopped only to dine was almost encompassed by the barbarians, he hastily placed her in his own chariot, and drove full speed till he reached the gates of Sirmium, which were at the distance of six-and-twenty miles. Even Sirmium might not have been secure if the Quadi and Sarmatians had diligently advanced during the general consternation of the magistrates and people. Their delay allowed Probus, the Præ-

torian præfect, sufficient time to recover his own spirits and to revive the courage of the citizens. He skilfully directed their strenuous efforts to repair and strengthen the decayed fortifications, and procured the seasonable and effectual assistance of a company of archers to protect the capital of the Illyrian provinces. Disappointed in their attempts against the walls of Sirmium, the indignant barbarians turned their arms against the master-general of the frontier, to whom they unjustly attributed the murder of their king. Equitius could bring into the field no more than two legions, but they contained the veteran strength of the Mæasian and Pannonian bands. The obstinacy with which they disputed the vain honors of rank and precedence was the cause of their destruction, and, while they acted with separate forces and divided councils, they were surprised and slaughtered by the active vigor of the Sarmatian horse. The success of this invasion provoked the emulation of the bordering tribes, and the province of Mæsia would infallibly have been lost if young Theodosius, the duke or military commander of the frontier, had not signalized, in the defeat of the public enemy, an intrepid genius worthy of his illustrious father and of his future greatness.¹⁵⁰

The mind of Valentinian, who then resided at Treves, was deeply affected by the calamities of Illyricum, but the lateness of the season suspended the execution of his designs till the ensuing spring. He marched in person, with a considerable part of the forces of Gaul, from the banks of the Moselle; and to the suppliant ambassadors of the Sarmatians who met him on the way he returned a doubtful answer that as soon as he reached the scene of action he should examine and pronounce. When he arrived at Sirmium, he gave audience to the deputies of the Illyrian provinces, who loudly congratulated their own felicity under the auspicious government of Probus, his Prætorian præfect.¹⁵¹ Valentinian,

The expedi-
tion,

A.D. 375,

¹⁵⁰ Ammianus (xxix. 6) and Zosimus (l. iv. [c. 16] p. 219, 220) carefully mark the origin and progress of the Quadic and Sarmatian war.

¹⁵¹ Ammianus (xxx. 5), who acknowledges the merit, has censured with becoming asperity the oppressive administration, of Petronius Probus. When Jerome translated and continued the Chronicle of Eusebius (A.D. 380; see Tille-

who was flattered by these demonstrations of their loyalty and gratitude, imprudently asked the deputy of Epirus—a Cynic philosopher of intrepid sincerity¹⁸²—whether he was freely sent by the wishes of the province. “With tears and groans am I sent” (replied Iphicles) “by a reluctant people.” The emperor paused, but the impunity of his ministers established the pernicious maxim that they might oppress his subjects without injuring his service. A strict inquiry into their conduct would have relieved the public discontent. The severe condemnation of the murder of Gabinus was the only measure which could restore the confidence of the Germans and vindicate the honor of the Roman name. But the haughty monarch was incapable of the magnanimity which dares to acknowledge a fault. He forgot the provocation, remembered only the injury, and advanced into the country of the Quadi with an insatiate thirst of blood and revenge. The extreme devastation and promiscuous massacre of a savage war were justified in the eyes of the emperor, and perhaps in those of the world, by the cruel equity of retaliation;¹⁸³ and such was the discipline of the Romans and the consternation of the enemy that Valentinian repassed the Danube without the loss of a single man. As he had resolved to complete the destruction of the Quadi by a second campaign, he fixed his winter-quarters at Bregetio, on the Danube, near the Hungarian city of Presburg. While the operations of war were suspended by the severity of the weather, the Quadi made an humble attempt

mont, *Mém. Ecclés. tom. xii. p. 53, 626*), he expressed the truth, or at least the public opinion of his country, in the following words: “*Probus P. P. Illyrici iniquissimis tributorum exactionibus, ante provincias quas regebat, quam a Barbaris vastarentur, erasit*” (*Chron. edit. Scaliger, p. 187; Animadvers. p. 259*). The saint afterwards formed an intimate and tender friendship with the widow of Probus; and the name of Count Equitans, with less propriety, but without much injustice, has been substituted in the text.

¹⁸² Julian (*Orat. vi. p. 198*) represents his friend Iphicles as a man of virtue and merit, who had made himself ridiculous and unhappy by adopting the extravagant dress and manners of the Cynics.

¹⁸³ Ammian. xxx. 5. Jerome, who exaggerates the misfortune of Valentinian, refuses him even this last consolation of revenge. “*Vastato genituli solo, et inultam patriam derelinquens*” (*tom. i. p. 26 [Ep. ad Heliodor. tom. i. p. 341, edit. Vallars.]*).

to deprecate the wrath of their conqueror; and, at the earnest persuasion of Equitius, their ambassadors were introduced into the imperial council. They approached the throne with bended bodies and dejected countenances; and, without daring to complain of the murder of their king, they affirmed with solemn oaths that the late invasion was the crime of some irregular robbers which the public council of the nation condemned and abhorred. The answer of the emperor left them but little to hope from his clemency or compassion. He reviled, in the most intemperate language, their baseness, their ingratitude, their insolence. His eyes, his voice, his color, his gestures, expressed the violence of his ungoverned fury; and while his whole frame was agitated with convulsive passion, a large blood-vessel suddenly burst in his body, and Valentinian fell speechless into the arms of his attendants. Their pious care immediately concealed his situation from the crowd, but in a few minutes the Emperor of the West expired and death of Valentinian, in an agony of pain, retaining his senses till the last, and struggling without success to declare his intentions to the generals and ministers who surrounded the royal couch. Valentinian was about fifty-four years of age, and he wanted only one hundred days to accomplish the twelve years of his reign.¹⁵⁴

The polygamy of Valentinian is seriously attested by an ecclesiastical historian.¹⁵⁵ "The Empress Severa" (I relate the

¹⁵⁴ See, on the death of Valentinian, Ammianus (xxx. 6), Zosimus (l. iv. [c. 17] p. 221), Victor (in Epitom. [c. 45]), Socrates (l. iv. c. 81), and Jerome (in Chron. p. 187 [tom. viii. p. 815, edit. Vallars.], and tom. i. p. 26, ad Heliodor. [tom. i. p. 341, edit. Vallars.]). There is much variety of circumstances among them; and Ammianus is so eloquent that he writes nonsense.

¹⁵⁵ Socrates (l. iv. c. 81) is the only original witness of this foolish story, so repugnant to the laws and manners of the Romans that it scarcely deserved the formal and elaborate dissertation of M. Bonamy (Mém. de l'Académie, tom. xxx. p. 394-405). Yet I would preserve the natural circumstance of the bath, instead of following Zosimus, who represents Justina as an old woman, the widow of Magnentius.^a

^a There seems to be no sufficient reason for rejecting the positive statement of Zosimus (iv. c. 19, 48) that Justina was the widow of Magnentius; though she must have been very young at the death of her first husband, since Valentinian II., the son of her second marriage, was born in A.D. 371, eighteen years after the death of Magnentius. Clinton, Fasti Rom. vol. ii. p. 111.—S.

fable) "admitted into her familiar society the lovely Justina, the daughter of an Italian governor. Her admiration of those naked charms which she had often seen in the bath was expressed with such lavish and imprudent praise that the emperor was tempted to introduce a second wife into his bed; and his public edict extended to all the subjects of the empire the same domestic privilege which he had assumed for himself." But we may be assured, from the evidence of reason as well as history, that the two marriages of Valentinian with Severa and with Justina were *successively* contracted, and that he used the ancient permission of divorce, which was still allowed by the laws, though it was condemned by the Church. Severa was the mother of Gratian, who seemed to unite every claim which could entitle him to the undoubted succession of the Western empire. He was the eldest son of a monarch whose glorious reign had confirmed the free and honorable choice of his fellow-soldiers. Before he had attained the ninth year of his age, the royal youth received from the hands of his indulgent father the purple robe and diadem, with the title of Augustus. The election was solemnly ratified by the consent and applause of the armies of Gaul,¹⁵⁸ and the name of Gratian was added to the names of Valentinian and Valens in all the legal transactions of the Roman government. By his marriage with the granddaughter of Constantine,* the son of Valentinian acquired all the hereditary rights of the Flavian family, which in a series of three imperial generations were sanctified by time, religion, and the reverence of the people. At the death of his father, the royal youth was in the seventeenth year of his age, and his virtues already justified the favorable opinion of the army and people. But Gratian resided without apprehension in the palace of Treves, whilst at the distance of many hundred miles Valentinian suddenly expired in the camp of Bregetio. The passions which had been so long suppressed by the presence of

¹⁵⁸ Ammianus (xxvii. 6) describes the form of this military election and *august* investiture. Valentinian does not appear to have consulted, or even informed, the senate of Rome.

* See genealogical table, vol. ii. p. 327.—S.

a master immediately revived in the imperial council ; and the ambitious design of reigning in the name of an infant was artfully executed by Mellobaudes and Equitius, who commanded the attachment of the Illyrian and Italian bands. They contrived the most honorable pretences to remove the popular leaders and the troops of Gaul who might have asserted the claims of the lawful successor ; they suggested the necessity of extinguishing the hopes of foreign and domestic enemies by a bold and decisive measure. The Empress Justina, who had been left in a palace about one hundred miles from Bregetio, was respectfully invited to appear in the camp with the son of the deceased emperor. On the sixth day after the death of Valentinian, the infant prince of the same name, who was only four years old, was shown in the arms of his mother to the legions, and solemnly invested, by military acclamation, with the titles and ensigns of supreme power. The impending dangers of a civil war were seasonably prevented by the wise and moderate conduct of the Emperor Gratian. He cheerfully accepted the choice of the army, declared that he should always consider the son of Justina as a brother, not as a rival ; and advised the empress, with her son Valentinian, to fix their residence at Milan, in the fair and peaceful province of Italy, while he assumed the more arduous command of the countries beyond the Alps. Gratian dissembled his resentment till he could safely punish or disgrace the authors of the conspiracy ; and though he uniformly behaved with tenderness and regard to his infant colleague, he gradually confounded, in the administration of the Western empire, the office of a guardian with the authority of a sovereign. The government of the Roman world was exercised in the united names of Valens and his two nephews ; but the feeble Emperor of the East, who succeeded to the rank of his elder brother, never obtained any weight or influence in the councils of the West.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁷ Ammianus, xxx. 10. Zosimus, l. iv. [c. 19] p. 222, 223. Tillemont has proved (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 707-709) that Gratian *reigned* in Italy, Africa, and Illyricum. I have endeavored to express his authority over his brother's dominions, as he used it, in an ambiguous style.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Manners of the Pastoral Nations.—Progress of the Huns from China to Europe.
—Flight of the Goths.—They Pass the Danube.—Gothic War.—Defeat and
Death of Valens.—Gratian Invests Theodosius with the Eastern Empire.—His
Character and Success.—Peace and Settlement of the Goths.

IN the second year of the reign of Valentinian and Valens, on the morning of the twenty-first day of July, the greatest part of the Roman world was shaken by a violent and destructive earthquake. The impression was communicated to the waters; the shores of the Mediterranean were left dry by the sudden retreat of the sea; great quantities of fish were caught with the hand; large vessels were stranded on the mud; and a curious spectator¹ amused his eye, or rather his fancy, by contemplating the various appearance of valleys and mountains which had never since the formation of the globe been exposed to the sun. But the tide soon returned with the weight of an immense and irresistible deluge, which was severely felt on the coasts of Sicily, of Dalmatia, of Greece, and of Egypt; large boats were transported and lodged on the roofs of houses, or at the distance of two miles from the shore; the people, with their habitations, were swept away by the waters; and the city of Alexandria annually commemorated the fatal day on which fifty thousand persons had lost their lives in the inundation. This calamity, the report of which was magnified from one province to another, astonished and terrified the subjects of Rome, and their affrighted imagination enlarged the real extent of a momentary evil. They recollected the preceding earthquakes which had subverted the cities of Palestine and Bithynia; they consid-

Earthquakes.
 A.D. 365.
 July 21.

¹ Such is the bad taste of Ammianus (xxvi. 10) that it is not easy to distinguish his facts from his metaphors. Yet he positively affirms that he saw the rotten carcass of a ship, "*ad secundum lapidem*," at Methone, or Modon, in Poloponnesus.

ered these alarming strokes as the prelude only of still more dreadful calamities; and their fearful vanity was disposed to confound the symptoms of a declining empire and a sinking world.² It was the fashion of the times to attribute every remarkable event to the particular will of the Deity. The alterations of nature were connected by an invisible chain with the moral and metaphysical opinions of the human mind; and the most sagacious divines could distinguish, according to the color of their respective prejudices, that the establishment of heresy tended to produce an earthquake, or that a deluge was the inevitable consequence of the progress of sin and error. Without presuming to discuss the truth or propriety of these lofty speculations, the historian may content himself with an observation, which seems to be justified by experience, that man has much more to fear from the passions of his fellow-creatures than from the convulsions of the elements.³ The mischievous effects of an earthquake or deluge, a hurricane or the eruption of a volcano, bear a very inconsiderable proportion to the ordinary calamities of war as they are now moderated by the prudence or humanity of the princes of Europe, who amuse their own leisure and exercise the courage of their subjects in the practice of the military art. But the laws and manners of modern nations protect the safety and freedom of the vanquished soldier; and the peaceful citizen has seldom reason to complain that his life or even his fortune is exposed to the rage of war. In the disastrous period of the fall of the Roman empire, which may justly be dated from the reign of Valens, the happiness and security of each individual were per-

² The earthquakes and inundations are variously described by Libanius (*Orat. de Ulciscendâ Juliani Nece*, c. x. in Fabricius, *Bibl. Græc* tom vii. p. 158, with a learned note of Olearius), Zosimus (l. iv. [c. 18] p. 221), Sozomen (l. vi. c. 2), Cedrenus (p. 310, 314 [tom. i. p. 543, 550, edit. Bonn]), and Jerome (in *Chron.* p. 186 [tom. viii. p. 809, edit. Vallars.], and tom. i. p. 250, in *Vit. Hilarion* [tom. ii. p. 36, edit. Vallars.]). Epidaurus must have been overwhelmed had not the prudent citizens placed St. Hilarion, an Egyptian monk, on the beach. He made the sign of the cross; the mountain-wave stopped, bowed, and returned.

³ Diocæarchus the Peripatetic composed a formal treatise to prove this obvious truth, which is not the most honorable to the human species (*Cicero de Officiis*, ii. 5).

sonally attacked, and the arts and labors of ages were rudely defaced by the barbarians of Scythia and Germany. The invasion of the Huns precipitated on the provinces of the West the Gothic nation, which advanced, in less than forty years, from the Danube to the Atlantic, and opened a way, by the success of their arms, to the inroads of so many hostile tribes more savage than themselves. The original principle of motion was concealed in the remote countries of the North; and the curious observation of the pastoral life of the Scythians⁴ or Tartars⁵ will illustrate the latent cause of these destructive emigrations.

The Huns
and Goths.
A.D. 376.

The different characters that mark the civilized nations of the globe may be ascribed to the use and the abuse of reason, which so variously shapes and so artificially composes the manners and opinions of a European or a Chinese. But the operation of instinct is more sure and simple than that of reason. It is much easier to ascertain the appetites of a quadruped than the speculations of a philosopher; and the savage tribes of mankind, as they approach nearer to the condition of animals, preserve a stronger

The pastoral
manners of
the Scythians,
or Tartars.

⁴ The original Scythians of Herodotus (l. iv. c. 47-57, 99-101) were confined by the Danube and the Palus Mæotis within a square of 4000 stadia (400 Roman miles). See D'Anville (*Mém. de l'Académie*, tom xxxv. p. 578-591). Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. ii. [c. 43] p. 155, edit. Wesseling) has marked the gradual progress of the name and nation.

⁵ The *Tatars*, or *Tartars*, were a primitive tribe, the rivals, and at length the subjects, of the Moguls. In the victorious armies of Zingis Khan and his successors, the *Tartars* formed the vanguard; and the name which first reached the ears of foreigners was applied to the whole nation (Fréret, in the *Hist. de l'Académie*, tom xviii. p. 60).^a In speaking of all or any of the northern shepherds of Europe or Asia, I indifferently use the appellation of *Scythians* or *Tartars*.

^a The *Tatars*, or *Tartars*, were a tribe nearly allied to the Mongols in race, who dwelt near lake Bouyir, to the eastward of Mongolia. They were among the first of the Mongol conquests, and they took afterwards so conspicuous a place in the army of Zingis Khan that their name became synonymous with that of the Mongols. Their proper name was *Tatars*. It is said to have been changed into *Tartar* in consequence of an expression of St. Louis, who, when the devastations of Zingis Khan were heard of with horror in Western Europe, is reported to have exclaimed, "Eugat nos, mater, cœleste solatium, quia si proveniant ipsi, vel nos ipsos quos vocamus Tartaros ad suas Tartareas sedes, unde exierunt, retrudemus, vel ipsi nos omnes ad cœlum advehant,"—Prichard, *Physical History of Mankind*, vol. iv. p. 278, 332, 3d edit.—S.

resemblance to themselves and to each other. The uniform stability of their manners is the natural consequence of the imperfection of their faculties. Reduced to a similar situation, their wants, their desires, their enjoyments, still continue the same; and the influence of food or climate, which, in a more improved state of society, is suspended or subdued by so many moral causes, most powerfully contributes to form and to maintain the national character of barbarians. In every age, the immense plains of Scythia or Tartary have been inhabited by vagrant tribes of hunters and shepherds, whose indolence refuses to cultivate the earth and whose restless spirit disdains the confinement of a sedentary life. In every age the Scythians and Tartars have been renowned for their invincible courage and rapid conquests. The thrones of Asia have been repeatedly overturned by the shepherds of the North, and their arms have spread terror and devastation over the most fertile and warlike countries of Europe.* On this occasion, as well as on many others, the sober historian is forcibly awakened from a pleasing vision, and is compelled with some reluctance to confess that the pastoral manners, which have been adorned with the fairest attributes of peace and innocence, are much better adapted to the fierce and cruel habits of a military life. To illustrate this observation, I shall now proceed to consider a nation of shepherds and of warriors in the three important articles of—I. Their diet; II. Their habitation; and III. Their exercises. The narratives of antiquity are justified by the experience of modern times;† and the banks of the Borysthenes,

* “*Imperium Asiæ ter quæssivere: ipsi perpetuo ab alieno imperio, aut intacti, aut invicti, mansere.*” Since the time of Justin (ii. 3) they have multiplied this account. Voltaire, in a few words (tom. x. p. 64, *Hist. Générale*, ch. 156), has abridged the Tartar conquests.

“Oft o’er the trembling nations from afar
Has Scythia breath’d the living cloud of war.”‡

† The fourth book of Herodotus affords a curious though imperfect portrait of the Scythians. Among the moderns who describe the uniform scene, the Khan of Khowaresm, Abulghazi Bahadur, expresses his native feelings; and his *Genealogical History of the Tartars* has been copiously illustrated by the French and English editors. Carpin, Ascelin, and Rubincuis (in the *Hist. des Voyages*, tom.

of the Volga, or of the Selinga will indifferently present the same uniform spectacle of similar and native manners.*

I. The corn, or even the rice, which constitutes the ordinary and wholesome food of a civilized people, can be obtained only

Diet. by the patient toil of the husbandman. Some of the happy savages who dwell between the tropics

are plentifully nourished by the liberality of nature; but in the climates of the North a nation of shepherds is reduced to their flocks and herds. The skilful practitioners of the medical art will determine (if they are able to determine) how far the temper of the human mind may be affected by the use of animal or of vegetable food; and whether the common association of carnivorous and cruel deserves to be considered in any other light than that of an innocent, perhaps a salutary, prejudice of humanity.* Yet, if it be true that the sentiment of compassion is imperceptibly weakened by the sight and practice of domestic cruelty, we may observe that the horrid objects which are disguised by the arts of European refinement are exhibited in their naked and most disgusting simplicity in the tent of a Tartarian shepherd. The ox and the sheep are slaughtered by the same hand from which they were accustomed to receive their daily food; and the bleeding limbs are served, with very little preparation, on the table of their unfeeling murderer. In the military profession, and especially in the conduct of a numerous army, the exclusive use of animal food appears to be productive of the most solid advantages.

vii.), represent the Moguls of the fourteenth century. To these guides I have added Gerbillon and the other Jesuits (*Description de la Chine, par Du Halde, tom. iv*), who accurately surveyed the Chinese Tartary, and that honest and intelligent traveller Bell of Antermomy (two volumes in 4to, Glasgow, 1768).

* The Uzbeks are the most altered from their primitive manners: 1, by the profession of the Mahometan religion; and, 2, by the possession of the cities and harvests of the Great Bucharia.

* "Il est certain que les grands mangeurs de viande sont en général cruels et féroces plus que les autres hommes. Cette observation est de tous les lieux, et de tous les tems: la barbarie Angloise est connue," etc. *Emile de Rousseau, tom. i. p. 274* Whatever we may think of the general observation, we shall not easily allow the truth of his example. The good-natured complaints of Plutarch and the pathetic lamentations of Ovid seduce our reason by exciting our sensibility.

Corn is a bulky and perishable commodity, and the large magazines which are indispensably necessary for the subsistence of our troops must be slowly transported by the labor of men or horses. But the flocks and herds which accompany the march of the Tartars afford a sure and increasing supply of flesh and milk. In the far greater part of the uncultivated waste, the vegetation of the grass is quick and luxuriant; and there are few places so extremely barren that the hardy cattle of the North cannot find some tolerable pasture. The supply is multiplied and prolonged by the undistinguishing appetite and patient abstinence of the Tartars. They indifferently feed on the flesh of those animals that have been killed for the table or have died of disease. Horseflesh, which in every age and country has been proscribed by the civilized nations of Europe and Asia, they devour with peculiar greediness; and this singular taste facilitates the success of their military operations. The active cavalry of Scythia is always followed, in their most distant and rapid incursions, by an adequate number of spare horses, who may be occasionally used either to redouble the speed or to satisfy the hunger of the barbarians. Many are the resources of courage and poverty! When the forage round a camp of Tartars is almost consumed, they slaughter the greatest part of their cattle, and preserve the flesh either smoked or dried in the sun. On the sudden emergency of a hasty march, they provide themselves with a sufficient quantity of little balls of cheese, or rather of hard curd, which they occasionally dissolve in water; and this unsubstantial diet will support for many days the life, and even the spirits, of the patient warrior. But this extraordinary abstinence, which the Stoic would approve and the hermit might envy, is commonly succeeded by the most voracious indulgence of appetite. The wines of a happier climate are the most grateful present or the most valuable commodity that can be offered to the Tartars; and the only example of their industry seems to consist in the art of extracting from mare's milk a fermented liquor which possesses a very strong power of intoxication. Like the animals of prey, the savages, both of the Old and the New World, experience the alternate vicissitudes of famine and plenty, and

their stomach is inured to sustain, without much inconvenience, the opposite extremes of hunger and of intemperance.

II. In the ages of rustic and martial simplicity, a people of soldiers and husbandmen are dispersed over the face of an extensive and cultivated country ; and some time must elapse before the warlike youth of Greece or Italy could be assembled under the same standard, either to defend their own confines or to invade the territories of the adjacent tribes. The progress of manufactures and commerce insensibly collects a large multitude within the walls of a city ; but these citizens are no longer soldiers, and the arts which adorn and improve the state of civil society corrupt the habits of the military life. The pastoral manners of the Scythians seem to unite the different advantages of simplicity and refinement. The individuals of the same tribe are constantly assembled, but they are assembled in a camp ; and the native spirit of these dauntless shepherds is animated by mutual support and emulation. The houses of the Tartars are no more than small tents of an oval form, which afford a cold and dirty habitation for the promiscuous youth of both sexes. The palaces of the rich consist of wooden huts, of such a size that they may be conveniently fixed on large wagons and drawn by a team perhaps of twenty or thirty oxen. The flocks and herds, after grazing all day in the adjacent pastures, retire, on the approach of night, within the protection of the camp. The necessity of preventing the most mischievous confusion in such a perpetual concourse of men and animals must gradually introduce, in the distribution, the order, and the guard of the encampment, the rudiments of the military art. As soon as the forage of a certain district is consumed, the tribe, or rather army, of shepherds makes a regular march to some fresh pastures, and thus acquires in the ordinary occupations of the pastoral life the practical knowledge of one of the most important and difficult operations of war. The choice of stations is regulated by the difference of the seasons. In the summer the Tartars advance towards the North, and pitch their tents on the banks of a river, or, at least, in the neighborhood of a running stream. But in the winter they return to the South, and shelter their

camp behind some convenient eminence against the winds, which are chilled in their passage over the bleak and icy regions of Siberia. These manners are admirably adapted to diffuse among the wandering tribes the spirit of emigration and conquest. The connection between the people and their territory is of so frail a texture that it may be broken by the slightest accident. The camp, and not the soil, is the native country of the genuine Tartar. Within the precincts of that camp his family, his companions, his property, are always included; and in the most distant marches he is still surrounded by the objects which are dear or valuable or familiar in his eyes. The thirst of rapine, the fear or the resentment of injury, the impatience of servitude, have in every age been sufficient causes to urge the tribes of Scythia boldly to advance into some unknown countries where they might hope to find a more plentiful subsistence or a less formidable enemy. The revolutions of the North have frequently determined the fate of the South; and, in the conflict of hostile nations, the victor and the vanquished have alternately driven, and been driven, from the confines of China to those of Germany.¹⁰ These great emigrations, which have been sometimes executed with almost incredible diligence, were rendered more easy by the peculiar nature of the climate. It is well known that the cold of Tartary is much more severe than in the midst of the temperate zone might reasonably be expected. This uncommon rigor is attributed to the height of the plains, which rise, especially towards the east, more than half a mile above the level of the sea, and to the quantity of saltpetre with which the soil is deeply impregnated.¹¹ In the winter season, the broad and rapid rivers that discharge their waters into the Euxine,

¹⁰ These Tartar emigrations have been discovered by M. de Guignes (*Histoire des Huns*, tom. i. ii.), a skilful and laborious interpreter of the Chinese language, who has thus laid open new and important scenes in the history of mankind.

¹¹ A plain in the Chinese Tartary, only eighty leagues from the great wall, was found by the missionaries to be three thousand geometrical paces above the level of the sea. Montesquieu, who has used and abused the relations of travellers, deduces the revolutions of Asia from this important circumstance—that heat and cold, weakness and strength, touch each other without any temperate zone (*Esprit des Loix*, l. xvii. ch. 8).

the Caspian, or the Icy Sea are strongly frozen; the fields are covered with a bed of snow; and the fugitive or victorious tribes may securely traverse, with their families, their wagons, and their cattle, the smooth and hard surface of an immense plain.

III. The pastoral life, compared with the labors of agriculture and manufactures, is undoubtedly a life of idleness; and as the most honorable shepherds of the Tartar race
Exercises. devolve on their captives the domestic management of the cattle, their own leisure is seldom disturbed by any servile and assiduous cares. But this leisure, instead of being devoted to the soft enjoyments of love and harmony, is usefully spent in the violent and sanguinary exercise of the chase. The plains of Tartary are filled with a strong and serviceable breed of horses, which are easily trained for the purposes of war and hunting. The Scythians of every age have been celebrated as bold and skilful riders; and constant practice had seated them so firmly on horseback that they were supposed by strangers to perform the ordinary duties of civil life—to eat, to drink, and even to sleep—without dismounting from their steeds. They excel in the dexterous management of the lance; the long Tartar bow is drawn with a nervous arm, and the weighty arrow is directed to its object with unerring aim and irresistible force. These arrows are often pointed against the harmless animals of the desert—which increase and multiply in the absence of their most formidable enemy—the hare, the goat, the roebuck, the fallow-deer, the stag, the elk, and the antelope. The vigor and patience both of the men and horses are continually exercised by the fatigues of the chase; and the plentiful supply of game contributes to the subsistence, and even luxury, of a Tartar camp. But the exploits of the hunters of Scythia are not confined to the destruction of timid or innoxious beasts; they boldly encounter the angry wild boar when he turns against his pursuers, excite the sluggish courage of the bear, and provoke the fury of the tiger as he slumbers in the thicket. Where there is danger there may be glory; and the mode of hunting which opens the fairest field to the exertions of valor may justly be considered as the image and

as the school of war. The general hunting-matches, the pride and delight of the Tartar princes, compose an instructive exercise for their numerous cavalry. A circle is drawn, of many miles in circumference, to encompass the game of an extensive district; and the troops that form the circle regularly advance towards a common centre, where the captive animals, surrounded on every side, are abandoned to the darts of the hunters. In this march, which frequently continues many days, the cavalry are obliged to climb the hills, to swim the rivers, and to wind through the valleys without interrupting the prescribed order of their gradual progress. They acquire the habit of directing their eye and their steps to a remote object, of preserving their intervals, of suspending or accelerating their pace according to the motions of the troops on their right and left, and of watching and repeating the signals of their leaders. Their leaders study in this practical school the most important lesson of the military art, the prompt and accurate judgment of ground, of distance, and of time. To employ against a human enemy the same patience and valor, the same skill and discipline, is the only alteration which is required in real war; and the amusements of the chase serve as a prelude to the conquest of an empire.¹²

The political society of the ancient Germans has the appearance of a voluntary alliance of independent warriors. The tribes of Scythia, distinguished by the modern appellation of *Hordes*, assume the form of a numerous and increasing family, which, in the course of successive generations, has been propagated from the same original stock. The meanest and most ignorant of the Tartars preserve with conscious pride the inestimable treasure of their genealogy; and, whatever distinctions of rank may have been introduced by the unequal distribution of pastoral wealth, they mutually

¹² Petit de la Croix (Vie de Gengiscan, l. iii. ch. 7) represents the full glory and extent of the Mogul chase. The Jesuits Gerbillon and Verbiest followed the Emperor Kamhi when he hunted in Tartary (Du Halde, Description de la Chine, tom. iv. p. 81, 290, etc., folio edit.). His grandson, Kienlong, who unites the Tartar discipline with the laws and learning of China, describes (Éloge de Moukden, p. 273-285), as a poet, the pleasures which he had often enjoyed as a sportsman.

respect themselves and each other as the descendants of the first founder of the tribe. The custom, which still prevails, of adopting the bravest and most faithful of the captives may countenance the very probable suspicion that this extensive consanguinity is in a great measure legal and fictitious. But the useful prejudice which has obtained the sanction of time and opinion produces the effects of truth. The haughty barbarians yield a cheerful and voluntary obedience to the head of their blood ; and their chief, or *mursa*, as the representative of their great father, exercises the authority of a judge in peace and of a leader in war. In the original state of the pastoral world, each of the *mursas* (if we may continue to use a modern appellation) acted as the independent chief of a large and separate family, and the limits of their peculiar territories were gradually fixed by superior force or mutual consent. But the constant operation of various and permanent causes contributed to unite the vagrant hordes into national communities under the command of a supreme head. The weak were desirous of support, and the strong were ambitious of dominion. The power which is the result of union oppressed and collected the divided forces of the adjacent tribes ; and, as the vanquished were freely admitted to share the advantages of victory, the most valiant chiefs hastened to range themselves and their followers under the formidable standard of a confederate nation. The most successful of the Tartar princes assumed the military command, to which he was entitled by the superiority either of merit or of power. He was raised to the throne by the acclamations of his equals, and the title of *khan* expresses in the language of the North of Asia the full extent of the regal dignity. The right of hereditary succession was long confined to the blood of the founder of the monarchy ; and, at this moment, all the khans who reign from Crimea to the wall of China are the lineal descendants of the renowned Zingis.*

* See the second volume of the Genealogical History of the Tartars, and the lists of the khans at the end of the life of Gengis, or Zingis. Under the reign of Timur, or Tamerlane, one of his subjects, a descendant of Zingis, still bore the regal appellation of khan ; and the conqueror of Asia contented himself with the title of emir or sultan. Abulghazi, part v. c. 4. D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 878.

But as it is the indispensable duty of a Tartar sovereign to lead his warlike subjects into the field, the claims of an infant are often disregarded; and some royal kinsman, distinguished by his age and valor, is intrusted with the sword and sceptre of his predecessor. Two distinct and regular taxes are levied on the tribes to support the dignity of their national monarch and of their peculiar chief, and each of those contributions amounts to the tithe both of their property and of their spoil. A Tartar sovereign enjoys the tenth part of the wealth of his people; and as his own domestic riches of flocks and herds increase in a much larger proportion, he is able plentifully to maintain the rustic splendor of his court, to reward the most deserving or the most favored of his followers, and to obtain from the gentle influence of corruption the obedience which might be sometimes refused to the stern mandates of authority. The manners of his subjects, accustomed like himself to blood and rapine, might excuse in their eyes such partial acts of tyranny as would excite the horror of a civilized people; but the power of a despot has never been acknowledged in the deserts of Scythia. The immediate jurisdiction of the khan is confined within the limits of his own tribe, and the exercise of his royal prerogative has been moderated by the ancient institution of a national council. The Coroultai,¹⁴ or Diet, of the Tartars was regularly held in the spring and autumn in the midst of a plain, where the princes of the reigning family and the mursas of the respective tribes may conveniently assemble on horseback with their martial and numerous trains; and the ambitious monarch who reviewed the strength, must consult the inclination, of an armed people. The rudiments of a feudal government may be discovered in the constitution of the Scythian or Tartar nations; but the perpetual conflict of those hostile nations has sometimes terminated in the establishment of a powerful and despotic empire. The victor, enriched by the tribute and fortified by the

¹⁴ See the Diets of the ancient Huns (De Guignes, tom. ii. p. 26), and a curious description of those of Zingis (Vie de Gengiscan, l. i. ch. 6, l. iv. ch. 11). Such assemblies are frequently mentioned in the Persian history of Timur, though they served only to countenance the resolutions of their master.

arms of dependent kings, has spread his conquests over Europe or Asia. The successful shepherds of the North have submitted to the confinement of arts, of laws, and of cities; and the introduction of luxury, after destroying the freedom of the people, has undermined the foundations of the throne."^a

^a Montesquieu labors to explain a difference, which has not existed, between the liberty of the Arabs and the *perpetual* slavery of the Tartars (*Esprit des Loix*, l. xvii. ch. 5, l. xviii. ch. 19, etc.).

^a Since the time of Gibbon our knowledge of the languages of the nomadic tribes of Asia has been enlarged, and we are now enabled to classify these nations with greater accuracy than was possible at an earlier period. As we shall have frequent occasion to speak of them in subsequent notes, it is necessary to enter somewhat in detail into this subject.

The nomadic tribes of Asia inhabit the vast area reaching from the Uralian Mountains to the Sea of China and Japan, and from the northern limits of Persia and India to the Frozen Ocean of Siberia, though a portion of the latter country is also occupied by other races. These various tribes were originally one race, as is proved by an examination of their languages, though, like the members of the Indo-European race, they are now divided into different families, speaking languages mutually unintelligible, but bearing a strong resemblance to one another in their physical and moral characters and habits of life. They are now divided into four branches, called respectively the Mongolian, Tungusian, Turkish, and Ugrian.

I. THE MONGOLIAN RACE.—The Mongolians are the least numerous of the four, and were confined to a comparatively small territory till the time of their national hero Zingis Khan, when they first occur in history. Even in his armies and those of his successors, most of the soldiers were Turks, while the captains were Mongolians (see ch. lxiv.). With the exception of a few scattered hordes, the Mongolians are still confined to the country northward of the great wall of China and westward of the Mandshû country.

II. THE TUNGUSIAN RACE extends on the east from the Yenesei to the Sea of Okhotsk, and on the north from the coast of the Icy Sea, between the Yenesei and the Lena, to the Yellow Sea on the southeast. Among the numerous tribes of the Tungusian race, some of which are very barbarous, the only one which has exercised an influence upon the history of the world is that of the Mandshûs, the present rulers of China.

III. THE TURKISH RACE, the most widely extended of the four, and one of the most considerable of the families of the world, occupies as a continuous population the vast extent of country from the neighborhood of the Lake Baikal, 110° E. longitude, to the eastern boundaries of the Greek and Slavonic countries of Europe. One isolated tribe—the Yakuts—dwell in the remote East, upon the River Lena and the coasts of the Icy Sea. The chief divisions of the Turks are: 1. The *Ouzgours*, on the west of the Mongol frontier, the most anciently civilized tribe of the Turkish race. 2. *Turks of the Sandy Desert*, continuous with Mongolia and Tibet. 3. *Turks of Khoten, Kashgar, and Yarkend*, continuous with Tibet. 4. The *Kirghis*, in Independent Tartary. 5. The *Uzbeks*, the Turks of Bokhara. 6. The *Turkomans*, inhabiting the Persian frontier of Independent Tartary from Balk to the Caspian. 7. The *Osmanli*, or *Ottoman Turks*, the Turks of the Turkish empire. 8. The *Nogays*, dwelling north of the Caucasus, between the Lower Don and the Lower Volga. 9. *The Turks of the Russian Empire*. 10. *The isolated Yakuts of the Lena*, already mentioned.

IV. THE UGRIAN RACE, also called the FINNISH or TSCHUDISH.—This people left the great eastern plateau of Asia, and settled in the northwest of Asia and the

The memory of past events cannot long be preserved in the frequent and remote emigrations of illiterate barbarians. The modern Tartars are ignorant of the conquests of their ancestors;¹⁶ and our knowledge of the history of the Scythians is derived from their intercourse with the learned and civilized nations of the South—the Greeks, the Persians, and the Chinese. The Greeks, who navigated the Euxine and planted their colonies along the sea-coast, made the gradual and imperfect discovery of Scythia, from the Danube and the confines of Thrace, as far as the frozen Mæotis, the seat of eternal winter, and Mount Caucasus, which, in the language of poetry, was described as the utmost boundary of the earth. They celebrated, with simple credulity, the virtues of the pastoral life;¹⁷ they entertained a more rational apprehension of the strength and numbers of the warlike barbarians¹⁸ who contemptuously baffled the im-

¹⁶ Abulghazi Khan, in the two first parts of his *Genealogical History*, relates the miserable fables and traditions of the Uzbek Tartars concerning the times which preceded the reign of Zingis.

¹⁷ In the thirteenth book of the *Iliad*, Jupiter turns away his eyes from the bloody fields of Troy to the plains of Thrace and Scythia. He would not, by changing the prospect, behold a more peaceful or innocent scene.

¹⁸ Thucydides, l. ii. c. 97.

north of Europe, at a period long antecedent to all historical documents. They extend as a continuous population from the Yenesei on the east to Norway on the west. The eastern branches of this race are the Voguls and the Ostiaks, between the Ural Mountains and the Yenesei, inhabiting the country formerly called Ugrien, Jugrien, or Jugoria. The most important of the western branches are the Finns and Lapps. The Magyars of Hungary are also members of the Ugrian race. This people, in the ninth century of the Christian era, descended from the southern part of the Uralian Mountains and settled on the plains of the Lower Danube. They called themselves Magyars, but the Russians gave them the name of Ugri, as originating from Ugria; and this name has been corrupted into Ungri and Hungarians. The Magyars are the only people of the Ugrian race who have exercised any influence upon the history of the world.

Upon the ethnology and languages of the above-mentioned races the following are the most important works since the time of Gibbon: Klaproth, *Tableaux Historiques de l'Asie*, Paris, 1826, 4to; Rémusat, *Recherches sur les Langues Tartares*, Paris, 1820, and several essays by the same writer in his *Mélanges Asiatiques*, Paris, 1825–26, 2 vols. 8vo, and *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, 1829, 2 vols. 8vo; D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongoles*, La Haye et Amsterdam, 1834, 4 vols.; Schott, *Versuch über die Tatarischen Sprachen*; F. H. Müller, *Der Ugrische Volkstamm*, Berlin, 1837–39, 2 vols. 8vo; Neumann, *Die Völker des südlichen Russlands*, Leipzig, 1847; Prichard, *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, vols. iii. and iv.; Latham, *The Natural History of the Varieties of Man*.—S.

mense armament of Darius, the son of Hystaspes.¹⁹ The Persian monarchs had extended their western conquests to the banks of the Danube and the limits of European Scythia. The eastern provinces of their empire were exposed to the Scythians of Asia, the wild inhabitants of the plains beyond the Oxus and the Jaxartes, two mighty rivers, which direct their course towards the Caspian Sea. The long and memorable quarrel of Iran and Touran is still the theme of history or romance. The famous, perhaps the fabulous, valor of the Persian heroes Rustan and Asfendiar was signalized, in the defence of their country, against the Afrasiabs of the North;²⁰ and the invincible spirit of the same barbarians resisted, on the same ground, the victorious arms of Cyrus and Alexander.²¹ In the eyes of the Greeks and Persians, the real geography of Scythia was bounded, on the east, by the mountains of Imaus or Caf; and their distant prospect of the extreme and inaccessible parts of Asia was clouded by ignorance or perplexed by fiction. But those inaccessible regions are the

¹⁹ See the fourth book of Herodotus. When Darius advanced into the Moldavian desert, between the Danube and the Dniester, the King of the Scythians sent him a mouse, a frog, a bird, and five arrows—a tremendous allegory!

²⁰ These wars and heroes may be found under their respective *titles*, in the *Bibliothèque Orientale* of D'Herbelot. They have been celebrated in an epic poem of sixty thousand rhymed couplets, by Ferdusi,^a the Homer of Persia. See the *History of Nadir Shah*, p. 145, 165. The public must lament that Mr. Jones has suspended the pursuit of Oriental learning.^b

²¹ The Caspian Sea, with its rivers and adjacent tribes, are laboriously illustrated in the *Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre*, which compares the true geography and the errors produced by the vanity or ignorance of the Greeks.

^a Ferdusi is yet imperfectly known to European readers. An abstract of the whole poem has been published by Goerres in German, under the title "*Das Helidenbuch des Iran*." In English, an abstract with poetical translations, by Mr. Atkinson, has appeared, under the auspices of the Oriental Fund. But to translate a poet, a man must be a poet. The best account of the poem is in an article by Von Hammer in the *Vienna Jahrbucher*, 1820; or perhaps in a masterly article in *Cochrane's Foreign Quarterly Review*, No. 1, 1835. A splendid and critical edition of the whole work has been published by a very learned English Orientalist, Captain Macan, at the expense of the King of Oude. As to the number of 60,000 couplets, Captain Macan (Preface, p. 39) states that he never saw a MS containing more than 56,685, including doubtful and spurious passages and episodes.—M.

^b The later studies of Sir W. Jones were more in unison with the wishes of the public, thus expressed by Gibbon.—M.

ancient residence of a powerful and civilized nation," which ascends, by a probable tradition, above forty centuries;" and which is able to verify a series of near two thousand years by

²² The original seat of the nation appears to have been in the northwest of China, in the provinces of Chensi and Chansi. Under the two first dynasties the principal town was still a movable camp; the villages were thinly scattered; more land was employed in pasture than in tillage; the exercise of hunting was ordained to clear the country from wild beasts; Petcheli (where Pekin stands) was a desert; and the southern provinces were peopled with Indian savages. The dynasty of the *Han* (before Christ 206) gave the empire its actual form and extent.

²³ The era of the Chinese monarchy has been variously fixed from 2952 to 2132 years before Christ; and the year 2637 has been chosen for the lawful epoch by the authority of the present emperor. The difference arises from the uncertain duration of the two first dynasties; and the vacant space that lies beyond them, as far as the real, or fabulous, times of Fohi or Hoangti. Sematsien dates his authentic chronology from the year 841. The thirty-six eclipses of Confucius (thirty-one of which have been verified) were observed between the years 722 and 480 before Christ. The *historical period* of China does not ascend above the Greek Olympiads.^a

^a The ablest Chinese scholars in Europe, Klaproth, Rémusat, and Neumann, accept without scruple the statements of the Chinese authors respecting the antiquity of their monarchy. Rémusat says that the history of China goes back *with certainty* to the twenty-second century before our era, and that traditions, entitled to credit, allow us to date its commencement four centuries earlier, in the year 2637 B.C., in the 61st year of the reign of Hoang-ti. (Rémusat, *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, vol. i. p. 65.) But, notwithstanding the authority of these scholars, the laws of historical criticism compel us to reject the ancient date which they assign to the Chinese monarchy, and even the much later date which Gibbon gives as the commencement of the historical period of China. The earliest extant history of China is by Ssema-Thsian (called by Gibbon Sematsien in note 24), who was born in B.C. 145, and published his work about the commencement of the first century before our era. We learn from him that the ancient chronicles had been destroyed in B.C. 213; and it appears that he was obliged to have recourse chiefly to tradition for the period preceding the Han dynasty. (Rémusat, *ut supra*, vol. ii. p. 182.) A history handed down by tradition for 2000 years cannot be accepted as a real narrative of facts; and even if Ssema-Thsian recovered most of the ancient annals, we know nothing of their value, whether they were written by contemporaries of the events which they record, or whether, like the Greek genealogies of the heroic ages, they were the inventions of a later period. At all events, we cannot *with certainty* place the commencement of the historical period of China earlier than B.C. 206, the beginning of the Han dynasty. Even if the thirty-six eclipses which are said to have been observed between 722 and 480 B.C. have been really verified, it would only prove that some kind of records had been preserved before the Han dynasty; but even these astronomical calculations have been called in question by competent judges. Moreover, many of the details of early Chinese history rest upon the authority of Ma-touan-lin, who in the thirteenth century of our era compiled an encyclopædia of history, antiquities, and literature. His work is considered as one of great authority by Chinese scholars, but cannot be of any value as an independent testimony respecting the early period. (Rémusat, *ut supra*, vol. ii. p. 166.) There are some good remarks upon the value of early Chinese history in Latham's *Natural History of the Varieties of Man*, p. 56 seq.—S.

the perpetual testimony of accurate and contemporary historians.²⁴ The annals of China²⁵ illustrate the state and revolutions of the pastoral tribes, which may still be distinguished by the vague appellation of Scythians or Tartars—the vassals, the enemies, and sometimes the conquerors of a great empire, whose policy has uniformly opposed the blind and impetuous valor of the barbarians of the North. From the mouth of the Danube to the Sea of Japan, the whole longitude of Scythia is about one hundred and ten degrees, which, in that parallel, are equal to more than five thousand miles. The latitude of these extensive deserts cannot be so easily or so accurately measured; but, from the fortieth degree, which touches the wall of China, we may securely advance above a thousand miles to the northward, till our progress is stopped by the excessive cold of Siberia. In that dreary climate, instead of the animated picture of a Tartar camp, the smoke which issues from the earth, or rather from the snow, betrays the subterraneous dwellings of the Tongouses and the Samoiedes: the want of horses and oxen is imperfectly supplied by the use of reindeer and of large dogs; and the conquerors of the earth insensibly degenerate into a race of deformed and diminutive savages, who tremble at the sound of arms.²⁶

²⁴ After several ages of anarchy and despotism, the dynasty of the Han (before Christ 206) was the era of the revival of learning. The fragments of ancient literature were restored; the characters were improved and fixed; and the future preservation of books was secured by the useful inventions of ink, paper, and the art of printing. Ninety-seven years before Christ, Sematsien published the first history of China. His labors were illustrated and continued by a series of one hundred and eighty historians. The substance of their works is still extant, and the most considerable of them are now deposited in the King of France's library.

²⁵ China has been illustrated by the labors of the French; of the missionaries at Peking, and Messrs. Fréret and De Guignes at Paris. The substance of the three preceding notes is extracted from the *Chou-king*, with the preface and notes of M. de Guignes, Paris, 1770; The *Tong-Kien-Kang-Mou*, translated by the P. de Mailla, under the name of *Hist. Générale de la Chine*, tom. i. p. xlix.-cc.; the *Mémoires sur la Chine*, Paris, 1776, etc., tom. i. p. 1-328, tom. ii. p. 5-364; the *Histoire des Huns*, tom. i. p. 1-131, tom. v. p. 345-362; and the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. x. p. 377-402, tom. xv. p. 495-564, tom. xviii. p. 178-295, tom. xxxvi. p. 164-238.

²⁶ See the *Histoire Générale des Voyages*, tom. xviii.; and the *Genealogical History*, vol. ii. p. 620-664.

The Huns,* who under the reign of Valens threatened the empire of Rome, had been formidable, in a much earlier period, to the empire of China.²⁷ Their ancient, perhaps their original, seat was an extensive though

Original seat
of the Huns.

²⁷ M. de Guignes (tom. ii. p. 1-124) has given the original history of the ancient Hiong-nou, or Huns.^b The Chinese geography of their country (tom. i. part ii. p. lv.-lxiii.) seems to comprise a part of their conquests.

* There has been much controversy among modern scholars respecting the race to which the Huns belonged. The three principal theories are: 1. That they were *Mongols*, which is maintained by Niebuhr. 2. That they were *Ugrians*, which is the opinion of Humboldt and of the chief writers on the subject. 3. That they were *Turks*, which is maintained by Zeuss, Prichard, and Latham. The last of these theories appears to the Editor to be the most probable.

1. The only argument in favor of the Mongolian origin of the Huns is derived from the description of their physical appearance, which is supposed to correspond only to the true Mongols of Mongolia. But this is a mistake; for many of the Turkish tribes of Asia, such as the Uzbeks, have the real Mongol physiognomy; and it is more natural to look for the original type of their physical conformation in the nomadic tribes of the race than in the Osmanli Turks of Europe, who have intermarried with other races, and whose habits and manner of life are widely different from those of their ancestors. Moreover, the true Mongols first appear in history in the time of Zingis Khan, as has been remarked in a previous note; they are never mentioned by the Byzantine historians, whereas the name of the Turks frequently occurs; and it is exceedingly improbable that a conquering race like the Huns should have remained quiet for so many centuries.

2. The argument in favor of the Ugrian origin of the Huns rests chiefly upon the supposition that the name of Hungary is derived from that of the Huns; and as it is an undoubted fact that the Magyars of Hungary are Ugrians, the Huns must have belonged to the same race. But instead of deriving the term Hungary from the Huns, it is more natural to connect it with that of Ugri or Ungri, the name of the race who peopled it in historical times.

3. The *direct* evidence in favor of the Turkish origin of the Huns is scanty; but still there is evidence, which is not the case with the Mongolian and Ugrian hypotheses. The Byzantine writers use the word Huns as the collective name of a race, of which the Khazars, Avars, Bulgarians, and other nations were subdivisions. Now the Khazars, who are first mentioned in A.D. 626, are expressly said by Theophanes to be Turks from the East (Τούρκοι ἀπὸ τῆς ἑπείας οὗς Καζάρους ὀνομάζουσιν, Theoph. p. 263, edit. Paris; p. 485, edit. Bonn); and their chief ruler was Chagan, which is evidently the same as khan or khakan, the title of all the Turkish or Mongolian chiefs or emperors. In the same way, the chief ruler of the Avars is called Chagan. Moreover, the description of the manners of the Huns resembles that of the Turks or Mongols, and not that of the Ugrians; while the countries occupied by the Huns, which are the same as the Turkish area, render it probable that they were Turks rather than Mongols.

If the Hiong-nu of the Chinese writers are the same as the Huns of the classics, the identity of the Huns and the Turks becomes almost certain. The Chinese writers say that the Hiong-nu are the same as the Thü-kiü, who are the Turks of the Altai Mountains under a Chinese name, and who are mentioned as powerful about A.D. 545. It was to the Khagan, or Khan, of these Turks, who was named Dizabulus, that Justin sent an embassy in A.D. 569. (See Editor's note, ch. xlii., next to note 86.)—S.

^b Most writers since the time of Gibbon follow De Guignes in identifying the

dry and barren tract of country, immediately on the north side of the great wall. Their place is at present occupied by the forty-nine hordes or banners of the Mongous, a pastoral nation which consists of about two hundred thousand families.²⁸ But the valor of the Huns had extended the narrow limits of their dominions; and their rustic chiefs, who assumed the appellation of *Tanjou*, gradually became the conquerors and the sovereigns of a formidable empire.

Their conquests in Scythia.

Towards the east their victorious arms were stopped only by the ocean; and the tribes, which are thinly scattered between the Amoor and the extreme peninsula of Corea, adhered with reluctance to the standard of the Huns. On the west, near the head of the Irtysh, and in the valleys of Imaus, they found a more ample space and more numerous enemies. One of the lieutenants of the Tanjou subdued, in a single expedition, twenty-six nations; the Igours,²⁹ distinguished above the Tartar race by the use of letters, were in the number of his vassals; and, by the strange connection of human events, the

²⁸ See in Du Halde (tom. iv. p. 18-65) a circumstantial description, with a correct map of the country of the Mongous.

²⁹ The Igours, or Vigours, were divided into three branches—hunters, shepherds, and husbandmen; and the last class was despised by the two former. See Abulghazi, part ii. ch. 7.*

Hiong-nou, or Hiong-nu, with the Huns. Rémusat says (*Recherches sur les Langues Tartares*, p. 9) that the word Hiong-nu signifies “revolted slaves” in Chinese, just as most of the names given by the Chinese to the nomadic races are expressive of the hatred which the former people felt for these disturbers of their peace. But if Hiong-nu be the same word as Hun, it is most likely a native name; since otherwise the Greeks and Romans would hardly have called the people by the same name, and it is very improbable that the Huns should have carried into Europe the contemptuous term applied to them by the Chinese.—S.

* The history of the Igours, or Ouigours, as they are more correctly called, has been collected from Chinese authorities by Visdelou, Rémusat, and Klaproth, and by D’Ohsson from manuscripts of the Mohammedan historians. Their language represents the old Turkish language before it became corrupted by a mixture of Persian and Arabic words. It was reduced to writing many centuries before letters were known among other nations of Central Asia. The alphabet of the Ouigours is derived from the Syrian Estranghelo, and was introduced among them by the missionaries of the Nestorian Christians. It was through the Ouigours that the Syrian alphabet was diffused among the Mongolian and Tungusian nations. It is said that at the command of Zingis Khan the Ouigours taught the Mongols the art of writing. Rémusat, *Recherches sur les Langues Tartares*, ch. 2, 6; D’Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, vol. i., Prichard, *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, vol. iii. p. 311 seq., 3d edit.—S.

flight of one of those vagrant tribes recalled the victorious Parthians from the invasion of Syria." On the side of the north, the ocean was assigned as the limit of the power of the Huns. Without enemies to resist their progress, or witnesses to contradict their vanity, they might securely achieve a real or imaginary conquest of the frozen regions of Siberia. The *Northern Sea* was fixed as the remote boundary of their empire. But the name of that sea, on whose shores the patriot Sovou embraced the life of a shepherd and an exile," may be transferred with much more probability to the Baikal, a capacious basin, above three hundred miles in length,* which disdains the modest appellation of a lake," and which actually communicates with the seas of the North by the long course of the Angara, the Tonguska, and the Yenesei. The submission of so many distant nations might flatter the pride of the Tanjou; but the valor of the Huns could be rewarded only by the enjoyment of the wealth and luxury of the empire of the South. In the third century before the Christian era, a wall of fifteen hundred miles in length was constructed, to defend the frontiers of China against the inroads of the Huns;" but this stupendous work, which holds a conspicuous place in the map of the world, has never contributed to the safety of an

²⁰ *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxv. p. 17-33. The comprehensive view of M. de Guignes has compared these distant events.

²¹ The fame of Sovou, or So-on, his merit, and his singular adventures are still celebrated in China. See the *Éloge de Moukden*, p. 20, and notes, p. 241-247; and *Mémoires sur la Chine*, tom. iii. p. 317-360.

²² See Isbrand Ives in Harris's Collection, vol. ii. p. 931; Bell's *Travels*, vol. i. p. 247-254; and Gmelin, in the *Hist. Générale des Voyages*, tom. xviii. p. 288-329. They all remark the vulgar opinion, that the *holy sea* grows angry and tempestuous if any one presumes to call it a *lake*. This grammatical nicety often excites a dispute between the absurd superstition of the mariners and the absurd obstinacy of travellers.

²³ The construction of the wall of China is mentioned by Du Halde (tom. ii. p. 45) and De Guignes (tom. ii. p. 59).^b

* The modern Russian accounts make this lake about 400 miles in length, with a mean breadth of between 30 and 40 miles.—S.

^b This wall was finished by Chi-hoang-ti, of the dynasty of Tsin, B.C. 244. According to Chinese authorities, its length is 10,000 li. (On the $\frac{1}{2}$, see Gibbon's note below, No 52.) It is from 20 to 25 feet high. Rémusat, *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, vol. i. p. 58.—S.

unwarlike people. The cavalry of the Tanjou frequently consisted of two or three hundred thousand men, formidable by the matchless dexterity with which they managed their bows and their horses, by their hardy patience in supporting the inclemency of the weather, and by the incredible speed of their march, which was seldom checked by torrents or precipices, by the deepest rivers, or by the most lofty mountains.

They spread themselves at once over the face of the country; and their rapid impetuosity surprised, astonished, and disconcerted the grave and elaborate tactics of a Chinese army. The Emperor Kaoti,* a soldier of fortune whose personal merit had raised him to the throne, marched against the Huns with those veteran troops which had been trained in the civil wars of China. But he was soon surrounded by the barbarians; and, after a siege of seven days, the monarch, hopeless of relief, was reduced to purchase his deliverance by an ignominious capitulation. The successors of Kaoti, whose lives were dedicated to the arts of peace or the luxury of the palace, submitted to a more permanent disgrace. They too hastily confessed the insufficiency of arms and fortifications. They were too easily convinced that, while the blazing signals announced on every side the approach of the Huns, the Chinese troops, who slept with the helmet on their head and the cuirass on their back, were destroyed by the incessant labor of ineffectual marches." A regular payment of money and silk was stipulated as the condition of a temporary and precarious peace; and the wretched expedient of disguising a real tribute under the name of a

Their wars
with the
Chinese.
Ant. Christ.
301.

* See the life of Lieoupang, or Kaoti, in the *Hist. de la Chine*, published at Paris, 1777, etc., tom. i. p. 442-522. This voluminous work is the translation (by the P. de Mailla) of the *Tong-Kien-Kang-Mou*, the celebrated abridgment of the great History of Semakouang (A.D. 1084) and his continuators.*

* See a free and ample memorial, presented by a mandarin to the Emperor Venti (before Christ 180-157), in Du Halde (tom. ii. p. 412-426), from a collection of State papers marked with the red pencil by Kamhi himself (p. 384-612). Another memorial from the minister of war (Kang-Mou, tom. ii. p. 555) supplies some curious circumstances of the manners of the Huns.

* On this work, see Rémusat, *ut supra*, vol. ii. p. 156.—S.

gift or subsidy was practised by the emperors of China as well as by those of Rome. But there still remained a more disgraceful article of tribute which violated the sacred feelings of humanity and nature. The hardships of the savage life, which destroy in their infancy the children who are born with a less healthy and robust constitution, introduce a remarkable disproportion between the numbers of the two sexes. The Tartars are an ugly and even deformed race; and while they consider their own women as the instruments of domestic labor, their desires, or rather their appetites, are directed to the enjoyment of more elegant beauty. A select band of the fairest maidens of China was annually devoted to the rude embraces of the Huns;³⁶ and the alliance of the haughty Tanjous was secured by their marriage with the genuine or adopted daughters of the imperial family, which vainly attempted to escape the sacrilegious pollution. The situation of these unhappy victims is described in the verses of a Chinese princess, who laments that she had been condemned by her parents to a distant exile, under a barbarian husband; who complains that sour milk was her only drink, raw flesh her only food, a tent her only palace; and who expresses, in a strain of pathetic simplicity, the natural wish that she were transformed into a bird, to fly back to her dear country, the object of her tender and perpetual regret.³⁷

The conquest of China has been twice achieved by the pastoral tribes of the North. The forces of the Huns were not inferior to those of the Moguls or of the Mantcheoux; and their ambition might entertain the most sanguine hopes of success. But their pride was humbled and their progress was checked by the arms and policy of Vouti,³⁸ the fifth emperor of the powerful dynasty of the Han. In his long reign of fifty-four years, the barbarians of

Decline and
fall of the
Huns.

³⁶ A supply of women is mentioned as a customary article of treaty and tribute (*Hist. de la Conquête de la Chine par les Tartares Mantcheoux*, tom. i. p. 186, 187, with the note of the editor).

³⁷ De Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. ii. p. 62.

³⁸ See the reign of the Emperor Vouti, in the *Kang-Mou*, tom. iii. p. 1-98. His various and inconsistent character seems to be impartially drawn.

the southern provinces submitted to the laws and manners of China; and the ancient limits of the monarchy were enlarged from the great river of Kiang to the port of Canton. Instead of confining himself to the timid operations of a defensive war, his lieutenants penetrated many hundred miles into the country of the Huns. In those boundless deserts, where it is impossible to form magazines, and difficult to transport a sufficient supply of provisions, the armies of Vouti were repeatedly exposed to intolerable hardships; and of one hundred and forty thousand soldiers who marched against the barbarians, thirty thousand only returned in safety to the feet of their master. These losses, however, were compensated by splendid and decisive success. The Chinese generals improved the superiority which they derived from the temper of their arms, their chariots of war, and the service of their Tartar auxiliaries. The camp of the Tanjou was surprised in the midst of sleep and intemperance; and, though the monarch of the Huns bravely cut his way through the ranks of the enemy, he left above fifteen thousand of his subjects on the field of battle. Yet this signal victory, which was preceded and followed by many bloody engagements, contributed much less to the destruction of the power of the Huns

Ant. Christ.
141-87.

than the effectual policy which was employed to detach the tributary nations from their obedience. Intimidated by the arms or allured by the promises of Vouti and his successors, the most considerable tribes, both of the East and of the West, disclaimed the authority of the Tanjou. While some acknowledged themselves the allies or vassals of the empire, they all became the implacable enemies of the Huns; and the numbers of that haughty people, as soon as they were reduced to their native strength, might, perhaps, have been contained within the walls of one of the great and populous cities of China.³⁹ The desertion of his subjects, and

Ant. Christ.
70.

³⁹ This expression is used in the memorial to the Emperor Venti (Du Halde, tom. ii. p. 417). Without adopting the exaggerations of Marco Polo and Isaac Vossius, we may rationally allow for Pekin two millions of inhabitants. The cities of the south, which contain the manufactures of China, are still more populous.

the perplexity of a civil war, at length compelled the Tanjou himself to renounce the dignity of an independent sovereign and the freedom of a warlike and high-spirited nation. He

Ant Christ. 51. was received at Sigan, the capital of the monarchy, by the troops, the mandarins, and the emperor himself, with all the honors that could adorn and disguise the triumph of Chinese vanity.⁴⁰ A magnificent palace was prepared for his reception; his place was assigned above all the princes of the royal family; and the patience of the barbarian king was exhausted by the ceremonies of a banquet which consisted of eight courses of meat and of nine solemn pieces of music. But he performed, on his knees, the duty of a respectful homage to the Emperor of China; pronounced, in his own name and in the name of his successors, a perpetual oath of fidelity; and gratefully accepted a seal, which was bestowed as the emblem of his regal dependence. After this humiliating submission, the Tanjous sometimes departed from their allegiance and seized the favorable moments of war and rapine; but the monarchy of the Huns gradually declined till it was broken, by civil dissension, into two hostile and separate kingdoms. One of the princes of the nation was urged

A.D. 48.

by fear and ambition to retire towards the south with eight hordes, which composed between forty and fifty thousand families. He obtained, with the title of Tanjou, a convenient territory on the verge of the Chinese provinces; and his constant attachment to the service of the empire was secured by weakness and the desire of revenge. From the time of this fatal schism, the Huns of the north continued to languish about fifty years, till they were oppressed on every side by their foreign and domestic enemies. The proud inscription⁴¹ of a column erected on a lofty mountain announced to posterity that a Chinese army had marched seven hundred

⁴⁰ See the Kang-Mou, tom. iii. p. 150, and the subsequent events under the proper years. This memorable festival is celebrated in the Éloge de Moukden, and explained in a note by the P. Gaubil, p. 89, 90.

⁴¹ This inscription was composed on the spot by Pankou, President of the Tribunal of History (Kang-Mou, tom iii p 392). Similar monuments have been discovered in many parts of Tartary (Histoire des Huns, tom. ii p. 122).

miles into the heart of their country. The Sienpi,⁴³ a tribe of

A.D. 93. Oriental Tartars, retaliated the injuries which they had formerly sustained; and the power of the Tanjous, after a reign of thirteen hundred years, was utterly destroyed before the end of the first century of the Christian era.⁴⁴

The fate of the vanquished Huns was diversified by the various influence of character and situation.⁴⁵ Above one hundred thousand persons, the poorest, indeed, and the most pusillanimous of the people, were contented to remain in their native country, to renounce their peculiar name and origin, and to mingle with the victorious nation of the Sienpi. Fifty-eight hordes (about two hundred thousand men), ambitious of a more honorable servitude, retired towards the south, implored the protection of the Emperors of China, and were permitted to inhabit and to guard the extreme frontiers of the province of Chansi and the territory of Or-tous. But the most warlike and powerful tribes of the Huns maintained in their adverse fortune the undaunted spirit of their ancestors. The Western world was open to their valor, and they resolved, under the conduct of their hereditary chieftains, to discover and subdue some remote country which was still inaccessible to the arms of the Sienpi and to the laws of China.⁴⁶ The course of their emigration soon carried them beyond the mountains of Imaus and the limits of the Chinese geography; but *we* are able to distinguish the two great divisions of these formidable exiles, which directed their march towards the Oxus and towards the Volga. The first of these colonies established their dominion in the fruitful and extensive plains of Sogdiana, on the

Their emigrations.
A.D. 100, etc.

The white
Huns of
Sogdiana.

⁴³ M. de Guignes (tom. i. p. 189) has inserted a short account of the Sienpi.

⁴⁴ The era of the Huns is placed by the Chinese 1210 years before Christ. But the series of their kings does not commence till the year 230 (Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. p. 21, 123).

⁴⁵ The various accidents of the downfall and flight of the Huns are related in the Kang-Mou, tom. iii. p. 88, 91, 95, 139, etc. The small numbers of each horde may be ascribed to their losses and divisions.

⁴⁶ M. de Guignes has skilfully traced the footsteps of the Huns through the vast deserts of Tartary (tom. ii. p. 123, 277, etc., 325, etc.).

eastern side of the Caspian, where they preserved the name of Huns, with the epithet of Euthalites or Nephthalites.* Their manners were softened, and even their features were insensibly improved, by the mildness of the climate and their long residence in a flourishing province," which might still retain a faint impression of the arts of Greece." The *white* Huns, a name which they derived from the change of their complexions, soon abandoned the pastoral life of Scythia. Gorgo, which, under the appellation of Carizme, has since enjoyed a temporary splendor, was the residence of the king, who exercised a legal authority over an obedient people. Their luxury was maintained by the labor of the Sogdians; and the only vestige of their ancient barbarism was the custom which obliged all the companions, perhaps to the number of twenty, who had shared the liberality of a wealthy lord to be buried alive in the same grave." The vicinity of the Huns to the provinces of Persia involved them in frequent and bloody contests with the power of that monarchy. But they respected, in peace, the faith of treaties; in war, the dictates of humanity; and their memorable victory over Peroses, or Firuz, dis-

* Mohammed, Sultan of Carizme, reigned in Sogdiana when it was invaded (A.D. 1218) by Zingis and his Moguls. The Oriental historians (see D'Herbelot, *Petit de la Croix*, etc.) celebrate the populous cities which he ruined and the fruitful country which he desolated. In the next century the same provinces of Chorasnia and Mawaralnahr were described by Abulfeda (*Hudson, Geograph. Minor. tom. iii.*). Their actual misery may be seen in the *Genealogical History of the Tartars*, p. 423-469.

⁴⁷ Justin (xli. 6) has left a short abridgment of the Greek kings of Bactriana. To their industry I should ascribe the new and extraordinary trade which transported the merchandises of India into Europe by the Oxus, the Caspian, the Cyrus, the Phasis, and the Euxine. The other ways, both of the land and sea, were possessed by the Seleucides and the Ptolemies. (See *L'Esprit des Loix*, l. xxi.)

⁴⁸ Procopius de Bell. Persico, l. i. c. 3, p. 9 [tom. i. p. 16, edit. Bonn].

* Euthalites seems to be a misprint for Ephthalites (*Εφθαλιται*), which is the name found in Procopius (*Bell. Persic. i. c. 3*). The Armenian writers, who frequently mention the wars carried on by this people against the Persians, call them *Hephthal*. The form Nephthalites (*Νεφθαλιται*) employed by Theophanes (p. 104, edit. Paris; p. 188, edit. Bonn) is probably a corruption of Ephthalites (St Martin, *Notes on Le Beau*, vol. iv. p. 255). They are called Cidarites by Priscus (p. 43, edit. Paris; p. 159, edit. Bonn). The present Turcomans are most likely their descendants.—S.

played the moderation as well as the valor of the barbarians.

The Huns of
the Volga.

The *second* division of their countrymen, the Huns who gradually advanced towards the northwest, were exercised by the hardships of a colder climate and a more laborious march. Necessity compelled them to exchange the silks of China for the furs of Siberia; the imperfect rudiments of civilized life were obliterated; and the native fierceness of the Huns was exasperated by their intercourse with the savage tribes who were compared, with some propriety, to the wild beasts of the desert. Their independent spirit soon rejected the hereditary succession of the Tanjous; and while each horde was governed by its peculiar mursa, their tumultuary council directed the public measures of the whole nation. As late as the thirteenth century, their transient residence on the eastern banks of the Volga was attested by the name of Great Hungary.⁴⁹ In the winter they descended with their flocks and herds towards the mouth of that mighty river; and their summer excursions reached as high as the latitude of Saratoff, or perhaps the conflux of the Kama. Such, at least, were the recent limits of the black Calmucks,⁵⁰ who remained about a century under the protection of Russia, and who have since returned to their native seats on the frontiers of the Chinese empire. The march and the return of those wandering Tartars, whose united camp consists of fifty thousand tents or families, illustrate the distant emigrations of the ancient Huns.⁵¹

It is impossible to fill the dark interval of time which elapsed after the Huns of the Volga were lost in the eyes of the Chi-

⁴⁹ In the thirteenth century, the monk Rubruquis (who traversed the immense plain of Kipzak in his journey to the court of the Great Khan) observed the remarkable name of *Hungary*, with the traces of a common language and origin (*Hist des Voyages*, tom. vii. p. 269).

⁵⁰ Bell (vol. i. p. 29-34) and the editors of the *Genealogical History* (p. 539) have described the Calmucks of the Volga in the beginning of the present century.

⁵¹ This great transmigration of 300,000 Calmucks, or Torgouts, happened in the year 1771. The original narrative of Kien-long, the reigning Emperor of China, which was intended for the inscription of a column, has been translated by the missionaries of Pekin (*Mémoires sur la Chine*, tom. i. p. 401-418). The emperor affects the smooth and specious language of the Son of Heaven, and the Father of his People.

nese, and before they showed themselves to those of the Romans. There is some reason, however, to apprehend that the same force which had driven them from their native seats still continued to impel their march towards the frontiers of Europe. The power of the Sienpi, their implacable enemies, which extended above three thousand miles from east to west," must have gradually oppressed them by the weight and terror of a formidable neighborhood; and the flight of the tribes of Scythia would inevitably tend to increase the strength or to contract the territories of the Huns. The harsh and obscure appellations of those tribes would offend the ear, without informing the understanding, of the reader; but I cannot suppress the very natural suspicion *that* the Huns of the North derived a considerable reinforcement from the ruin of the dynasty of the South, which, in the course of the third century, submitted to the dominion of China; *that* the bravest warriors marched away in search of their free and adventurous countrymen; *and* that, as they had been divided by prosperity, they were easily reunited by the common hardships of their adverse fortune." The Huns, with their flocks and herds, their wives and children, their dependents and allies, were transported to the West of the Volga, and they boldly advanced to invade the country of the Alani, a pastoral people who occupied, or wasted, an extensive tract of the deserts of Scythia. The plains between the Volga and the Tanais were covered with the tents of the Alani, but their name and manners were diffused over the wide extent of their conquests; and the painted tribes of the Agathyrsi and Geloni were confounded among their vassals. Towards the north

" The Kang-Mou (tom. iii. p. 447) ascribes to their conquests a space of 14,000 lfs. According to the present standard, 200 lfs (or, more accurately, 193) are equal to one degree of latitude; and one English mile consequently exceeds three miles of China. But there are strong reasons to believe that the ancient li scarcely equalled one half of the modern. See the elaborate researches of M. d'Anville, a geographer who is not a stranger in any age or climate of the globe. (*Mémoires de l'Acad.* tom. ii. p. 125-502. *Mesures Itinéraires*, p. 154-167.)

" See the *Histoire des Huns*, tom. ii. p. 125-144. The subsequent history (p. 145-277) of three or four Hunnic dynasties evidently proves that their martial spirit was not impaired by a long residence in China.

they penetrated into the frozen regions of Siberia, among the savages who were accustomed, in their rage or hunger, to the taste of human flesh; and their southern inroads were pushed as far as the confines of Persia and India.* The mixture of Sarmatic and German blood had contributed to improve the features of the Alani, to whiten their swarthy complexions, and to tinge their hair with a yellowish cast, which is seldom found in the Tartar race. They were less deformed in their persons, less brutish in their manners, than the Huns; but they did not yield to those formidable barbarians in their martial and independent spirit; in the love of freedom, which rejected even the use of domestic slaves; and in the love of arms, which considered war and rapine as the pleasure and the glory of mankind. A naked scimeter fixed in the ground was the only object of their religious worship; the scalps of their enemies formed the costly trappings of their horses; and they viewed with pity and contempt the pusillanimous warriors who patiently expected the infirmities of age and the tortures of lingering disease." On the banks of the Tanais the military power of the Huns and the Alani encountered each other with equal valor, but with unequal success. The Huns prevailed in the bloody contest; the King of the Alani was slain; and the remains of the vanquished nation were dispersed by the ordinary alternative of flight or submission." A colony

"*Utque hominibus quietis et placidis otium est voluptabile, ita illos pericula juvant et bella. Judicatur ibi beatus qui in proelio profuderit animum: senescentes etiam et fortuitis mortibus mundo digressos, ut degeneres et ignavos, conviciis atrocibus insectantur.*" [Ammian. xxxi. 2.] We must think highly of the conquerors of such men.

* On the subject of the Alani, see Ammianus (xxx. 2), Jornandes (*de Rebus Geticis*, c. 24), M. de Guignes (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. ii. p. 279), and the *Genealogical History of the Tartars* (tom. ii. p. 617).*

* There has been much dispute respecting the ethnological affinities of the Alani. It is usually supposed that remains of them still exist in the Ossetæ, a people of Mount Caucasus who are said by ancient travellers to have also borne the name of Alans. But these Ossetæ appear to be an Indo-European people; while all the descriptions of the Alani by the ancient writers seem to prove that they belonged to the Tartar or nomadic races of Asia. Thus Lucian says (*Toxaris*, c. 51, vol. ii. p. 557, edit. Reitz) that their language and dress were the same as those of the Scythians; and Ammianus (xxx. c. 2) describes them as resembling the Huns, but less savage in form and manners. This would point to a Turkish ori-

of exiles found a secure refuge in the mountains of Caucasus, between the Euxine and the Caspian, where they still preserve their name and their independence. Another colony advanced with more intrepid courage towards the shores of the Baltic, associated themselves with the northern tribes of Germany, and shared the spoil of the Roman provinces of Gaul and Spain. But the greatest part of the nation of the Alani embraced the offers of an honorable and advantageous union; and the Huns, who esteemed the valor of their less fortunate enemies, proceeded, with an increase of numbers and confidence, to invade the limits of the Gothic empire.

The great Hermanric, whose dominions extended from the Baltic to the Euxine, enjoyed, in the full maturity of age and reputation, the fruit of his victories, when he was alarmed by the formidable approach of a host of unknown enemies,* on whom his barbarous subjects might, without injustice, bestow the epithet of barbarians. The numbers, the strength, the rapid motions, and the implacable cruelty of the Huns were felt and dreaded and magnified by the astonished Goths, who beheld their fields and villages consumed with flames and deluged with indiscriminate slaughter. To these real terrors they added the surprise and abhorrence which were excited by the shrill voice, the uncouth gestures, and the strange deformity of the Huns.^a These sav-

Their victories over the Goths.
A.D. 375.

* As we are possessed of the authentic history of the Huns, it would be impertinent to repeat or to refute the fables which misrepresent their origin and progress, their passage of the mud or water of the Maeotis in pursuit of an ox or stag, "*les Indes qu'ils avoient découvertes*," etc. (Zosimus, l. iv. [c. 20] p. 224. Sozomen, l. vi. c. 37. Procopius, *Hist. Miscell.* c. 5. Jornandes, c. 24. *Grandeur et Décadence*, etc., des Romains, ch. 17.)

gin, which is confirmed by the fact that their area, the country north of the Caucasus, between the Lower Don and the Lower Volga, is now occupied by the Nogay Turks, who cannot be shown to be of recent introduction. If we were to trust the Persian tradition as preserved by Ferdusi, the Alanân dwelt in the most ancient times on the northern side of the country of the Paropamisus, near the land Ghur, or Ghordzeh. These Alanân are said by Klaproth to be mentioned in the Chinese Annals under the names of Yan-thsai, Alanna, Alan, and subsequently of Suthle and Suth. See Klaproth, *Tableaux Historiques de l'Asie*, p. 174 seq.; Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 700 seq.; Schafarik, *Slawische Alterthümer*, vol. i. p. 350; Latham, *The Germania of Tacitus*, Epilog., p. c.—S.

^a Art added to their native ugliness; in fact, it is difficult to ascribe the proper share in the features of this hideous picture to nature, to the barbarous skill with

ages of Scythia were compared (and the picture had some resemblance) to the animals who walk very awkwardly on two legs, and to the misshapen figures, the *Termini*, which were often placed on the bridges of antiquity. They were distinguished from the rest of the human species by their broad shoulders, flat noses, and small black eyes deeply buried in the head; and as they were almost destitute of beards, they never enjoyed either the manly graces of youth or the venerable aspect of age.⁸⁷ A fabulous origin was assigned worthy of their form and manners—that the witches of Scythia, who, for their foul and deadly practices, had been driven from society, had copulated in the desert with infernal spirits, and that the Huns were the offspring of this execrable conjunction.⁸⁸ The tale, so full of horror and absurdity, was greedily embraced by the credulous hatred of the Goths; but while it gratified their hatred, it increased their fear, since the posterity of demons and witches might be supposed to inherit some share of the preternatural powers as well as of the malignant temper of their parents. Against these enemies, Hermanric prepared to exert the united forces of the Gothic State; but he soon dis-

⁸⁷ *Prodigiosa formæ, et pandi; ut bipedes existimes bestias; vel quales in commarginandis pontibus, effigati stipites dolantur incompti.* Ammian. xxxi. 2. Jornandes (c. 24) draws a strong caricature of a Calmuck face “Species pavenda nigredine . . . quædam deformis offa, non facies; habensque magis puncta quam lumina.” See Buffon, *Hist. Naturelle*, tom. iii. p. 380.

⁸⁸ This execrable origin, which Jornandes (c. 24) describes with the rancor of a Goth, might be originally derived from a more pleasing fable of the Greeks (Herodot. i. iv. c. 9, etc.).

which they were self-disfigured, or to the terror and hatred of the Romans. Their noses were flattened by their nurses, their cheeks were gashed by an iron instrument, that the scars might look more fearful and prevent the growth of the beard. (Jornandes and Sidonius Apollinaris [Carm. ii. v. 254 seq.]):

Obtundit teneras circumdata fascia nares,
Ut galeis cedant.

Yet he adds that their forms were robust and manly, their height of a middle size, but, from the habit of riding, disproportioned.

Stant pectora vasta,
Insignes humeri, succincta sub ilibus alvus.
Forma quidem pediti media est, procera sed extat
Si cernas equites, sic longi sæpe putantur
Si sedeant.

covered that his vassal tribes, provoked by oppression, were much more inclined to second than to repel the invasion of the Huns. One of the chiefs of the Roxolani⁸⁰ had formerly deserted the standard of Hermanric, and the cruel tyrant had condemned the innocent wife of the traitor to be torn asunder by wild horses. The brothers of that unfortunate woman seized the favorable moment of revenge. The aged King of the Goths languished some time after the dangerous wound which he received from their daggers; but the conduct of the war was retarded by his infirmities, and the public councils of the nation were distracted by a spirit of jealousy and discord. His death, which has been imputed to his own despair, left the reins of government in the hands of Withimer, who, with the doubtful aid of some Scythian mercenaries, maintained the unequal contest against the arms of the Huns and the Alani till he was defeated and slain in a decisive battle. The Ostrogoths submitted to their fate; and the royal race of the Amali will hereafter be found among the subjects of the haughty Attila. But the person of Witheric, the infant king, was saved by the diligence of Alatheus and Saphrax, two warriors of approved valor and fidelity, who, by cautious marches, conducted the independent remains of the nation of the Ostrogoths towards the Danastus,^a or Dniester, a considerable river, which now separates the Turkish dominions from the empire of Russia. On the banks of the Dniester the prudent Athanaric, more attentive to his own than to the general safety, had fixed the camp of the Visigoths; with the firm resolution of opposing the victorious barbarians, whom he thought it less advisable to provoke. The ordinary speed of the Huns was checked by the weight of baggage and the encumbrance of captives; but their military skill deceived and almost destroyed the army of Athanaric. While the Judge of the Visigoths

⁸⁰ The Roxolani may be the fathers of the 'Pōc, the *Russians* (D'Anville, *Empire de Russie*, p. 1-10), whose residence (A.D. 862) about Novogrod Veliki cannot be very remote from that which the Geographer of Ravenna (i. 12, iv. 4, 46, v. 28, 30) assigns to the Roxolani (A.D. 886).^a

^a More correctly Danastria, called by the earlier classical writers Tyraa.—S.

^b See on the origin of the Russ Editor's note, c. iv. note 43.—S.

defended the banks of the Dniester, he was encompassed and attacked by a numerous detachment of cavalry, who, by the light of the moon, had passed the river in a fordable place; and it was not without the utmost efforts of courage and conduct that he was able to effect his retreat towards the hilly country. The undaunted general had already formed a new and judicious plan of defensive war; and the strong lines which he was preparing to construct between the mountains, the Pruth, and the Danube would have secured the extensive and fertile territory that bears the modern name of Wallachia from the destructive inroads of the Huns.⁶⁰ But the hopes and measures of the Judge of the Visigoths were soon disappointed by the trembling impatience of his dismayed countrymen, who were persuaded by their fears that the interposition of the Danube was the only barrier that could save them from the rapid pursuit and invincible valor of the barbarians of Scythia. Under the command of Fritigern and Alavivus,⁶¹ the body of the nation hastily advanced to the banks of the great river, and implored the protection of the Roman Emperor of the East. Athanaric himself, still anxious to avoid the guilt of perjury, retired, with a band of faithful followers, into the mountainous country of Caucaland, which appears to have been guarded and almost concealed by the impenetrable forests of Transylvania.⁶²

After Valens had terminated the Gothic war with some ap-

⁶⁰ The text of Ammianus seems to be imperfect or corrupt; but the nature of the ground explains, and almost defines, the Gothic rampart. *Mémoires de l'Académie*, etc., tom. xxviii. p. 444-462.

⁶¹ M. de Buat (*Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. vi. p. 407) has conceived a strange idea that Alavivus was the same person as Ulphilas, the Gothic bishop; and that Ulphilas, the grandson of a Cappadocian captive, became a temporal prince of the Goths.

⁶² Ammianus (xxxi. 3) and Jornandes (*de Rebus Geticis*, c. 24) describe the subversion of the Gothic empire by the Huns.

* The most probable opinion as to the position of this land is that of M. Malte Brun. He thinks that Caucaland is the territory of the Cacoenses, placed by Ptolemy, l. iii. c. 8, towards the Carpathian Mountains, on the side of the present Transylvania, and therefore the canton of Cacava, to the south of Hermanstadt, the capital of that principality. Caucaland, it is evident, is the Gothic form of these different names. St Martin, iv. 108.—M.

pearance of glory and success, he made a progress through his dominions of Asia, and at length fixed his residence in the capital of Syria. The five years⁶³ which he spent at Antioch were employed to watch, from a secure distance, the hostile designs of the Persian monarch; to check the depredations of the Saracens and Isaurians;⁶⁴ to enforce, by arguments more prevalent than those of reason and eloquence, the belief of the Arian theology; and to satisfy his anxious suspicions by the promiscuous execution of the innocent and the guilty. But the attention of the emperor was most seriously engaged by the important intelligence which he received from the civil and military officers who were intrusted with the defence of the Danube. He was informed that the North was agitated by a furious tempest; that the irruption of the Huns, an unknown and monstrous race of savages, had subverted the power of the Goths; and that the suppliant multitudes of that warlike nation, whose pride was now humbled in the dust, covered a space of many miles along the banks of the river. With outstretched arms and pathetic lamentations they loudly deplored their past misfortunes and their present danger; acknowledged that their only hope of safety was in the clemency of the Roman government; and most solemnly protested that, if the gracious liberality of the emperor would permit them to cultivate the waste lands of Thrace, they should ever hold themselves bound, by the strongest obligations of duty and gratitude, to obey the laws and to guard the limits of the republic. These assurances were confirmed by the ambassadors of the Goths,* who impatiently expected from the mouth of Valens an answer that must finally determine the fate of their unhappy countrymen. The Emperor of the East was no longer guided by the wisdom

The Goths
implore the
protection of
Valens.
A.D. 376.

⁶³ The chronology of Ammianus is obscure and imperfect. Tillemont has labored to clear and settle the annals of Valens.

⁶⁴ Zosimus, l. iv. [c. 20] p. 223. Sozomen, l. vi. c. 38. The Isaurians, each winter, infested the roads of Asia Minor, as far as the neighborhood of Constantinople. Basil, Epist. ccl. apud Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 106.

* Sozomen and Philostorgius say that the Bishop Ulphilas was one of these ambassadors.—M.

and authority of his elder brother, whose death happened towards the end of the preceding year; and, as the distressful situation of the Goths required an instant and peremptory decision, he was deprived of the favorite resource of feeble and timid minds, who consider the use of dilatory and ambiguous measures as the most admirable efforts of consummate prudence. As long as the same passions and interests subsist among mankind, the questions of war and peace, of justice and policy, which were debated in the councils of antiquity, will frequently present themselves as the subject of modern deliberation. But the most experienced statesman of Europe has never been summoned to consider the propriety or the danger of admitting or rejecting an innumerable multitude of barbarians, who are driven by despair and hunger to solicit a settlement on the territories of a civilized nation. When that important proposition, so essentially connected with the public safety, was referred to the ministers of Valens, they were perplexed and divided; but they soon acquiesced in the flattering sentiment which seemed the most favorable to the pride, the indolence, and the avarice of their sovereign. The slaves who were decorated with the titles of præfects and generals dissembled or disregarded the terrors of this national emigration—so extremely different from the partial and accidental colonies which had been received on the extreme limits of the empire. But they applauded the liberality of fortune which had conducted, from the most distant countries of the globe, a numerous and invincible army of strangers to defend the throne of Valens, who might now add to the royal treasures the immense sums of gold supplied by the provincials to compensate their annual proportion of recruits. The prayers of the Goths were granted, and their service was accepted by the imperial court; and orders were immediately despatched to the civil and military governors of the Thracian diocese to make the necessary preparations for the passage and subsistence of a great people, till a proper and sufficient territory could be allotted for their future residence. The liberality of the emperor was accompanied, however, with two harsh and rigorous conditions, which prudence might jus-

A.D. 375.
Nov. 17.

tify on the side of the Romans, but which distress alone could extort from the indignant Goths. Before they passed the Danube they were required to deliver their arms, and it was insisted that their children should be taken from them and dispersed through the provinces of Asia, where they might be civilized by the arts of education, and serve as hostages to secure the fidelity of their parents.

During this suspense of a doubtful and distant negotiation, the impatient Goths made some rash attempts to pass the Danube without the permission of the government whose protection they had implored. Their motions were strictly observed by the vigilance of the troops which were stationed along the river, and their foremost detachments were defeated with considerable slaughter; yet such were the timid councils of the reign of Valens that the brave officers who had served their country in the execution of their duty were punished by the loss of their employments, and narrowly escaped the loss of their heads. The imperial mandate was at length received for transporting over the Danube the whole body of the Gothic nation;⁴⁸ but the execution of this order was a task of labor and difficulty. The stream of the Danube, which in those parts is above a mile broad,⁴⁹ had been swelled by incessant rains, and in this tumultuous passage many were swept away and drowned by the rapid violence of the current. A large fleet of vessels, of boats, and of canoes was provided; many days and nights they passed and repassed with indefatigable toil; and the most strenuous diligence was exerted by the officers of Valens that not a single barbarian, of those who were reserved to subvert the foundations of Rome, should be left on the opposite shore. It was

⁴⁸ The passage of the Danube is exposed by Ammianus (xxxi. 8, 4), Zosimus (l. iv. [c. 20] p. 223, 224), Eunapius in Excerpt. Legat. (p. 19, 20 [p. 49, 50, edit. Bonn]), and Jornandes (c. 25, 26). Ammianus declares (c. 5) that he means only "*ipsas rerum digerere summitates*." But he often takes a false measure of their importance, and his superfluous prolixity is disagreeably balanced by his unseasonable brevity.

⁴⁹ Chishull, a curious traveller, has remarked the breadth of the Danube, which he passed to the south of Bucharest, near the conflux of the Argish (p. 77). He admires the beauty and spontaneous plenty of Mæsia, or Bulgaria.

thought expedient that an accurate account should be taken of their numbers; but the persons who were employed soon desisted, with amazement and dismay, from the prosecution of the endless and impracticable task;" and the principal historian of the age most seriously affirms that the prodigious armies of Darius and Xerxes, which had so long been considered as the fables of vain and credulous antiquity, were now justified in the eyes of mankind by the evidence of fact and experience. A probable testimony has fixed the number of the Gothic warriors at two hundred thousand men; and if we can venture to add the just proportion of women, of children, and of slaves, the whole mass of people which composed this formidable emigration must have amounted to near a million of persons, of both sexes and of all ages. The children of the Goths, those at least of a distinguished rank, were separated from the multitude. They were conducted without delay to the distant seats assigned for their residence and education; and, as the numerous train of hostages or captives passed through the cities, their gay and splendid apparel, their robust and martial figure, excited the surprise and envy of the provincials.* But the stipulation, the most offensive to the Goths and the most important to the Romans, was shamefully eluded. The barbarians, who considered their arms as the ensigns of honor and the pledges of safety, were disposed to offer a price

87

Quem qui scire velit, Libvci velit æquoris idem
Discere quam multæ Zephyro turbentur arenæ.

Ammianus has inserted in his prose these lines of Virgil (Georgic. l. ii. 105), originally designed by the poet to express the impossibility of numbering the different sorts of vines. See Plin. Hist. Natur. l. xiv.

* A very curious but obscure passage of Eunapius appears to me to have been misunderstood by M. Mai, to whom we owe its discovery. The substance is as follows: "The Goths transported over the river their native deities, with their priests of both sexes, but concerning their rites they maintained a deep and 'adamantine silence.' To the Romans they pretended to be generally Christians, and placed certain persons to represent bishops in a conspicuous manner on their wagons. There was even among them a sort of what are called monks, persons whom it was not difficult to mimic; it was enough to wear black raiment, to be wicked, and held in respect, *πονηροῖς τε εἶναι καὶ πιστεύεσθαι*" (Eunapius hated the "black-robed monks," as appears in another passage, with the cordial detestation of a heathen philosopher.) "Thus, while they faithfully but secretly adhered to their own religion, the Romans were weak enough to suppose them perfect Christians." Mai, p. 277. Eunapius, edit. Niebuhr, p. 82.—M.

which the lust or avarice of the imperial officers was easily tempted to accept. To preserve their arms, the haughty warriors consented, with some reluctance, to prostitute their wives or their daughters; the charms of a beauteous maid or a comely boy secured the connivance of the inspectors, who sometimes cast an eye of covetousness on the fringed carpets and linen garments of their new allies,⁸⁸ or who sacrificed their duty to the mean consideration of filling their farms with cattle and their houses with slaves. The Goths, with arms in their hands, were permitted to enter the boats; and, when their strength was collected on the other side of the river, the immense camp which was spread over the plains and the hills of the Lower Mæsia assumed a threatening and even hostile aspect. The leaders of the Ostrogoths, Alatheus and Saphrax, the guardians of their infant king, appeared soon afterwards on the northern banks of the Danube, and immediately despatched their ambassadors to the court of Antioch to solicit, with the same professions of allegiance and gratitude, the same favor which had been granted to the suppliant Visigoths. The absolute refusal of Valens suspended their progress, and discovered the repentance, the suspicions, and the fears of the imperial council.

An undisciplined and unsettled nation of barbarians required the firmest temper and the most dexterous management. The daily subsistence of near a million of extraordinary subjects could be supplied only by constant and skilful diligence, and might continually be interrupted by mistake or accident. The insolence or the indignation of the Goths, if they conceived themselves to be the objects either of fear or of contempt, might urge them to the most desperate extremities, and the fortune of the State seemed to depend on the prudence as well as the integrity of the generals of Valens. At this important crisis the military government of Thrace was exercised by Lupicinus and Maxi-

Their distress and discontent.

⁸⁸ Eunapius and Zosimus curiously specify these articles of Gothic wealth and luxury. Yet it must be presumed that they were the manufactures of the provinces, which the barbarians had acquired as the spoils of war or as the gifts or merchandise of peace.

mus, in whose venal minds the slightest hope of private emolument outweighed every consideration of public advantage, and whose guilt was only alleviated by their incapacity of discerning the pernicious effects of their rash and criminal administration. Instead of obeying the orders of their sovereign, and satisfying with decent liberality the demands of the Goths, they levied an ungenerous and oppressive tax on the wants of the hungry barbarians. The vilest food was sold at an extravagant price; and, in the room of wholesome and substantial provisions, the markets were filled with the flesh of dogs and of unclean animals who had died of disease. To obtain the valuable acquisition of a pound of bread, the Goths resigned the possession of an expensive though serviceable slave, and a small quantity of meat was greedily purchased with ten pounds of a precious but useless metal.⁶⁶ When their property was exhausted, they continued this necessary traffic by the sale of their sons and daughters; and, notwithstanding the love of freedom which animated every Gothic breast, they submitted to the humiliating maxim that it was better for their children to be maintained in a servile condition than to perish in a state of wretched and helpless independence. The most lively resentment is excited by the tyranny of pretended benefactors, who sternly exact the debt of gratitude which they have cancelled by subsequent injuries; a spirit of discontent insensibly arose in the camp of the barbarians, who pleaded, without success, the merit of their patient and dutiful behavior, and loudly complained of the inhospitable treatment which they had received from their new

⁶⁶ *Decem libras*; the word *silver* must be understood. Jornandes betrays the passions and prejudices of a Goth. The servile Greeks, Eunapius^a and Zosimus, disguise the Roman oppression, and execrate the perfidy of the barbarians. Ammianus, a patriot historian, slightly and reluctantly touches on the odious subject. Jerome, who wrote almost on the spot, is fair though concise “*Per avaritiam Maximi duci, ad rebellionem fame coacti sunt*” (in Chron. [tom. viii. p. 817, edit. Vallars.]).

^a A new passage from the history of Eunapius is nearer to the truth. “It appeared to our commanders a legitimate source of gain to be bribed by the barbarians: *κέρδος αὐτοῖς ἰδοὺκε γνήσιον τὸ δωροδοκῆσθαι παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων.*” Edit. Niebuhr, p. 82.—M.

allies. They beheld around them the wealth and plenty of a fertile province, in the midst of which they suffered the intolerable hardships of artificial famine. But the means of relief, and even of revenge, were in their hands, since the rapaciousness of their tyrants had left to an injured people the possession and the use of arms. The clamors of a multitude, untought to disguise their sentiments, announced the first symptoms of resistance, and alarmed the timid and guilty minds of Lupicinus and Maximus. Those crafty ministers, who substituted the cunning of temporary expedients to the wise and salutary counsels of general policy, attempted to remove the Goths from their dangerous station on the frontiers of the empire, and to disperse them, in separate quarters of cantonment, through the interior provinces. As they were conscious how ill they had deserved the respect or confidence of the barbarians, they diligently collected from every side a military force that might urge the tardy and reluctant march of a people who had not yet renounced the title or the duties of Roman subjects. But the generals of Valens, while their attention was solely directed to the discontented Visigoths, imprudently disarmed the ships and the fortifications which constituted the defence of the Danube. The fatal oversight was observed and improved by Alatheus and Saphrax, who anxiously watched the favorable moment of escaping from the pursuit of the Huns. By the help of such rafts and vessels as could be hastily procured, the leaders of the Ostrogoths transported, without opposition, their king and their army, and boldly fixed a hostile and independent camp on the territories of the empire.⁷⁰

Under the name of Judges, Alavivus and Fritigern were the leaders of the Visigoths in peace and war; and the authority which they derived from their birth was ratified by the free consent of the nation. In a season of tranquillity their power might have been equal as well as their rank; but as soon as their countrymen were exasperated by hunger and oppression, the superior abil-

Revolt of the
Goths in
Moesia, and
their first
victories

⁷⁰ Ammianus, xxxl. 4, 5.

ities of Fritigern assumed the military command, which he was qualified to exercise for the public welfare. He restrained the impatient spirit of the Visigoths till the injuries and the insults of their tyrants should justify their resistance in the opinion of mankind ; but he was not disposed to sacrifice any solid advantages for the empty praise of justice and moderation. Sensible of the benefits which would result from the union of the Gothic powers under the same standard, he secretly cultivated the friendship of the Ostrogoths ; and while he professed an implicit obedience to the orders of the Roman generals, he proceeded by slow marches towards Marcianopolis, the capital of the Lower Mæsia, about seventy miles from the banks of the Danube. On that fatal spot the flames of discord and mutual hatred burst forth into a dreadful conflagration. Lupicinus had invited the Gothic chiefs to a splendid entertainment ; and their martial train remained under arms at the entrance of the palace. But the gates of the city were strictly guarded, and the barbarians were sternly excluded from the use of a plentiful market, to which they asserted their equal claim of subjects and allies. Their humble prayers were rejected with insolence and derision ; and as their patience was now exhausted, the townsmen, the soldiers, and the Goths were soon involved in a conflict of passionate altercation and angry reproaches. A blow was imprudently given ; a sword was hastily drawn ; and the first blood that was spilled in this accidental quarrel became the signal of a long and destructive war. In the midst of noise and brutal intemperance, Lupicinus was informed by a secret messenger that many of his soldiers were slain and despoiled of their arms ; and as he was already inflamed by wine and oppressed by sleep, he issued a rash command, that their death should be revenged by the massacre of the guards of Fritigern and Alavivus. The clamorous shouts and dying groans apprised Fritigern of his extreme danger ; and, as he possessed the calm and intrepid spirit of a hero, he saw that he was lost if he allowed a moment of deliberation to the man who had so deeply injured him. "A trifling dispute," said the Gothic leader, with a firm but gentle tone of voice, "appears to have arisen between the two nations ;

but it may be productive of the most dangerous consequences, unless the tumult is immediately pacified by the assurance of our safety and the authority of our presence." At these words Fritigern and his companions drew their swords, opened their passage through the unresisting crowd, which filled the palace, the streets, and the gates of Marcianopolis, and, mounting their horses, hastily vanished from the eyes of the astonished Romans. The generals of the Goths were saluted by the fierce and joyful acclamations of the camp; war was instantly resolved, and the resolution was executed without delay: the banners of the nation were displayed according to the custom of their ancestors; and the air resounded with the harsh and mournful music of the barbarian trumpet." The weak and guilty Lupicinus, who had dared to provoke, who had neglected to destroy, and who still presumed to despise his formidable enemy, marched against the Goths, at the head of such a military force as could be collected on this sudden emergency. The barbarians expected his approach about nine miles from Marcianopolis; and on this occasion the talents of the general were found to be of more prevailing efficacy than the weapons and discipline of the troops. The valor of the Goths was so ably directed by the genius of Fritigern that they broke, by a close and vigorous attack, the ranks of the Roman legions. Lupicinus left his arms and standards, his tribunes and his bravest soldiers, on the field of battle; and their useless courage served only to protect the ignominious flight of their leader. "That successful day put an end to the distress of the barbarians and the security of the Romans: from that day the Goths, renouncing the precarious condition of strangers and

⁷¹ *Vexillis de more sublati, auditisque triste sonantibus classicis.*—Ammian. *xxxi.* 5. These are the *rauca cornua* of Claudian (in *Rufin.* ii. 57), the large horns of the *Uri*, or wild bull—such as have been more recently used by the Swiss cantons of Uri and Unterwald (Simler, *De Republicâ Helvet.* l. ii. p. 201, edit Fueslin. *Tigur.* 1734). Their military horn is finely, though perhaps casually, introduced in an original narrative of the battle of Nancy (A.D. 1477) "Attendait le combat le dit cor fut corné par trois fois, tant que le vent du souffleur pouvoit durer: ce qui esbahit fort Monsieur de Bourgoigne; car déjà à Morat l'avoit ouy." (See the *Pièces Justificatives* in the 4to edition of Philippe de Comines, tom. iii. p. 493.)

exiles, assumed the character of citizens and masters, claimed an absolute dominion over the possessors of land, and held, in their own right, the northern provinces of the empire, which are bounded by the Danube." Such are the words of the Gothic historian,⁷³ who celebrates, with rude eloquence, the glory of his countrymen. But the dominion of the barbarians was exercised only for the purposes of rapine and destruction. As they had been deprived by the ministers of the emperor of the common benefits of nature and the fair intercourse of social life, they retaliated the injustice on the subjects of the empire; and the crimes of Lupicinus were expiated by the ruin of the peaceful husbandmen of Thrace, the conflagration of their villages, and the massacre or captivity of their innocent families. The report of the Gothic victory was soon diffused over the adjacent country; and while it filled the minds of the Romans with terror and dismay, their own hasty imprudence contributed to increase the forces of Fritigern and the calamities of the province. Some time before the great emigration, a numerous body of Goths, under the command of Suerid and Colias, had been received into the protection and service of the empire.⁷⁴ They were encamped under the walls of Hadrianople; but the ministers of Valens were anxious to remove them beyond the Hellespont, at a distance from the dangerous temptation which might so easily be communicated by the neighborhood and the success of their countrymen. The respectful submission with which they yielded to the order of their march might be considered as a proof of their fidelity; and their moderate request of a sufficient allowance of provisions and of a delay of only two days was expressed in the most dutiful terms. But the first magistrate of Hadrianople, incensed by some disorders which had been committed at his country-house, refused this indulgence; and, arming against them the inhabitants and man-

They penetrate into Thrace.

⁷³ Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, c. 26, p. 648, edit. Grot. These *splendidi passi* (they are comparatively such) are undoubtedly transcribed from the larger histories of Priscus, Ablavius, or Cassiodorus.

⁷⁴ "Cum populus suis longe ante suscepti" We are ignorant of the precise date and circumstances of their transmigration.

ufacturers of a populous city, he urged, with hostile threats, their instant departure. The barbarians stood silent and amazed, till they were exasperated by the insulting clamors and missile weapons of the populace; but when patience or contempt was fatigued, they crushed the undisciplined multitude, inflicted many a shameful wound on the backs of their flying enemies, and despoiled them of the splendid armor⁷⁴ which they were unworthy to bear. The resemblance of their sufferings and their actions soon united this victorious detachment to the nation of the Visigoths; the troops of Colias and Suerid expected the approach of the great Fritigern, ranged themselves under his standard, and signalized their ardor in the siege of Hadrianople. But the resistance of the garrison informed the barbarians that in the attack of regular fortifications the efforts of unskilful courage are seldom effectual. Their general acknowledged his error, raised the siege, declared that "he was at peace with stone walls,"⁷⁵ and revenged his disappointment on the adjacent country. He accepted with pleasure the useful reinforcement of hardy workmen who labored in the gold-mines of Thrace⁷⁶ for the emolument and under the lash of an unfeeling master;⁷⁷ and these new associates conducted the barbarians, through the secret paths, to the most sequestered places, which had been chosen to secure the inhabitants, the cattle, and the magazines of corn. With the assistance of such guides, nothing could remain impervious or inaccessible: resistance was fatal; flight was impracticable;

⁷⁴ An imperial manufacture of shields, etc., was established at Hadrianople; and the populace were headed by the *fabricenses*, or workmen (Vales. ad Ammian. xxxi. 6).

⁷⁵ *Pacem sibi esse cum parietibus memorans.*—Ammian. xxxi. 6.

⁷⁶ These mines were in the country of the Bessi, in the ridge of mountains, the Rhodope, that runs between Philippi and Philippopolis, two Macedonian cities, which derived their name and origin from the father of Alexander. From the mines of Thrace he annually received the value, not the weight, of a thousand talents (£200,000)—a revenue which paid the phalanx and corrupted the orators of Greece. See Diodor. Siculus, tom. ii. l. xvi [c. 8] p. 88, edit. Wesseling. Godefroy's Commentary on the Theodosian Code, tom. iii. p. 496. Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. i. p. 676, 857. D'Anville, Géographie Ancienne, tom i p. 338.

⁷⁷ As those unhappy workmen often ran away, Valens had enacted severe laws to drag them from their hiding-places. Cod. Theodosian. l. x. tit. xix. leg. 5, 7.

and the patient submission of helpless innocence seldom found mercy from the barbarian conqueror. In the course of these depredations, a great number of the children of the Goths, who had been sold into captivity, were restored to the embraces of their afflicted parents; but these tender interviews, which might have revived and cherished in their minds some sentiments of humanity, tended only to stimulate their native fierceness by the desire of revenge. They listened, with eager attention, to the complaints of their captive children, who had suffered the most cruel indignities from the lustful or angry passions of their masters; and the same cruelties, the same indignities, were severely retaliated on the sons and daughters of the Romans.⁷⁸

The imprudence of Valens and his ministers had introduced into the heart of the empire a nation of enemies; but the Visigoths might even yet have been reconciled by the
Operations
of the Gothic
war.
A.D. 377. manly confession of past errors and the sincere performance of former engagements. These healing and temperate measures seemed to concur with the timorous disposition of the sovereign of the East; but on this occasion alone Valens was brave, and his unseasonable bravery was fatal to himself and to his subjects. He declared his intention of marching from Antioch to Constantinople to subdue this dangerous rebellion; and, as he was not ignorant of the difficulties of the enterprise, he solicited the assistance of his nephew, the Emperor Gratian, who commanded all the forces of the West. The veteran troops were hastily recalled from the defence of Armenia; that important frontier was abandoned to the discretion of Sapor; and the immediate conduct of the Gothic war was intrusted, during the absence of Valens, to his lieutenants, Trajan and Profuturus, two generals who indulged themselves in a very false and favorable opinion of their own abilities. On their arrival in Thrace, they were joined by Richomer, count of the domestics; and the auxiliaries of the West that marched under his banner were composed of the Gallic legions, reduced indeed by a spirit of de-

⁷⁸ See Ammianus, xxxi. 5, 6. The historian of the Gothic war loses time and space by an unseasonable recapitulation of the ancient inroads of the barbarians.

sertion to the vain appearances of strength and numbers. In a council of war, which was influenced by pride rather than by reason, it was resolved to seek and to encounter the barbarians, who lay encamped in the spacious and fertile meadows near the most southern of the six mouths of the Danube." Their camp was surrounded by the usual fortification of wagons;⁷⁹ and the barbarians, secure within the vast circle of the enclosure, enjoyed the fruits of their valor and the spoils of the province. In the midst of riotous intemperance, the watchful Fritigern observed the motions and penetrated the designs of the Romans. He perceived that the numbers of the enemy were continually increasing; and, as he understood their intention of attacking his rear as soon as the scarcity of forage should oblige him to remove his camp, he recalled to their standard his predatory detachments, which covered the adjacent country. As soon as they descried the flaming beacons,⁸¹ they obeyed with incredible speed the signal of their leader; the camp was filled with the martial crowd of barbarians, their impatient clamors demanded the battle, and their tumultuous zeal was approved and animated by the spirit of their chiefs. The evening was already far advanced; and the two armies prepared themselves for the approaching combat, which was deferred only till the dawn of day. While the trumpets sounded to arms, the undaunted courage of the Goths was confirmed by the mutual obligation of a solemn oath; and, as they advanced to meet the enemy, the rude songs which celebrated the glory of their forefathers were mingled with their fierce and dissonant outcries, and opposed to the artifi-

⁷⁹ The Itinerary of Antoninus (p. 226, 227, edit Wesseling) marks the situation of this place about sixty miles north of Tomi, Ovid's exile; and the name of *Salices* (the willows) expresses the nature of the soil.

⁸⁰ This circle of wagons, the *carrago*, was the usual fortification of the barbarians (Vegetius de Re Militari. l. iii. c. 10. Valesius ad Ammian. xxxi. 7) The practice and the name were preserved by their descendants as late as the fifteenth century. The *charroy*, which surrounded the *ost*, is a word familiar to the readers of Froissart or Comines.

⁸¹ "*Statim ut accensi malleoli*" [Amm. xxxi. 7]. I have used the literal sense of real torches or beacons; but I almost suspect that it is only one of those turgid metaphors, those false ornaments, that perpetually disfigure the style of Ammianus.

cial harmony of the Roman shout. Some military skill was displayed by Fritigern to gain the advantage of a commanding eminence; but the bloody conflict, which began and ended with the light, was maintained on either side by the personal and obstinate efforts of strength, valor, and agility. The legions of Armenia supported their fame in arms, but they were oppressed by the irresistible weight of the hostile multitude. The left wing of the Romans was thrown into disorder, and the field was strewn with their mangled carcasses. This partial defeat was balanced, however, by partial success; and when the two armies, at a late hour of the evening, retreated to their respective camps, neither of them could claim the honors or the effects of a decisive victory. The real loss was more severely felt by the Romans, in proportion to the smallness of their numbers; but the Goths were so deeply confounded and dismayed by this vigorous, and perhaps unexpected, resistance that they remained seven days within the circle of their fortifications. Such funeral rites as the circumstances of time and place would admit were piously discharged to some officers of distinguished rank; but the indiscriminate vulgar were left unburied on the plain. Their flesh was greedily devoured by the birds of prey, who in that age enjoyed very frequent and delicious feasts; and, several years afterwards, the white and naked bones which covered the wide extent of the fields presented to the eyes of Ammianus a dreadful monument of the battle of Salices.⁸³

The progress of the Goths had been checked by the doubtful event of that bloody day; and the imperial generals, whose army would have been consumed by the repetition of such a contest, embraced the more rational plan of destroying the barbarians by the wants and pressure of their own multitudes. They prepared to confine the

Union of the
Goths with
the Huns,
Alani, etc.

⁸³ *Indicant nunc usque albescentes ossibus campi.*—Ammian. *xxxi.* 7. The historian might have viewed these plains, either as a soldier or as a traveller. But his modesty has suppressed the adventures of his own life subsequent to the Persian wars of Constantius and Julian. We are ignorant of the time when he quitted the service and retired to Rome, where he appears to have composed his *History of his Own Times*.

Visigoths in the narrow angle of land between the Danube, the desert of Scythia, and the mountains of Hæmus till their strength and spirit should be insensibly wasted by the inevitable operation of famine. The design was prosecuted with some conduct and success: the barbarians had almost exhausted their own magazines and the harvests of the country; and the diligence of Saturninus, the master-general of the cavalry, was employed to improve the strength and to contract the extent of the Roman fortifications. His labors were interrupted by the alarming intelligence that new swarms of barbarians had passed the unguarded Danube either to support the cause or to imitate the example of Fritigern. The just apprehension that he himself might be surrounded and overwhelmed by the arms of hostile and unknown nations compelled Saturninus to relinquish the siege of the Gothic camp; and the indignant Visigoths, breaking from their confinement, satiated their hunger and revenge by the repeated devastation of the fruitful country which extends above three hundred miles from the banks of the Danube to the straits of the Hellespont.* The sagacious Fritigern had successfully appealed to the passions as well as to the interest of his barbarian allies; and the love of rapine and the hatred of Rome seconded, or even prevented, the eloquence of his ambassadors. He cemented a strict and useful alliance with the great body of his countrymen who obeyed Alatheus and Saphrax as the guardians of their infant king. The long animosity of rival tribes was suspended by the sense of their common interest. The independent part of the nation was associated under one standard; and the chiefs of the Ostrogoths appear to have yielded to the superior genius of the general of the Visigoths. He obtained the formidable aid of the Taifalæ,* whose mili-

* Ammian. xxxi. 8.

* The Taifalæ inhabited that part of the province of Dacia which is now called Wallachia. They are first mentioned as allies of the Thervingi in A.D. 291 (Mamertin. Panegy. ii. c. 17). Their ethnological relations are uncertain. Zosimus vaguely calls them Scythians (ii. c. 31); St. Martin conjectures that they were the last remains of the great and powerful nation of the Dacians, and Latham that they were Slavonians. But we only know for certain that they were constantly allies of the Visigoths, and that Farnobius, one of their chiefs, is expressly called a Goth by Ammianus (xxx. c. 9). They subsequently accompanied the

tary renown was disgraced and polluted by the public infamy of their domestic manners. Every youth on his entrance into the world was united by the ties of honorable friendship and brutal love to some warrior of the tribe; nor could he hope to be released from this unnatural connection till he had approved his manhood by slaying in single combat a huge bear or a wild boar of the forest.⁸⁴ But the most powerful auxiliaries of the Goths were drawn from the camp of those enemies who had expelled them from their native seats. The loose subordination and extensive possessions of the Huns and the Alani delayed the conquests and distracted the councils of that victorious people. Several of the hordes were allured by the liberal promises of Fritigern; and the rapid cavalry of Scythia added weight and energy to the steady and strenuous efforts of the Gothic infantry. The Sarmatians, who could never forgive the successor of Valentinian, enjoyed and increased the general confusion; and a seasonable irruption of the Alemanni into the provinces of Gaul engaged the attention and diverted the forces of the Emperor of the West.⁸⁵

One of the most dangerous inconveniences of the introduction of the barbarians into the army and the palace was sensibly felt in their correspondence with their hostile countrymen, to whom they imprudently or maliciously revealed the weakness of the Ro-

Victory of
Gratian over
the Alemanni.
A.D. 378.
May.

⁸⁴ Hanc Taifalorum gentem turpem, et obscenæ vitæ flagitiis ita accipimus mersam, ut apud eos nefandi concubitûs fœdere copulenter maribus puberes, ætatis viriditatem in eorum pollutis usibus consumpturi. Porro, si qui jam adultus aprum exceperit solus, vel interemerit ursum immanem, colluvione labeatur incestu—Ammian. xxxi. 9. Among the Greeks, likewise—more especially among the Cretans—the holy bands of friendship were confirmed and sullied by unnatural love.

⁸⁵ Ammian. xxxi. 8, 9. Jerome (tom. i. p. 26 [tom. i. p. 342, edit. Vallas]) enumerates the nations, and marks a calamitous period of twenty years. This epistle to Heliodorus was composed in the year 397 (Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. xii. p. 645).

Visigoths in their migrations westward, and settled on the south side of the Liger, in the country of the Pictavi, where they were in the time of Gregory of Tours, who calls them Theiphali, and their district Thephala. Their name seems to be retained in the place called *Tifauge*, on the Sèvre. See Zeuss, Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme, p. 433; St. Martin, Notes on Le Beau, vol. iv. p. 118; Latham, Germania of Tacitus, Epileg. p. lxxxvii.—S.

man empire. A soldier of the life-guards of Gratian was of the nation of the Alemanni and of the tribe of the Lentienses, who dwelt beyond the lake of Constance. Some domestic business obliged him to request a leave of absence. In a short visit to his family and friends, he was exposed to their curious inquiries, and the vanity of the loquacious soldier tempted him to display his intimate acquaintance with the secrets of the State and the designs of his master. The intelligence that Gratian was preparing to lead the military force of Gaul and of the West to the assistance of his uncle Valens pointed out to the restless spirit of the Alemanni the moment and the mode of a successful invasion. The enterprise of some light detachments who in the month of February passed the Rhine, upon the ice, was the prelude of a more important war. The boldest hopes of rapine, perhaps of conquest, outweighed the considerations of timid prudence or national faith. Every forest and every village poured forth a band of hardy adventurers; and the great army of the Alemanni, which on its approach was estimated at forty thousand men by the fears of the people, was afterwards magnified to the number of seventy thousand by the vain and credulous flattery of the imperial court. The legions which had been ordered to march into Pannonia were immediately recalled or detained for the defence of Gaul. The military command was divided between Nanienus and Mellobandes; and the youthful emperor, though he respected the long experience and sober wisdom of the former, was much more inclined to admire and to follow the martial ardor of his colleague, who was allowed to unite the incompatible characters of count of the domestics and of King of the Franks. His rival, Priarius, King of the Alemanni, was guided, or rather impelled, by the same headstrong valor; and as their troops were animated by the spirit of their leaders, they met, they saw, they encountered each other near the town of Argentaria, or Colmar,* in the plains of Alsace. The

* The field of battle—*Argentaria*, or *Argentovaria*—is accurately fixed by M d'Anville (*Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule*, p. 96-99) at twenty-three Gallic leagues, or thirty-four and a half Roman miles, to the south of Strasburg. From its ruins the adjacent town of *Colmar* has arisen.

glory of the day was justly ascribed to the missile weapons and well-practised evolutions of the Roman soldiers. The Alemanni, who long maintained their ground, were slaughtered with unrelenting fury; five thousand only of the barbarians escaped to the woods and mountains; and the glorious death of their king on the field of battle saved him from the reproaches of the people, who are always disposed to accuse the justice or policy of an unsuccessful war. After this signal victory, which secured the peace of Gaul and asserted the honor of the Roman arms, the Emperor Gratian appeared to proceed without delay on his Eastern expedition; but as he approached the confines of the Alemanni, he suddenly inclined to the left, surprised them by his unexpected passage of the Rhine, and boldly advanced into the heart of their country. The barbarians opposed to his progress the obstacles of nature and of courage; and still continued to retreat from one hill to another till they were satisfied, by repeated trials, of the power and perseverance of their enemies. Their submission was accepted as a proof, not, indeed, of their sincere repentance, but of their actual distress; and a select number of their brave and robust youth was exacted from the faithless nation as the most substantial pledge of their future moderation. The subjects of the empire, who had so often experienced that the Alemanni could neither be subdued by arms nor restrained by treaties, might not promise themselves any solid or lasting tranquillity; but they discovered in the virtues of their young sovereign the prospect of a long and auspicious reign. When the legions climbed the mountains and scaled the fortifications of the barbarians, the valor of Gratian was distinguished in the foremost ranks; and the gilt and variegated armor of his guards was pierced and shattered by the blows which they had received in their constant attachment to the person of their sovereign. At the age of nineteen, the son of Valentinian seemed to possess the talents of peace and war; and his personal success against the Alemanni was interpreted as a sure presage of his Gothic triumphs.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ The full and impartial narrative of Ammianus (xxxi. 10) may derive some

While Gratian deserved and enjoyed the applause of his subjects, the Emperor Valens, who at length had removed his court and army from Antioch, was received by the people of Constantinople as the author of the public calamity. Before he had reposed himself ten days in the capital, he was urged by the licentious clamors of the Hippodrome to march against the barbarians whom he had invited into his dominions; and the citizens, who are always brave at a distance from any real danger, declared with confidence that if they were supplied with arms *they* alone would undertake to deliver the province from the ravages of an insulting foe.* The vain reproaches of an ignorant multitude hastened the downfall of the Roman empire: they provoked the desperate rashness of Valens, who did not find, either in his reputation or in his mind, any motives to support with firmness the public contempt. He was soon persuaded by the successful achievements of his lieutenants to despise the power of the Goths, who, by the diligence of Fritigern, were now collected in the neighborhood of Hadrianople. The march of the Taifalæ had been intercepted by the valiant Frigerid. The king of those licentious barbarians was slain in battle; and the suppliant captives were sent into distant exile to cultivate the lands of Italy, which were assigned for their settlement in the vacant territories of Modena and Parma.** The exploits of Sebastian,** who was recent-

Valens
marches
against the
Goths.
A.D. 378.
May 30—
June 11.

additional light from the Epitome of Victor, the Chronicle of Jerome, and the History of Orosius (l. vii. c. 33, p. 552, edit. Havercamp).

* Moratus paucissimos dies, seditione popularium levium pulsus.—Ammian. xxxi. 11. Socrates (l. iv. c. 38) supplies the dates and some circumstances.*

** Vivosque omnes circa Mutinam, Regiumque, et Parmam, Italica oppida, rura culturos exterminavit.—Ammianus, xxxi. 9. Those cities and districts, about ten years after the colony of the Taifalæ, appear in a very desolate state. See Muratori, Dissertazioni sopra le Antichità Italiane, tom. i. Dissertat. xxi. p. 354.

** Ammian. xxxi. 11. Zosimus, l. iv. [c. 23] p. 228-230. The latter expatiates on the desultory exploits of Sebastian, and despatches in a few lines the important battle of Hadrianople. According to the ecclesiastical critics, who hate Sebastian, the praise of Zosimus is disgrace (Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 121). His prejudice and ignorance undoubtedly render him a very questionable judge of merit.

* Compare fragment of Eunapius. Mai, 272, in Niebuhr, p. 77.—M.

ly engaged in the service of Valens and promoted to the rank of master-general of the infantry, were still more honorable to himself and useful to the republic. He obtained the permission of selecting three hundred soldiers from each of the legions; and this separate detachment soon acquired the spirit of discipline and the exercise of arms, which were almost forgotten under the reign of Valens. By the vigor and conduct of Sebastian, a large body of the Goths were surprised in their camp; and the immense spoil which was recovered from their hands filled the city of Hadrianople and the adjacent plain. The splendid narratives which the general transmitted of his own exploits alarmed the imperial court by the appearance of superior merit; and though he cautiously insisted on the difficulties of the Gothic war, his valor was praised, his advice was rejected; and Valens, who listened with pride and pleasure to the flattering suggestions of the eunuchs of the palace, was impatient to seize the glory of an easy and assured conquest. His army was strengthened by a numerous reinforcement of veterans; and his march from Constantinople to Hadrianople was conducted with so much military skill that he prevented the activity of the barbarians, who designed to occupy the intermediate defiles, and to intercept either the troops themselves or their convoys of provisions. The camp of Valens, which he pitched under the walls of Hadrianople, was fortified, according to the practice of the Romans, with a ditch and rampart; and a most important council was summoned to decide the fate of the emperor and of the empire. The party of reason and of delay was strenuously maintained by Victor, who had corrected, by the lessons of experience, the native fierceness of the Sarmatian character; while Sebastian, with the flexible and obsequious eloquence of a courtier, represented every precaution and every measure that implied a doubt of immediate victory as unworthy of the courage and majesty of their invincible monarch. The ruin of Valens was precipitated by the deceitful arts of Fritigern and the prudent admonitions of the Emperor of the West. The advantages of negotiating in the midst of war were perfectly understood by the general of the barbarians; and a Christian ecclesiastic was

despatched, as the holy minister of peace, to penetrate and to perplex the councils of the enemy. The misfortunes as well as the provocations of the Gothic nation were forcibly and truly described by their ambassador, who protested, in the name of Fritigern, that he was still disposed to lay down his arms, or to employ them only in the defence of the empire, if he could secure for his wandering countrymen a tranquil settlement on the waste lands of Thrace, and a sufficient allowance of corn and cattle. But he added, in a whisper of confidential friendship, that the exasperated barbarians were averse to these reasonable conditions; and that Fritigern was doubtful whether he could accomplish the conclusion of the treaty unless he found himself supported by the presence and terrors of an imperial army. About the same time, Count Richomer returned from the West to announce the defeat and submission of the Alemanni; to inform Valens that his nephew advanced by rapid marches at the head of the veteran and victorious legions of Gaul; and to request, in the name of Gratian and of the republic, that every dangerous and decisive measure might be suspended till the junction of the two emperors should insure the success of the Gothic war. But the feeble sovereign of the East was actuated only by the fatal illusions of pride and jealousy. He disdained the importunate advice; he rejected the humiliating aid; he secretly compared the ignominious, at least the inglorious, period of his own reign with the fame of a beardless youth; and Valens rushed into the field to erect his imaginary trophy before the diligence of his colleague could usurp any share of the triumphs of the day.

On the 9th of August, a day which has deserved to be marked among the most inauspicious of the Roman calendar,²¹ the Emperor Valens, leaving, under a strong guard, his baggage and military treasure, marched from Hadrianople to attack the Goths, who were

Battle of
Hadrianople.
A.D. 378.
August 9.

²¹ Ammianus (xxxix. 12, 13) almost alone describes the councils and actions which were terminated by the fatal battle of Hadrianople. We might censure the vices of his style, the disorder and perplexity of his narrative; but we must now take leave of this impartial historian; and reproach is silenced by our regret for such an irreparable loss.

encamped about twelve miles from the city.²² By some mistake of the orders or some ignorance of the ground, the right wing or column of cavalry arrived in sight of the enemy whilst the left was still at a considerable distance; the soldiers were compelled, in the sultry heat of summer, to precipitate their pace; and the line of battle was formed with tedious confusion and irregular delay. The Gothic cavalry had been detached to forage in the adjacent country; and Fritigern still continued to practise his customary arts. He despatched messengers of peace, made proposals, required hostages, and wasted the hours, till the Romans, exposed without shelter to the burning rays of the sun, were exhausted by thirst, hunger, and intolerable fatigue. The emperor was persuaded to send an ambassador to the Gothic camp; the zeal of Richomer, who alone had courage to accept the dangerous commission, was applauded; and the count of the domestics, adorned with the splendid ensigns of his dignity, had proceeded some way in the space between the two armies when he was suddenly recalled by the alarm of battle. The hasty and imprudent attack was made by Bacurius the Iberian, who commanded a body of archers and targeteers; and as they advanced with rashness, they retreated with loss and disgrace. In the same moment the flying squadrons of Alatheus and Saphrax, whose return was anxiously expected by the general of the Goths, descended like a whirlwind from the hills, swept across the plain, and added new terrors to the tumultuous but irresistible charge of the barbarian host. The event of the battle of Hadrianople, so fatal to Valens and to the empire, may be described in a few words: the Roman cavalry fled; the infantry was abandoned, surrounded, and cut in pieces. The most skilful evolutions, the firmest courage, are scarcely sufficient to extricate a body of foot encompassed on an open plain by superior numbers of horse; but the troops of Valens, oppressed by the weight of the enemy and their

*The defeat of
the Romans.*

²² The difference of the eight miles of Ammianus and the twelve of Idatius can only embarrass those critics (Valesius ad loc.) who suppose a great army to be a mathematical point, without space or dimensions.

DEFEAT OF THE ROMAN ARMY OF THE EMPEROR VALENS
by the Goths, under Frithger, at the battle of Hadrianople, August 9, 378. A D.

Gibbon's Rome, Vol. III.

Painting by P. Isenhardt



own fears, were crowded into a narrow space, where it was impossible for them to extend their ranks, or even to use with effect their swords and javelins. In the midst of tumult, of slaughter, and of dismay, the emperor, deserted by his guards, and wounded, as it was supposed, with an arrow, sought protection among the Lancearii and the Mattiarii, who still maintained their ground with some appearance of order and firmness. His faithful generals, Trajan and Victor, who perceived his danger, loudly exclaimed that all was lost unless the person of the emperor could be saved. Some troops, animated by their exhortation, advanced to his relief; they found only a bloody spot, covered with a heap of broken arms and mangled bodies, without being able to discover their unfortunate prince either among the living or the dead. Their search could not indeed be successful, if there is any truth in the circumstances with which some historians have related the death of the emperor. By the care of his attendants,

Death of
the Emperor
Valens.

Valens was removed from the field of battle to a neighboring cottage, where they attempted to dress his wound and to provide for his future safety. But this humble retreat was instantly surrounded by the enemy: they tried to force the door; they were provoked by a discharge of arrows from the roof; till at length, impatient of delay, they set fire to a pile of dry fagots, and consumed the cottage with the Roman emperor and his train. Valens perished in the flames; and a youth who dropped from the window alone escaped to attest the melancholy tale, and to inform the Goths of the inestimable prize which they had lost by their own rashness. A great number of brave and distinguished officers perished in the battle of Hadrianople, which equalled in the actual loss, and far surpassed in the fatal consequences, the misfortune which Rome had formerly sustained in the fields of Cannæ." Two masters-general of the cavalry and infantry,

²² Nec ulla, annalibus, præter Cannensem pugnam, ita ad internecionem res legitur gesta.—Ammian. *xxxi.* 13. According to the grave Polybius, no more than 370 horse and 3000 foot escaped from the field of Cannæ; 10,000 were made prisoners; and the number of the slain amounted to 5630 horse and 70,000 foot (Polyb. *l. iii.* [c. 117] p. 371, edit. Casanbon, in 8vo). Livy (*xxii.* 49) is some-

two great officers of the palace, and thirty-five tribunes were found among the slain; and the death of Sebastian might satisfy the world that he was the victim as well as the author of the public calamity. Above two thirds of the Roman army were destroyed; and the darkness of the night was esteemed a very favorable circumstance, as it served to conceal the flight of the multitude and to protect the more orderly retreat of Victor and Richomer, who alone, amidst the general consternation, maintained the advantage of calm courage and regular discipline."

While the impressions of grief and terror were still recent in the minds of men, the most celebrated rhetorician of the age composed the funeral oration of a vanquished army and of an unpopular prince, whose throne was already occupied by a stranger. "There are not wanting," says the candid Libanius, "those who arraign the prudence of the emperor, or who impute the public misfortune to the want of courage and discipline in the troops. For my own part, I reverence the memory of their former exploits; I reverence the glorious death which they bravely received, standing and fighting in their ranks; I reverence the field of battle, stained with *their* blood and the blood of the barbarians. Those honorable marks have been already washed away by the rains; but the lofty monuments of their bones, the bones of generals, of centurions, and of valiant warriors, claim a longer period of duration. The king himself fought and fell in the foremost ranks of the battle. His attendants presented him with the fleetest horses of the imperial stable, that would soon have carried him beyond the pursuit of the enemy. They vainly pressed him to reserve his important life for the future service of the republic. He still declared

what less bloody: he slaughters only 2700 horse and 40,000 foot. The Roman army was supposed to consist of 87,200 effective men (xxii. 36).

"We have gained some faint light from Jerome (tom. i. p. 342, edit. Vallars.), and in Chron. p. 188 [tom. viii. p. 817, edit. Vallars.], Victor (in Epitome), Orosius (l. vii. c. 38, p. 554), Jornandes (c. 27), Zosimus (l. iv. [c. 24] p. 280), Socrates (l. iv. c. 38), Sozomen (l. vi. c. 40), Idatius (in Chron.). But their united evidence, if weighed against Ammianus alone, is light and unsubstantial.

that he was unworthy to survive so many of the bravest and most faithful of his subjects; and the monarch was nobly buried under a mountain of the slain. Let none, therefore, presume to ascribe the victory of the barbarians to the fear, the weakness, or the imprudence of the Roman troops. The chiefs and the soldiers were animated by the virtue of their ancestors, whom they equalled in discipline and the arts of war. Their generous emulation was supported by the love of glory, which prompted them to contend at the same time with heat and thirst, with fire and the sword, and cheerfully to embrace an honorable death as their refuge against flight and in famy. The indignation of the gods has been the only cause of the success of our enemies." The truth of history may disclaim some parts of this panegyric, which cannot strictly be reconciled with the character of Valens or the circumstances of the battle; but the fairest commendation is due to the eloquence, and still more to the generosity, of the sophist of Antioch.⁵⁵

The pride of the Goths was elated by this memorable victory; but their avarice was disappointed by the mortifying discovery that the richest part of the imperial spoil had been within the walls of Hadrianople. They hastened to possess the reward of their valor; but they were encountered by the remains of a vanquished army with an intrepid resolution which was the effect of their despair and the only hope of their safety. The walls of the city and the ramparts of the adjacent camp were lined with military engines that threw stones of an enormous weight, and astonished the ignorant barbarians by the noise and velocity, still more than by the real effects, of the discharge. The soldiers, the citizens, the provincials, the domestics of the palace, were united in the danger and in the defence; the furious assault of the Goths was repulsed; their secret arts of treachery and treason were discovered; and, after an obstinate conflict of many hours, they retired to their tents, convinced by expe-

⁵⁵ Libanius de Ulciscend. Julian. Nece, c. 3, in Fabricius, Biblioth Græc tom. vii. p. 146-148.

rience that it would be far more advisable to observe the treaty which their sagacious leader had tacitly stipulated with the fortifications of great and populous cities. After the hasty and impolitic massacre of three hundred deserters, an act of justice extremely useful to the discipline of the Roman armies, the Goths indignantly raised the siege of Hadrianople. The scene of war and tumult was instantly converted into a silent solitude; the multitude suddenly disappeared; the secret paths of the woods and mountains were marked with the footsteps of the trembling fugitives, who sought a refuge in the distant cities of Illyricum and Macedonia; and the faithful officers of the household and the treasury cautiously proceeded in search of the emperor, of whose death they were still ignorant. The tide of the Gothic inundation rolled from the walls of Hadrianople to the suburbs of Constantinople. The barbarians were surprised with the splendid appearance of the capital of the East, the height and extent of the walls, the myriads of wealthy and affrighted citizens who crowded the ramparts, and the various prospect of the sea and land. While they gazed with hopeless desire on the inaccessible beauties of Constantinople, a sally was made from one of the gates by a party of Saracens,* who had been fortunately engaged in the service of Valens. The cavalry of Scythia was forced to yield to the admirable swiftness and spirit of the Arabian horses; their riders were skilled in the evolutions of irregular war; and the Northern barbarians were astonished and dismayed by the inhuman ferocity of the barbarians of the South. A Gothic soldier was slain by the dagger of an Arab, and the hairy, naked savage, applying his lips to the wound, expressed a horrid delight while he sucked the blood of his vanquished enemy." The army of the Goths, laden

* Valens had gained, or rather purchased, the friendship of the Saracens, whose vexatious inroads were felt on the borders of Phœnicia, Palestine, and Egypt. The Christian faith had been lately introduced among a people reserved in a future age to propagate another religion (Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 104, 106, 141; *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vii. p. 593).

"Crinitus quidam, nudus omnia præter pubem, subraucum et lugubre stiepens.—*Ammian.* xxxi. 16, and *Vales.* ad loc. The Arabs often fought naked—a custom

with the spoils of the wealthy suburbs and the adjacent territory, slowly moved from the Bosphorus to the mountains which form the western boundary of Thrace. The important pass of Succus was betrayed by the fear or the misconduct of Maurus; and the barbarians, who no longer had any resistance to apprehend from the scattered and vanquished troops of the East, spread themselves over the face of a fertile and cultivated country, as far as the confines of Italy and the Adriatic Sea."

The Romans, who so coolly and so concisely mention the acts of *justice* which were exercised by the legions," reserve their compassion and their eloquence for their own sufferings when the provinces were invaded and desolated by the arms of the successful barbarians. The simple circumstantial narrative (did such a narrative exist) of the ruin of a single town, of the misfortunes of a single family,¹⁰⁰ might exhibit an interesting and instructive picture of human manners; but the tedious repetition of vague and declamatory complaints would fatigue the attention of the most patient reader. The same censure may be applied, though not, perhaps, in an equal degree, to the profane and the ecclesiastical writers of this unhappy period; that their minds were inflamed by popular and religious animosity; and that the true size and color of every object are falsified by the exaggerations

They ravage
the Roman
provinces.
A.D. 378, 379

which may be ascribed to their sultry climate and ostentatious bravery. The description of this unknown savage is the lively portrait of Derar—a name so dreadful to the Christians of Syria. See Ockley's *Hist. of the Saracens*, vol. i. p. 72, 84, 87.

⁹⁹ The series of events may still be traced in the last pages of Ammianus (xxxii. 15, 16). Zosimus (l. iv. [c. 22] p. 227, 231), whom we are now reduced to cherish, misplaces the sally of the Arabs before the death of Valens. Eusebius (in *Excerpt Legat.* p. 20 [p. 51, edit. Bonn]) praises the fertility of Thrace, Macedonia, etc.

¹⁰⁰ Observe with how much indifference Cæsar relates, in the *Commentaries* of the Gallic War, that he put to death the whole senate of the Veneti, who had yielded to his mercy (iii. 16); that he labored to extirpate the whole nation of the Eburones (vi. 48); that forty thousand persons were massacred at Bourges by the just revenge of his soldiers, who spared neither age nor sex (vii. 27), etc.

¹⁰⁰ Such are the accounts of the sack of Magdeburg, by the ecclesiastic and the fisherman, which Mr. Harte has transcribed (*Hist. of Gustavus Adolphus*, vol. i. p. 313–320), with some apprehension of violating the *dignity* of history.

of their corrupt eloquence. The vehement Jerome¹⁰¹ might justly deplore the calamities inflicted by the Goths and their barbarous allies on his native country of Pannonia, and the wide extent of the provinces from the walls of Constantinople to the foot of the Julian Alps: the rapes, the massacres, the conflagrations, and, above all, the profanation of the churches that were turned into stables, and the contemptuous treatment of the relics of holy martyrs. But the saint is surely transported beyond the limits of nature and history when he affirms "that in those desert countries nothing was left except the sky and the earth; that, after the destruction of the cities and the extirpation of the human race, the land was overgrown with thick forests and inextricable brambles; and that the universal desolation announced by the prophet Zephaniah was accomplished in the scarcity of the beasts, the birds, and even of the fish." These complaints were pronounced about twenty years after the death of Valens; and the Illyrian provinces, which were constantly exposed to the invasion and passage of the barbarians, still continued, after a calamitous period of ten centuries, to supply new materials for rapine and destruction. Could it even be supposed that a large tract of country had been left without cultivation and without inhabitants, the consequences might not have been so fatal to the inferior productions of animated nature. The useful and feeble animals which are nourished by the hand of man might suffer and perish if they were deprived of his protection; but the beasts of the forest, his enemies or his victims, would multiply in the free and undisturbed possession of their solitary domain. The various tribes that people the air or the waters are still less connected with the fate of the human species; and it is highly probable that the fish of the Danube would have felt more terror and distress from the approach of a voracious pike than from the hostile inroad of a Gothic army.

¹⁰¹ "Et vastatis urbibus, hominibusque interfectis, solitudinem et raritatem bestiarum quoque fieri, et volatilium, pisciumque - testis Illyricum est, testis Thracia, testis in quo ortus sum solum (Pannonia); ubi præter cælum et terram, et crescentes vepres, et condensa silvarum cuncta perierunt" Tom. vii. p. 250, ad 1 cap. Sophonias; and tom. i. p. 26 [tom. i. p. 342. edit. Vallars.].

Whatever may have been the just measure of the calamities of Europe, there was reason to fear that the same calamities would soon extend to the peaceful countries of Asia. The sons of the Goths had been judiciously distributed through the cities of the East, and the arts of education were employed to polish and subdue the native fierceness of their temper. In the space of about twelve years their numbers had continually increased; and the children who in the first emigration were sent over the Hellespont had attained with rapid growth the strength and spirit of perfect manhood.¹⁰² It was impossible to conceal from their knowledge the events of the Gothic war; and, as those daring youths had not studied the language of dissimulation, they betrayed their wish, their desire, perhaps their intention, to emulate the glorious example of their fathers. The danger of the times seemed to justify the jealous suspicions of the provincials; and these suspicions were admitted as unquestionable evidence that the Goths of Asia had formed a secret and dangerous conspiracy against the public safety. The death of Valens had left the East without a sovereign, and Julius, who filled the important station of master-general of the troops, with a high reputation of diligence and ability, thought it his duty to consult the senate of Constantinople, which he considered, during the vacancy of the throne, as the representative council of the nation. As soon as he had obtained the discretionary power of acting as he should judge most expedient for the good of the republic, he assembled the principal officers and privately concerted effectual measures for the execution of his bloody design. An order was immediately promulgated that, on a stated day, the Gothic youth should assemble in the capital cities of their respective provinces; and, as a report was industriously circulated that they were summoned to receive a liberal gift of lands and money, the pleasing hope allayed the fury of their resentment, and perhaps suspended the

¹⁰² Eusebius (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 20 [p. 50, edit. Bonn]) foolishly supposes a preternatural growth of the young Goths, that he may introduce Cadmus's armed men who sprang from the dragon's teeth, etc. Such was the Greek eloquence of the times.

motions of the conspiracy. On the appointed day the unarmed crowd of the Gothic youth was carefully collected in the square or forum, the streets and avenues were occupied by the Roman troops, and the roofs of the houses were covered with archers and slingers. At the same hour, in all the cities of the East, the signal was given of indiscriminate slaughter; and the provinces of Asia were delivered, by the cruel prudence of Julius, from a domestic enemy, who in a few months might have carried fire and sword from the Hellespont to the Euphrates.¹⁰⁸ The urgent consideration of the public safety may undoubtedly authorize the violation of every positive law. How far that or any other consideration may operate to dissolve the natural obligations of humanity and justice is a doctrine of which I still desire to remain ignorant.

The Emperor Gratian was far advanced on his march towards the plains of Hadrianople when he was informed, at first by the confused voice of fame and afterwards by the more accurate reports of Victor and Richomer, that his impatient colleague had been slain in battle, and that two thirds of the Roman army were exterminated by the sword of the victorious Goths. Whatever resentment the rash and jealous vanity of his uncle might deserve, the resentment of a generous mind is easily subdued by the softer emotions of grief and compassion; and even the sense of pity was soon lost in the serious and alarming consideration of the state of the republic. Gratian was too late to assist, he was too weak to revenge, his unfortunate colleague; and the valiant and modest youth felt himself unequal to the support of a sinking world. A formidable tempest of the barbarians of Germany seemed ready to burst over the provinces of Gaul, and the mind of Gratian was oppressed and distracted by the administration of the Western empire. In this important crisis the government of the East and the conduct of

The Emperor
Gratian in-
vests Theo-
dosius with
the empire of
the East.
A.D. 379.
Jan. 19.

¹⁰⁸ Ammianus evidently approves this execution, "*efficacia velox et salutaris*," which concludes his work (xxxi. 16) Zosimus, who is curious and copious (l. iv. [c. 26] p. 233-236), mistakes the date, and labors to find the reason why Julius did not consult the Emperor Theodosius, who had not yet ascended the throne of the East.

the Gothic war required the undivided attention of a hero and a statesman. A subject invested with such ample command would not long have preserved his fidelity to a distant benefactor; and the imperial council embraced the wise and manly resolution of conferring an obligation rather than of yielding to an insult. It was the wish of Gratian to bestow the purple as the reward of virtue; but at the age of nineteen it is not easy for a prince educated in the supreme rank to understand the true characters of his ministers and generals. He attempted to weigh with an impartial hand their various merits and defects; and whilst he checked the rash confidence of ambition, he distrusted the cautious wisdom which despaired of the republic. As each moment of delay diminished something of the power and resources of the future sovereign of the East, the situation of the times would not allow a tedious debate. The choice of Gratian was soon declared in favor of an exile whose father, only three years before, had suffered, under the sanction of *his* authority, an unjust and ignominious death. The great Theodosius, a name celebrated in history and dear to the Catholic Church,¹⁰⁴ was summoned to the imperial court, which had gradually retreated from the confines of Thrace to the more secure station of Sirmium. Five months after the death of Valens, the Emperor Gratian produced before the assembled troops *his* colleague and *their* master, who, after a modest, perhaps a sincere resistance, was compelled to accept, amidst the general acclamations, the diadem, the purple, and the equal title of Augustus.¹⁰⁵ The provinces of Thrace,

¹⁰⁴ A Life of Theodosius the Great was composed in the last century (Paris, 1679, in 4to; 1680, in 12mo) to inflame the mind of the young dauphin with Catholic zeal. The author, Fléchier, afterwards Bishop of Nîmes, was a celebrated preacher, and his history is adorned or tainted with pulpit eloquence; but he takes his learning from Baronius and his principles from St. Ambrose and St. Augustine.

¹⁰⁵ The birth, character, and elevation of Theodosius are marked in Pacatus (in Panegyr. Vet. xii. 10, 11, 12), Themistius (Oiat xiv p. 182), Zosimus (l. iv. [c. 24] p. 281), Augustine (de Civitat. Dei, v. 25), Orosius (l. vii. c. 34), Sozomen (l. vii. c. 2), Socrates (l. v. c. 2), Theodoret (l. v. c. 5), Philostorgius (l. ix. c. 17, with Godefroy, p. 393), the Epitome of Victor, and the Chronicles of Prosper, Idatius, and Marcellinus, in the Thesaurus Temporum of Scaliger.*

* Add a hostile fragment of Eunapius. Mai, p. 273, in Niebuhr, p. 78.—M.

Asia, and Egypt, over which Valens had reigned, were resigned to the administration of the new emperor; but as he was specially intrusted with the conduct of the Gothic war, the Illyrian præfecture was dismembered, and the two great dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia were added to the dominions of the Eastern empire.¹⁰⁶

The same province, and perhaps the same city,¹⁰⁷ which had given to the throne the virtues of Trajan and the talents of

Hadrian, was the original seat of another family of Spaniards, who in a less fortunate age possessed near
Birth and character of Theodosius.
fourscore years the declining empire of Rome.¹⁰⁸

They emerged from the obscurity of municipal honors by the active spirit of the elder Theodosius, a general whose exploits in Britain and Africa have formed one of the most splendid parts of the annals of Valentinian. The son of that general, who likewise bore the name of Theodosius, was educated by skilful preceptors in the liberal studies of youth; but he was instructed in the art of war by the tender care and severe discipline of his father.¹⁰⁹ Under the standard of such a leader, young Theodosius sought glory and knowledge in the most distant scenes of military action; inured his constitution to the difference of seasons and climates; distinguished his valor by sea and land; and observed the various warfare of the Scots, the Saxons, and the Moors. His own merit, and the recommendation of the conqueror of Africa, soon raised him to a separate command; and, in the station of Duke of Mæsia,

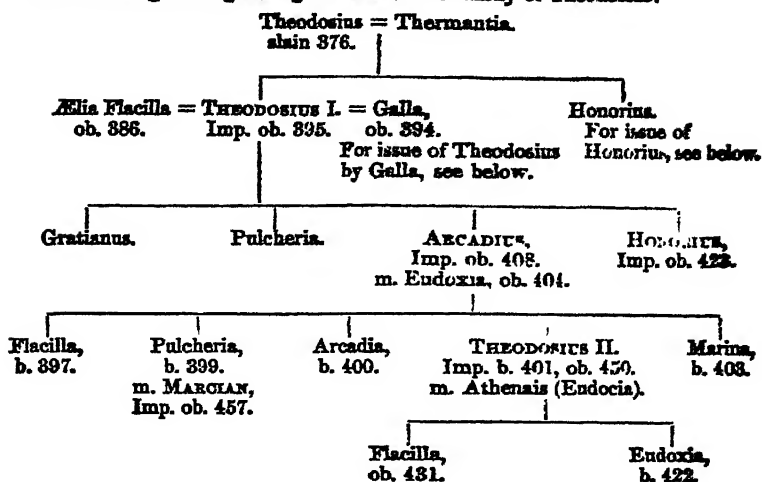
¹⁰⁶ Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 716, etc.

¹⁰⁷ *Italica*, founded by Scipio Africanus for his wounded veterans of *Italy*. The ruins still appear, about a league above Seville, but on the opposite bank of the river. See the *Hispania Illustrata* of Nonius, a short though valuable treatise, c. xvii. p. 64-67.

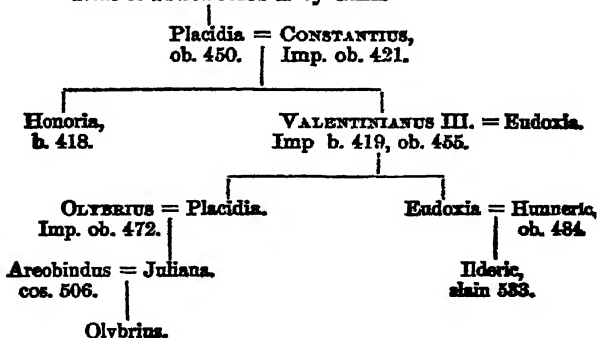
¹⁰⁸ I agree with Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 726) in suspecting the royal pedigree, which remained a secret till the promotion of Theodosius. Even after that event, the silence of Pacatus outweighs the venal evidence of Theodorus, Victor, and Claudian, who connect the family of Theodosius with the blood of Trajan and Hadrian.

¹⁰⁹ Pacatus compares, and consequently prefers, the youth of Theodosius to the military education of Alexander, Hannibal, and the second Africanus, who, like him, had served under their fathers (xii. 8).

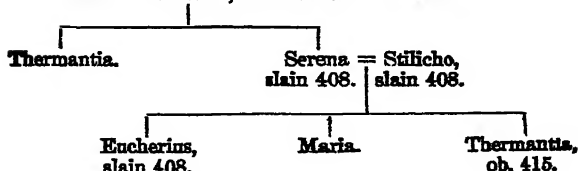
The following is the genealogical table of the family of Theodosius:



Issue of THEODOSIUS I. by Galla.



Issue of Honorius, the brother of Theodosius.



See Clinton, Fasti Rom. vol. ii. p. 124.—S.

he vanquished an army of Sarmatians, saved the province, deserved the love of the soldiers, and provoked the envy of the court.¹¹⁰ His rising fortunes were soon blasted by the disgrace and execution of his illustrious father; and Theodosius obtained, as a favor, the permission of retiring to a private life in his native province of Spain. He displayed a firm and temperate character in the ease with which he adapted himself to this new situation. His time was almost equally divided between the town and country; the spirit which had animated his public conduct was shown in the active and affectionate performance of every social duty; and the diligence of the soldier was profitably converted to the improvement of his ample patrimony,¹¹¹ which lay between Valladolid and Segovia, in the midst of a fruitful district, still famous for a most exquisite breed of sheep.¹¹² From the innocent but humble labors of his farm Theodosius was transported, in less than four months, to the throne of the Eastern empire; and the whole period of the history of the world will not, perhaps, afford a similar example of an elevation at the same time so pure and so honorable. The princes who peaceably inherit the sceptre of their fathers claim and enjoy a legal right, the more secure as it is absolutely distinct from the merits of their personal characters. The subjects who, in a monarchy or a popular state, acquire the possession of supreme power, may have raised themselves by the superiority either of genius or virtue above the heads of their equals; but their virtue is seldom exempt from ambition, and the cause of the successful candidate is frequently stained by the guilt of conspiracy or civil war. Even in those governments which allow the reigning monarch to de-

¹¹⁰ Ammianus (xxix. 6) mentions this victory of Theodosius "*Junior Dux Mæsiæ, primâ etiam tum lanugine juvenis, princeps postea perspectissimus.*" The same fact is attested by Themistius and Zosimus; but Theodoret (l. v. c. 5), who adds some curious circumstances, strangely applies it to the time of the interregnum.

¹¹¹ Pacatus (in Panegy. Vet. xii. 9) prefers the rustic life of Theodosius to that of Cincinnatus; the one was the effect of choice, the other of poverty.

¹¹² M. d'Anville (*Géographie Ancienne*, tom i. p. 25) has fixed the situation of Caucha, or Coca, in the old province of Galicia, where Zosimus and Idatius have placed the birth or patrimony of Theodosius.

laré a colleague or a successor, his partial choice, which may be influenced by the blindest passions, is often directed to an unworthy object. But the most suspicious malignity cannot scribe to Theodosius, in his obscure solitude of Caucha, the merits, the desires, or even the hopes of an ambitious statesman; and the name of the exile would long since have been forgotten if his genuine and distinguished virtues had not left a deep impression in the imperial court. During the season of prosperity he had been neglected; but, in the public distress, his superior merit was universally felt and acknowledged. What confidence must have been reposed in his integrity, since Gratian could trust that a pious son would forgive, for the sake of the republic, the murder of his father! What expectations must have been formed of his abilities to encourage the hope that a single man could save and restore the empire of the East! Theodosius was invested with the purple in the thirty-third year of his age. The vulgar gazed with admiration on the manly beauty of his face and the graceful majesty of his person, which they were pleased to compare with the pictures and medals of the Emperor Trajan; whilst intelligent observers discovered, in the qualities of his heart and understanding, a more important resemblance to the best and greatest of the Roman princes.

It is not without the most sincere regret that I must now take leave of an accurate and faithful guide, who has composed the history of his own times without indulging the prejudices and passions which usually affect the mind of a contemporary. Ammianus Marcellinus, who terminates his useful work with the defeat and death of Valens, recommends the more glorious subject of the ensuing reign to the youthful vigor and eloquence of the rising generation.¹¹³ The rising generation was not disposed to

his prudent
and successful
conduct of
the Gothic
war.
.D. 379-382

¹¹³ Let us hear Ammianus himself: "Hæc, ut miles quondam et Græcus, a principatu Cæsaris Nervæ exorsus, adusque Valentis interitum, pro virum explicavi censurâ: opus veritatem professum nunquam, ut arbitrator, sciens, silentio ausus corrumpere vel mendacio. Scribant reliqua potiores ætate, doctrinisque florentes. Quos id, si libuerit, aggressuros, procudere linguas ad majores moneo stilos"—Ammian xxxi. 16. The first thirteen books—a superficial epitome of two hundred and

accept his advice or to imitate his example ;¹¹⁴ and in the study of the reign of Theodosius we are reduced to illustrate the partial narrative of Zosimus by the obscure hints of fragments and chronicles, by the figurative style of poetry or panegyric, and by the precarious assistance of the ecclesiastical writers who, in the heat of religious faction, are apt to despise the profane virtues of sincerity and moderation. Conscious of these disadvantages, which will continue to involve a considerable portion of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, I shall proceed with doubtful and timorous steps. Yet I may boldly pronounce that the battle of Hadrianople was never revenged by any signal or decisive victory of Theodosius over the barbarians ; and the expressive silence of his venal orators may be confirmed by the observation of the condition and circumstances of the times. The fabric of a mighty state which has been reared by the labors of successive ages could not be overturned by the misfortune of a single day if the fatal power of the imagination did not exaggerate the real measure of the calamity. The loss of forty thousand Romans who fell in the plains of Hadrianople might have been soon recruited in the populous provinces of the East, which contained so many millions of inhabitants. The courage of a soldier is found to be the cheapest and most common quality of human nature ; and sufficient skill to encounter an undisciplined foe might have been speedily taught by the care of the surviving centurions. If the barbarians were mounted on the horses, and equipped with the armor of their vanquished enemies, the numerous studs of Cappadocia and Spain would have supplied new squadrons of cavalry ; the thirty-four arsenals of the empire were plentifully stored with magazines of offensive and defensive arms ; and the wealth of Asia might still have yielded an ample fund for the expenses of the war. But the ef-

fifty-seven years—are now lost ; the last eighteen, which contain no more than twenty-five years, still preserve the copious and authentic history of his own times.

¹¹⁴ Ammianus was the last subject of Rome who composed a profane history in the Latin language. The East, in the next century, produced some rhetorical historians—Zosimus, Olympiodorus, Malchus, Candidus, etc. See Vossius de Historicis Græcis, l. ii. c. 18 : de Historicis Latinis, l. ii. c. 10, etc.

fects which were produced by the battle of Hadrianople on the minds of the barbarians and of the Romans extended the victory of the former and the defeat of the latter far beyond the limits of a single day. A Gothic chief was heard to declare, with insolent moderation, that, for his own part, he was fatigued with slaughter; but that he was astonished how a people who fled before him like a flock of sheep could still presume to dispute the possession of their treasures and provinces.¹¹⁵ The same terrors which the name of the Huns had spread among the Gothic tribes were inspired, by the formidable name of the Goths, among the subjects and soldiers of the Roman empire.¹¹⁶ If Theodosius, hastily collecting his scattered forces, had led them into the field to encounter a victorious enemy, his army would have been vanquished by their own fears; and his rashness could not have been excused by the chance of success. But the *great* Theodosius—an epithet which he honorably deserved on this momentous occasion—conducted himself as the firm and faithful guardian of the republic. He fixed his headquarters at Thessalonica, the capital of the Macedonian diocese,¹¹⁷ from whence he could watch the irregular motions of the barbarians, and direct the operations of his lieutenants, from the gates of Constantinople to the shores of the Hadriatic. The fortifications and garrisons of the cities were strengthened; and the troops, among whom a sense of order and discipline was revived, were insensibly emboldened by the confidence of their own safety. From these secure stations they were encouraged to make frequent sallies on the barbarians who infested the adjacent country; and as they were seldom allowed to engage without some decisive superiority either of ground or of numbers, their enterprises were, for the most part, successful; and they were soon

¹¹⁵ Chrysostom, tom. i. p. 344, edit. Montfaucon. I have verified and examined this passage; but I should never, without the aid of Tillemont (*Hist. des Emp.* tom. v. p. 152), have detected an historical anecdote in a strange medley of moral and mystic exhortations addressed by the preacher of Antioch to a young widow.

¹¹⁶ Eunapius, in *Excerpt. Legation.* p. 21 [p. 52, edit. Bonn].

¹¹⁷ See Godefroy's *Chronology of the Laws.* *Codex Theodos.* tom. i. *Prolegomen.* p. xcix.-civ.

convinced, by their own experience, of the possibility of vanquishing their *invincible* enemies. The detachments of these separate garrisons were gradually united into small armies; the same cautious measures were pursued, according to an extensive and well-concerted plan of operations; the events of each day added strength and spirit to the Roman arms; and the artful diligence of the emperor, who circulated the most favorable reports of the success of the war, contributed to subdue the pride of the barbarians and to animate the hopes and courage of his subjects. If, instead of this faint and imperfect outline, we could accurately represent the counsels and actions of Theodosius in four successive campaigns, there is reason to believe that his consummate skill would deserve the applause of every military reader. The republic had formerly been saved by the delays of Fabius; and while the splendid trophies of Scipio, in the field of Zama, attract the eyes of posterity, the camps and marches of the dictator among the hills of Campania may claim a juster proportion of the solid and independent fame which the general is not compelled to share either with fortune or with his troops. Such was likewise the merit of Theodosius; and the infirmities of his body, which most unseasonably languished under a long and dangerous disease, could not oppress the vigor of his mind or divert his attention from the public service.¹¹⁸

The deliverance and peace of the Roman provinces¹¹⁹ was the work of prudence rather than of valor. The prudence of

Divisions, defeat, and submission of the Goths.
A.D. 379-382.

Theodosius was seconded by fortune; and the emperor never failed to seize and to improve every favorable circumstance. As long as the superior genius of Fritigern preserved the union and directed

the motions of the barbarians, their power was not inadequate

¹¹⁸ Most writers insist on the illness and long repose of Theodosius at Thessalonica. Zosimus, to diminish his glory; Jornandes, to favor the Goths; and the ecclesiastical writers, to introduce his baptism.

¹¹⁹ Compare Themistius (Orat. xiv. p. 181) with Zosimus (l. iv. [c. 25] p. 232), Jornandes (c. xxvii. p. 649), and the prolix Commentary of M. de Buat (Hist. des Peuples, etc., tom. vi. p. 477-552). The Chronicles of Idatius and Marcellinus allude in general terms to "*magna certamina, magna multaque prælia.*" The two epithets are not easily reconciled.

to the conquest of a great empire. The death of that hero, the predecessor and master of the renowned Alaric, relieved an impatient multitude from the intolerable yoke of discipline and discretion. The barbarians, who had been restrained by his authority, abandoned themselves to the dictates of their passions; and their passions were seldom uniform or consistent. An army of conquerors was broken into many disorderly bands of savage robbers; and their blind and irregular fury was not less pernicious to themselves than to their enemies. Their mischievous disposition was shown in the destruction of every object which they wanted strength to remove or taste to enjoy; and they often consumed with improvident rage the harvests or the granaries which soon afterwards became necessary for their own subsistence. A spirit of discord arose among the independent tribes and nations, which had been united only by the bands of a loose and voluntary alliance. The troops of the Huns and the Alani would naturally upbraid the flight of the Goths, who were not disposed to use with moderation the advantages of their fortune. The ancient jealousy of the Ostrogoths and the Visigoths could not long be suspended; and the haughty chiefs still remembered the insults and injuries which they had reciprocally offered or sustained while the nation was seated in the countries beyond the Danube. The progress of domestic faction abated the more diffusive sentiment of national animosity; and the officers of Theodosius were instructed to purchase, with liberal gifts and promises, the retreat or service of the discontented party. The acquisition of Modar, a prince of the royal blood of the Amali, gave a bold and faithful champion to the cause of Rome. The illustrious deserter soon obtained the rank of master-general, with an important command; surprised an army of his countrymen who were immersed in wine and sleep; and, after a cruel slaughter of the astonished Goths, returned with an immense spoil and four thousand wagons to the imperial camp.¹²⁰ In the hands of a

¹²⁰ Zosimus (l. iv. [c. 25] p. 282) styles him a Scythian—a name which the more recent Greeks seem to have appropriated to the Goths.

skilful politician, the most different means may be successfully applied to the same ends; and the peace of the empire, which had been forwarded by the divisions, was accomplished by the reunion of the Gothic nation. Athanaric, who had been a patient spectator of these extraordinary events, was at length driven, by the chance of arms, from the dark recesses of the woods of Cauca-land.

Death and
funeral of
Athanaric.
A.D. 381.
Jan. 25.

He no longer hesitated to pass the Danube; and a very considerable part of the subjects of Frigigern, who already felt the inconveniences of anarchy, were easily persuaded to acknowledge for their king a Gothic judge whose birth they respected, and whose abilities they had frequently experienced. But age had chilled the daring spirit of Athanaric; and instead of leading his people to the field of battle and victory, he wisely listened to the fair proposal of an honorable and advantageous treaty. Theodosius, who was acquainted with the merit and power of his new ally, condescended to meet him at the distance of several miles from Constantinople; and entertained him in the imperial city with the confidence of a friend and the magnificence of a monarch. "The barbarian prince observed with curious attention the variety of objects which attracted his notice, and at last broke out into a sincere and passionate exclamation of wonder. 'I now behold' (said he) 'what I never could believe—the glories of this stupendous capital!' And as he cast his eyes around, he viewed and he admired the commanding situation of the city, the strength and beauty of the walls and public edifices, the capacious harbor crowded with innumerable vessels, the perpetual concourse of distant nations, and the arms and discipline of the troops. 'Indeed' (continued Athanaric), 'the Emperor of the Romans is a god upon earth; and the presumptuous man who dares to lift his hand against him is guilty of his own blood.'"¹²¹ The

¹²¹ The reader will not be displeased to see the original words of Jornandes, or the author whom he transcribed: "Regiam urbem ingressus est, miransque, En, inquit, cerno quod sæpe incredulus audiebam, famam videlicet tantæ urbis. Et huc illuc oculos volvens, nunc situm urbis, com meatumque navium, nunc mœnia clara prospectans, miratur; populosque diversarum gentium, quasi fonte in uno e diversis partibus scaturiente undâ, sic quoque militem ordinatum aspiciens; Deus, in-

Gothic king did not long enjoy this splendid and honorable reception; and as temperance was not the virtue of his nation, it may justly be suspected that his mortal disease was contracted amidst the pleasures of the imperial banquets. But the policy of Theodosius derived more solid benefit from the death than he could have expected from the most faithful services of his ally. The funeral of Athanaric was performed with solemn rites in the capital of the East; a stately monument was erected to his memory; and his whole army, won by the liberal courtesy and decent grief of Theodosius, enlisted under the standard of the Roman empire.¹²² The submission of so great a body of the Visigoths was productive of the most salutary consequences; and the mixed influence of force, of reason, and of corruption became every day more powerful and more extensive. Each independent chieftain hastened to obtain a separate treaty, from the apprehension that an obstinate delay might expose *him*, alone and unprotected, to the revenge or justice of the conqueror. The general, or rather the final, capitulation of the Goths may be dated four years one month and twenty-five days after the defeat and death of the Emperor Valens.¹²³

A.D. 389.
Oct. 2.

The provinces of the Danube had been already relieved from the oppressive weight of the Gruthungi, or Ostrogoths, by the voluntary retreat of Alatheus and Saphrax, whose restless spirit had prompted them to seek new scenes of rapine and glory. Their destructive course was pointed towards the West; but we must be satisfied with a very obscure and imperfect knowledge of their various adventures. The Ostrogoths impelled several of the German tribes on the provinces of Gaul; concluded, and soon violated,

Invasion and
defeat of the
Gruthungi, or
Ostrogoths.
A.D. 386.
October.

quit, sine dubio est terrenus Imperator, et quisquis adversus eum manum moverit, ipse sui sanguinis reus existit." Jornandes (c. xxviii. p. 650) proceeds to mention his death and funeral.

¹²² Jornandes, c. xxviii. p. 650. Even Zosimus (l. iv. [c. 34] p. 246) is compelled to approve the generosity of Theodosius, so honorable to himself and so beneficial to the public.

¹²³ The short but authentic hints in the *Fasti* of Idatius (Chron. Scaliger. p. 52) are stained with contemporary passion. The fourteenth oration of Themistius is a compliment to Peace and the Consul Saturninus (A.D. 388).

a treaty with the Emperor Gratian; advanced into the unknown countries of the North; and, after an interval of more than four years, returned with accumulated force to the banks of the Lower Danube. Their troops were recruited with the fiercest warriors of Germany and Scythia; and the soldiers, or at least the historians, of the empire no longer recognized the name and countenances of their former enemies.¹²⁴ The general who commanded the military and naval powers of the Thracian frontier soon perceived that his superiority would be disadvantageous to the public service, and that the barbarians, awed by the presence of his fleet and legions, would probably defer the passage of the river till the approaching winter. The dexterity of the spies whom he sent into the Gothic camp allured the barbarians into a fatal snare. They were persuaded that, by a bold attempt, they might surprise, in the silence and darkness of the night, the sleeping army of the Romans; and the whole multitude was hastily embarked in a fleet of three thousand canoes.¹²⁵ The bravest of the Ostrogoths led the van; the main body consisted of the remainder of their subjects and soldiers; and the women and children securely followed in the rear. One of the nights without a moon had been selected for the execution of their design; and they had almost reached the southern bank of the Danube, in the firm confidence that they should find an easy landing and an unguarded camp. But the progress of the barbarians was suddenly stopped by an unexpected obstacle—a triple line of vessels, strongly connected with each other, and which formed an impenetrable chain of two miles and a half along the river. While they struggled to force their way in the unequal conflict, their right flank was overwhelmed by the irresistible attack of a fleet of galleys, which were urged down the stream

¹²⁴ Ἔθνος τι Σκύθικον πᾶσαν ἄγνωστον.—Zosimus, l. iv. [c. 38] p. 252.

¹²⁵ I am justified, by reason and example, in applying this Indian name to the μονόξυλα of the barbarians, the single trees hollowed into the shape of a boat, πληθεῖ μονόξυλων ἐμβιβάσαντες. Zosimus, l. iv. [c. 38] p. 253.

Ansi Danubium quondam tranare Gruthungi
In lintres fregere nemus: ter mille ruebant
Per fluvium plenæ cuneis immanibus alni.

Claudian. in iv Cons. Hon. 628.

by the united impulse of oars and of the tide. The weight and velocity of those ships of war broke and sank and dispersed the rude and feeble canoes of the barbarians. Their valor was ineffectual; and Alatheus, the king or general of the Ostrogoths, perished with his bravest troops, either by the sword of the Romans or in the waves of the Danube. The last division of this unfortunate fleet might regain the opposite shore; but the distress and disorder of the multitude rendered them alike incapable either of action or counsel, and they soon implored the clemency of the victorious enemy. On this occasion, as well as on many others, it is a difficult task to reconcile the passions and prejudices of the writers of the age of Theodosius. The partial and malignant historian, who misrepresents every action of his reign, affirms that the emperor did not appear in the field of battle till the barbarians had been vanquished by the valor and conduct of his lieutenant Promotus.¹²⁶ The flattering poet, who celebrated in the court of Honorius the glory of the father and of the son, ascribes the victory to the personal prowess of Theodosius, and almost insinuates that the King of the Ostrogoths was slain by the hand of the emperor.¹²⁷ The truth of history might perhaps be found in a just medium between these extreme and contradictory assertions.

The original treaty, which fixed the settlement of the Goths, ascertained their privileges, and stipulated their obligations, would illustrate the history of Theodosius and his successors. The series of their history has imperfectly preserved the spirit and substance of this singular agreement.¹²⁸ The ravages of war and tyran-

Settlement of
the Goths in
Thrace and
Asia.
A.D. 383-395.

¹²⁶ Zosimus, l. iv. [c 38] p 252-255. He too frequently betrays his poverty of judgment by disgracing the most serious narratives with trifling and incredible circumstances.

¹²⁷

——— Odothæi Regis *opima*
Retulit ———

Ver. 632.

The *opima* were the spoils which a Roman general could only win from the king or general of the enemy whom he had slain with his own hands: and no more than three such examples are celebrated in the victorious ages of Rome.

¹²⁸ See Themistius, Orat. xvi. p. 211. Claudian (in Entrop. l. ii. 152) mentions the Phrygian colony:

ny had provided many large tracts of fertile but uncultivated land for the use of those barbarians who might not disdain the practice of agriculture. A numerous colony of the Visigoths was seated in Thrace; the remains of the Ostrogoths were planted in Phrygia and Lydia. Their immediate wants were supplied by a distribution of corn and cattle; and their future industry was encouraged by an exemption from tribute during a certain term of years. The barbarians would have deserved to feel the cruel and perfidious policy of the imperial court if they had suffered themselves to be dispersed through the provinces. They required and they obtained the sole possession of the villages and districts assigned for their residence; they still cherished and propagated their native manners and language; asserted in the bosom of despotism the freedom of their domestic government; and acknowledged the sovereignty of the emperor without submitting to the inferior jurisdiction of the laws and magistrates of Rome. The hereditary chiefs of the tribes and families were still permitted to command their followers in peace and war; but the royal dignity was abolished, and the generals of the Goths were appointed and removed at the pleasure of the emperor. An army of forty thousand Goths was maintained for the perpetual service of the empire of the East; and those haughty troops, who assumed the title of *Fœderati*, or allies, were distinguished by their gold collars, liberal pay, and licentious privileges. Their native courage was improved by the use of arms and the knowledge of discipline; and, while the republic was guarded or threatened by the doubtful sword of the barbarians, the last sparks of the military flame were finally extinguished in the minds of the Romans.¹²⁰ Theodosius had the address to persuade his allies that the conditions of peace, which had

——— Ostrogothis colitur mistisque Gruthungis
Phryx ager ———

and then proceeds to name the rivers of Lydia, the Pactolus, and Hermus.

¹²⁰ Compare Jornandes (c. 21, 28), who marks the condition and number of the Gothic *Fœderati*, with Zosimus (l. iv. p. 258), who mentions their golden collars; and Pacatus (in Panegy. Vet. xii. 37), who applauds, with false or foolish joy, their bravery and discipline.

been extorted from him by prudence and necessity, were the voluntary expressions of his sincere friendship for the Gothic nation.¹²⁰ A different mode of vindication or apology was opposed to the complaints of the people, who loudly censured these shameful and dangerous concessions.¹²¹ The calamities of the war were painted in the most lively colors; and the first symptoms of the return of order, of plenty, and security were diligently exaggerated. The advocates of Theodosius could affirm, with some appearance of truth and reason, that it was impossible to extirpate so many warlike tribes, who were rendered desperate by the loss of their native country, and that the exhausted provinces would be revived by a fresh supply of soldiers and husbandmen. The barbarians still wore an angry and hostile aspect; but the experience of past times might encourage the hope that they would acquire the habits of industry and obedience; that their manners would be polished by time, education, and the influence of Christianity; and that their posterity would insensibly blend with the great body of the Roman people.¹²²

Notwithstanding these specious arguments and these sanguine expectations, it was apparent to every discerning eye that the Goths would long remain the enemies, and Their hostile sentiments. might soon become the conquerors, of the Roman empire. Their rude and insolent behavior expressed their contempt of the citizens and provincials, whom they insulted with impunity.¹²³ To the zeal and valor of the barbarians

¹²⁰ "Amator pacis generisque Gothorum," is the praise bestowed by the Gothic historian (c. xxix.), who represents his nation as innocent, peaceable men, slow to anger and patient of injuries. According to Livy, the Romans conquered the world in their own defence.

¹²¹ Besides the partial invectives of Zosimus (always discontented with the Christian reigns), see the grave representations which Synesius addresses to the Emperor Arcadius (De Regno, p. 25, 26, edit. Petav. [Paris, 1612]). The philosophic Bishop of Cyrene was near enough to judge, and he was sufficiently removed from the temptation of fear or flattery.

¹²² Themistius (Orat. xvi. p. 211, 212) composes an elaborate and rational apology, which is not, however, exempt from the puerilities of Greek rhetoric. Orpheus could *only* charm the wild beasts of Thrace; but Theodosius enchanted the men and women whose predecessors in the same country had torn Orpheus in pieces, etc.

¹²³ Constantinople was deprived, half a day, of the public allowance of bread, to

Theodosius was indebted for the success of his arms; but their assistance was precarious, and they were sometimes seduced, by a treacherous and inconstant disposition, to abandon his standard at the moment when their service was the most essential. During the civil war against Maximus a great number of Gothic deserters retired into the morasses of Macedonia, wasted the adjacent provinces, and obliged the intrepid monarch to expose his person and exert his power to suppress the rising flame of rebellion.¹³⁴ The public apprehensions were fortified by the strong suspicion that these tumults were not the effect of accidental passion, but the result of deep and premeditated design. It was generally believed that the Goths had signed the treaty of peace with a hostile and insidious spirit, and that their chiefs had previously bound themselves by a solemn and secret oath never to keep faith with the Romans, to maintain the fairest show of loyalty and friendship, and to watch the favorable moment of rapine, of conquest, and of revenge. But as the minds of the barbarians were not insensible to the power of gratitude, several of the Gothic leaders sincerely devoted themselves to the service of the empire, or, at least, of the emperor. The whole nation was insensibly divided into two opposite factions, and much sophistry was employed in conversation and dispute to compare the obligations of their first and second engagements. The Goths, who considered themselves as the friends of peace, of justice, and of Rome, were directed by the authority of Fravitta, a valiant and honorable youth, distinguished above the rest of his countrymen by the politeness of his manners, the liberality of his sentiments, and the mild virtues of social life. But the more numerous faction adhered to the fierce and faithless Priulf,* who inflamed the passions and asserted the independence of

expiate the murder of a Gothic soldier *ἐκποιῶντες τὸ Σκυθικόν* was the guilt of the people. Libanius, Orat. xii. p. 394, edit. Morel.

¹³⁴ Zosimus, l. iv. [c. 48] p. 267-271. He tells a long and ridiculous story of the adventurous prince, who roved the country with only five horsemen; of a spy whom they detected, whipped, and killed in an old woman's cottage, etc.

* *Ἐπίουλος*.—Eunapius.—M.

his warlike followers. On one of the solemn festivals, when the chiefs of both parties were invited to the imperial table, they were insensibly heated by wine, till they forgot the usual restraints of discretion and respect, and betrayed in the presence of Theodosius the fatal secret of their domestic disputes. The emperor, who had been the reluctant witness of this extraordinary controversy, dissembled his fears and resentment, and soon dismissed the tumultuous assembly. Fravitta, alarmed and exasperated by the insolence of his rival, whose departure from the palace might have been the signal of a civil war, boldly followed him, and, drawing his sword, laid Priulf dead at his feet. Their companions flew to arms, and the faithful champion of Rome would have been oppressed by superior numbers if he had not been protected by the seasonable interposition of the imperial guards.¹³⁵ Such were the scenes of barbaric rage which disgraced the palace and table of the Roman emperor; and, as the impatient Goths could only be restrained by the firm and temperate character of Theodosius, the public safety seemed to depend on the life and abilities of a single man.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ Compare Etnapius (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 21, 22 [p. 53, 54, edit. Bonn]) with Zosimus (l. iv. [c. 56] p. 279). The difference of circumstances and names must undoubtedly be applied to the same story. Fravitta, or Travitta, was afterwards consul (A.D. 401), and still continued his faithful service to the eldest son of Theodosius (Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 467).

¹³⁶ "Les Goths ravagèrent tout depuis le Danube jusqu'au Bosphore; exterminèrent Valens et son armée; et ne repassèrent le Danube que pour abandonner l'affreuse solitude qu'ils avoient faite" (*Œuvres de Montesquieu*, tom. iii. p. 479). *Considérations sur les Causes de la Grandeur et de la Décadence des Romains*, ch. xvii.). The president Montesquieu seems ignorant that the Goths, after the defeat of Valens, never abandoned the Roman territory. "It is now thirty years," says Claudian (*De Bello Getico*. 166, etc., A.D. 404),

"Ex quo jam patrios gens hæc oblita Triones,
Atque Istrum transvecta semel, vestigia fixit
Threicio funesta solo ———"

The error is inexcusable, since it disguises the principal and immediate cause of the fall of the Western empire of Rome.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Death of Gratian.—Ruin of Arianism.—St. Ambrose.—First Civil War, against Maximus.—Character, Administration, and Penance of Theodosius.—Death of Valentinian II.—Second Civil War, against Eugenius.—Death of Theodosius.

THE fame of Gratian before he had accomplished the twentieth year of his age was equal to that of the most celebrated princes. His gentle and amiable disposition endeared him to his private friends; the graceful affability of his manners engaged the affection of the people; the men of letters, who enjoyed the liberality, acknowledged the taste and eloquence, of their sovereign; his valor and dexterity in arms were equally applauded by the soldiers; and the clergy considered the humble piety of Gratian as the first and most useful of his virtues. The victory of Colmar had delivered the West from a formidable invasion, and the grateful provinces of the East ascribed the merits of Theodosius to the author of *his* greatness and of the public safety. Gratian survived those memorable events only four or five years, but he survived his reputation; and, before he fell a victim to rebellion, he had lost, in a great measure, the respect and confidence of the Roman world.

Character and conduct of the Emperor Gratian. A.D. 379-383.

The remarkable alteration of his character or conduct may not be imputed to the arts of flattery, which had besieged the son of Valentinian from his infancy, nor to the headstrong passions which that gentle youth appears to have escaped. A more attentive view of the life of Gratian may perhaps suggest the true cause of the disappointment of the public hopes. His apparent virtues, instead of being the hardy productions of experience and adversity, were the premature and artificial fruits of a royal education. The anxious tenderness of his father was continually employed to bestow on him those advantages which he might perhaps esteem the

His defects.

more highly as he himself had been deprived of them, and the most skilful masters of every science and of every art had labored to form the mind and body of the young prince.¹ The knowledge which they painfully communicated was displayed with ostentation and celebrated with lavish praise. His soft and tractable disposition received the fair impression of their judicious precepts, and the absence of passion might easily be mistaken for the strength of reason. His preceptors gradually rose to the rank and consequence of ministers of state,² and, as they wisely dissembled their secret authority, he seemed to act with firmness, with propriety, and with judgment on the most important occasions of his life and reign. But the influence of this elaborate instruction did not penetrate beyond the surface; and the skilful preceptors, who so accurately guided the steps of their royal pupil, could not infuse into his feeble and indolent character the vigorous and independent principle of action which renders the laborious pursuit of glory essentially necessary to the happiness, and almost to the existence, of the hero. As soon as time and accident had removed those faithful counsellors from the throne, the Emperor of the West insensibly descended to the level of his natural genius, abandoned the reins of government to the ambitious hands which were stretched forward to grasp them, and amused his leisure with the most frivolous gratifications. A public sale of favor and injustice was instituted, both in the court and in the provinces, by the worthless delegates of his power, whose merit it

¹ Valentinian was less attentive to the religion of his son, since he intrusted the education of Gratian to Ausonius, a professed pagan.^a *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xv. p. 125-138). The poetical fame of Ausonius condemns the taste of his age.

² Ausonius was successively promoted to the Prætorian præfecture of Italy (A.D. 377) and of Gaul (A.D. 378); and was at length invested with the consulship (A.D. 379). He expressed his gratitude in a servile and insipid piece of flattery (*Actio Gratiarum*, p. 699-736 [edit. Toll. Amst. 1671]), which has survived more worthy productions.

^a There has been a keen controversy respecting the religious faith of Ausonius; but most modern writers, in opposition to Gibbon, agree that he was a Christian. See the arguments stated in *Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography*, vol. i. p. 445.—S.

was made *sacrilege* to question.* The conscience of the credulous prince was directed by saints and bishops,⁴ who procured an imperial edict to punish as a capital offence the violation, the neglect, or even the ignorance, of the divine law.⁵ Among the various arts which had exercised the youth of Gratian, he had applied himself, with singular inclination and success, to manage the horse, to draw the bow, and to dart the javelin; and these qualifications, which might be useful to a soldier, were prostituted to the viler purposes of hunting. Large parks were enclosed for the imperial pleasures, and plentifully stocked with every species of wild beasts; and Gratian neglected the duties and even the dignity of his rank to consume whole days in the vain display of his dexterity and boldness in the chase. The pride and wish of the Roman emperor to excel in an art in which he might be surpassed by the meanest of his slaves reminded the numerous spectators of the examples of Nero and Commodus; but the chaste and temperate Gratian was a stranger to their monstrous vices, and his hands were stained only with the blood of animals.⁶

The behavior of Gratian, which degraded his character in the eyes of mankind, could not have disturbed the security of his reign if the army had not been provoked to resent their peculiar injuries. As long as the young emperor was guided by the instructions of his masters, he professed himself the friend and pupil of the

Discontent of
the Roman
troops.
A.D. 383.

* *Disputare de principali judicio non oportet. Sacrilegii enim instar est dubitare, an is dignus sit, quem elegerit imperator.*—Codex Justinian. l. ix. tit. xxix. leg. 2. This convenient law was revived and promulgated, after the death of Gratian, by the feeble court of Milan.

⁴ Ambrose composed, for his instruction, a theological treatise on the faith of the Trinity; and Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 158, 169) ascribes to the archbishop the merit of Gratian's intolerant laws.

⁵ *Qui divinæ legis sanctitatem [aut] nesciendo omittunt, aut negligendo violant, et offendunt, sacrilegium committunt.*—Codex Justinian. l. ix. tit. xxix. leg. 1. Theodosius, indeed, may claim his share in the merit of this comprehensive law.

⁶ Ammianus (xxx. 10) and the younger Victor [*Epit. c. 47*] acknowledge the virtues of Gratian, and accuse, or rather lament, his degenerate taste. The odious parallel of Commodus is saved by "*licet incruentus*;" and perhaps Philostorgius (l. x. c. 10 [5], and Godefroy, p. 412) had guarded, with some similar reserve, the comparison of Nero.

soldiers; many of his hours were spent in the familiar conversation of the camp; and the health, the comforts, the rewards, the honors of his faithful troops appeared to be the object of his attentive concern. But after Gratian more freely indulged his prevailing taste for hunting and shooting, he naturally connected himself with the most dexterous ministers of his favorite amusement. A body of the Alani was received into the military and domestic service of the palace, and the admirable skill which they were accustomed to display in the unbounded plains of Scythia was exercised on a more narrow theatre in the parks and enclosures of Gaul. Gratian admired the talents and customs of these favorite guards, to whom alone he intrusted the defence of his person; and, as if he meant to insult the public opinion, he frequently showed himself to the soldiers and people with the dress and arms, the long bow, the sounding quiver, and the fur garments of a Scythian warrior. The unworthy spectacle of a Roman prince who had renounced the dress and manners of his country filled the minds of the legions with grief and indignation.* Even the Germans, so strong and formidable in the armies of the empire, affected to disdain the strange and horrid appearance of the savages of the North, who, in the space of a few years, had wandered from the banks of the Volga to those of the Seine. A loud and licentious murmur was echoed through the camps and garrisons of the West; and as the mild indolence of Gratian neglected to extinguish the first symptoms of discontent, the want of love and respect was not supplied by the influence of fear. But the subversion of an established government is always a work of some real and of much-apparent difficulty; and the throne of Gratian was protected by the sanctions of custom, law, religion, and the nice balance of the civil and military powers which had been established by the policy of Constantine. It is not very important to inquire from what

* Zosimus (l. iv. [c. 35] p. 247) and the younger Victor ascribe the revolution to the favor of the Alani and the discontent of the Roman troops. "*Dum exercitum negligeret, et paucos ex Alanis, quos ingenti auro ad se transtulerat, anteferebat veteri ac Romano militi*" [Epit. c. 47].

causes the revolt of Britain was produced. Accident is commonly the parent of disorder: the seeds of rebellion happened to fall on a soil which was supposed to be more fruitful than any other in tyrants and usurpers;* the legions of that sequestered island had been long famous for a spirit of presumption and arrogance;† and the name of Maximus was proclaimed by the tumultuary but unanimous voice both of the soldiers and of the provincials. The emperor, or the rebel, for his title was not yet ascertained by fortune, was a native of Spain, the countryman, the fellow-soldier, and the rival of Theodosius, whose elevation he had not seen without some emotions of envy and resentment; the events of his life had long since fixed him in Britain, and I should not be unwilling to find some evidence for the marriage which he is said to have contracted with the daughter of a wealthy lord of Caernarvonshire.‡ But this provincial rank might justly be considered as a state of exile and obscurity; and if Maximus had obtained any civil or military office, he was not invested with the authority either of governor or general.¶ His abilities and even his integrity

Revolt of
Maximus in
Britain.

* "Britannia fertilis provincia tyrannorum," is a memorable expression used by Jerome in the Pelagian controversy, and variously tortured in the disputes of our national antiquaries. The revolutions of the last age appeared to justify the image of the sublime Bossuet, "cette île, plus orageuse que les mers qui l'environnent."

† Zosimus says of the British soldiers, τῶν ἄλλων πάντων πλέον αὐθαδεία καὶ θυμῷ νικωμένους [l. c.].

‡ Helena, the daughter of Eudda. Her chapel may still be seen at Caersegont, now Caernarvon. (Carte's Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 168, from Rowland's *Mona Antiqua*.) The prudent reader may not, perhaps, be satisfied with such Welsh evidence.¶

¶ Camden (vol. i. introduct. p. ci.) appoints him governor of Britain; and the father of our antiquities is followed, as usual, by his blind progeny. Pacatus and Zosimus had taken some pains to prevent this error or fable; and I shall protect myself by their decisive testimonies. "Regali habitu exulem suum, illi exules orbis induerunt" (in Panegy. Vet. xii. 28); and the Greek historian still less equivocally, αὐτὸς (Maximus) δὲ οὐδὲ εἰς ἀρχὴν ἐντυμιον ἐτυχε προελθών (l. iv. [c. 35] p. 248).

* Of course such evidence cannot be accepted; but it seems to prove that the impression made upon the Britons by the deeds of Maximus was very deep. See Lappenberg's Hist. of England, transl. by Thorne, vol. i. n. 59.—S.

are acknowledged by the partial writers of the age, and the merit must indeed have been conspicuous that could extort such a confession in favor of the vanquished enemy of Theodosius. The discontent of Maximus might incline him to censure the conduct of his sovereign, and to encourage, perhaps without any views of ambition, the murmurs of the troops. But in the midst of the tumult he artfully or modestly refused to ascend the throne, and some credit appears to have been given to his own positive declaration that he was compelled to accept the dangerous present of the imperial purple.¹²

But there was danger likewise in refusing the empire; and from the moment that Maximus had violated his allegiance to his lawful sovereign he could not hope to reign, or even to live, if he confined his moderate ambition within the narrow limits of Britain. He boldly and wisely resolved to prevent the designs of Gratian; the youth of the island crowded to his standard, and he invaded Gaul with a fleet and army which were long afterwards remembered as the emigration of a considerable part of the British nation.¹³ The emperor, in his peaceful residence of Paris, was alarmed by their hostile approach, and the darts which he idly wasted on lions and bears might have been employed more honorably against the rebels. But his feeble efforts announced his degenerate spirit and desperate situation, and deprived him of the resources which he still might have found in the support of his subjects and allies. The armies of Gaul, instead of opposing the march of Maximus, received

Flight and
death of Gra-
tian.

¹² Sulpicius Severus, Dialog. ii. 7. Orosius, l. vii. c. 34, p. 556. They both acknowledge (Sulpicius had been his subject) his innocence and merit. It is singular enough that Maximus should be less favorably treated by Zosimus, the partial adversary of his rival.

¹³ Archbishop Usher (Antiquitat. Britan. Eccles. p. 107, 108) has diligently collected the legends of the island and the continent. The whole emigration consisted of 30,000 soldiers and 100,000 plebeians, who settled in Bretagne. Their destined brides, St. Ursula with 11,000 noble and 60,000 plebeian virgins, mistook their way, landed at Cologne, and were all most cruelly murdered by the Huns. But the plebeian sisters have been defrauded of their equal honors; and, what is still harder, John Trithemius presumes to mention the *children* of these British virgins.

him with joyful and loyal acclamations, and the shame of the desertion was transferred from the people to the prince. The troops whose station more immediately attached them to the service of the palace abandoned the standard of Gratian the first time that it was displayed in the neighborhood of Paris. The Emperor of the West fled towards Lyons with a train of only three hundred horse; and in the cities along the road, where he hoped to find a refuge, or at least a passage, he was taught by cruel experience that every gate is shut against the unfortunate. Yet he might still have reached in safety the dominions of his brother, and soon have returned with the forces of Italy and the East, if he had not suffered himself to be fatally deceived by the perfidious governor of the Lyonnese province. Gratian was amused by protestations of doubtful fidelity, and the hopes of a support which could not be effectual, till the arrival of Andragathius, the general of the cavalry of Maximus, put an end to his suspense. That resolute officer executed without remorse the orders or the intentions of the usurper. Gratian, as he rose from supper, was delivered into the hands of the assassin, and his body was denied to the pious and pressing entreaties of his brother Valentinian.¹⁴ The death of the emperor was followed by that of his powerful general, Mellobaudes, the King of the Franks, who maintained to the last moment of his life the ambiguous reputation which is the just recompense of obscure and subtle policy.¹⁵ These exe-

A.D. 383.
Aug. 26.

¹⁴ Zosimus (l. iv. [c. 35] p. 248, 249) has transported the death of Gratian from Lugdunum, in Gaul (Lyons), to Singidunum, in Mæsia. Some hints may be extracted from the Chronicles; some lies may be detected in Sozomen (l. vii. c. 13) and Socrates (l. v. c. 11). Ambrose is our most authentic evidence (tom. i. Enarrat. in Psalm. lxi. p. 961, tom. ii. Epist. xxiv. p. 888, etc., and de Obitu Valentinian. Consolat. No. 28, p. 1182).

¹⁵ Pacatus (xii. 28) celebrates his fidelity; while his treachery is marked in Prosper's Chronicle as the cause of the ruin of Gratian.^a Ambrose, who has occasion to exculpate himself, only condemns the death of Vallio, a faithful servant of Gratian (tom. ii. Epist. xxiv. p. 891, edit. Benedict.).^b

^a Le Beau contests the reading in the chronicle of Prosper upon which this charge rests. Le Beau, iv. 232.—M.

^b According to Pacatus the Count Vallio, who commanded the army, was con-

cutions might be necessary to the public safety, but the successful usurper, whose power was acknowledged by all the provinces of the West, had the merit and the satisfaction of boasting that, except those who had perished by the chance of war, his triumph was not stained by the blood of the Romans.¹⁸

The events of this revolution had passed in such rapid succession that it would have been impossible for Theodosius to march to the relief of his benefactor before he received the intelligence of his defeat and death. During the season of sincere grief or ostentatious mourning, the Eastern Emperor was interrupted by the arrival of the principal chamberlain of Maximus; and the choice of a venerable old man for an office which was usually exercised by eunuchs announced to the Court of Constantinople the gravity and temperance of the British usurper. The ambassador condescended to justify or excuse the conduct of his master, and to protest in specious language that the murder of Gratian had been perpetrated without his knowledge or consent, by the precipitate zeal of the soldiers. But he proceeded, in a firm and equal tone, to offer Theodosius the alternative of peace or war. The speech of the ambassador concluded with a spirited declaration that although Maximus, as a Roman and as the father of his people, would choose rather to employ his forces in the common defence of the republic, he was armed and prepared, if his friendship should be rejected, to dispute in a field of battle the empire of the world. An immediate and peremptory answer was required, but it was extremely difficult for Theodosius to satisfy, on this important occasion, either the feelings of his own mind or the expectations of the public. The imperious voice

¹⁸ He protested, "nullum ex adversariis nisi in acie occubuisse." Sulp. Severus in Vit. B. Martin. c. 23. The orator of Theodosius bestows reluctant, and therefore weighty, praise on his clemency. "Si cui ille, pro ceteris sceleribus suis, minus crudelis fuisse videtur" (Panegy. Vet. xii. 28).

ried to Châlons to be burned alive; but Maximus, dreading the imputation of cruelty, caused him to be secretly strangled by his Bretons. Macedonius also, master of the offices, suffered the death which he merited. Le Beau, iv. 244.—M.

of honor and gratitude called aloud for revenge. From the liberality of Gratian he had received the imperial diadem; his patience would encourage the odious suspicion that he was more deeply sensible of former injuries than of recent obligations; and if he accepted the friendship, he must seem to share the guilt, of the assassin. Even the principles of justice and the interest of society would receive a fatal blow from the impunity of Maximus, and the example of successful usurpation would tend to dissolve the artificial fabric of government, and once more to replunge the empire in the crimes and calamities of the preceding age. But as the sentiments of gratitude and honor should invariably regulate the conduct of an individual, they may be overbalanced in the mind of a sovereign by the sense of superior duties, and the maxims both of justice and humanity must permit the escape of an atrocious criminal if an innocent people would be involved in the consequences of his punishment. The assassin of Gratian had usurped, but he actually possessed, the most warlike provinces of the empire; the East was exhausted by the misfortunes, and even by the success, of the Gothic war; and it was seriously to be apprehended that, after the vital strength of the republic had been wasted in a doubtful and destructive contest, the feeble conqueror would remain an easy prey to the barbarians of the North. These weighty considerations engaged Theodosius to dissemble his resentment and to accept the alliance of the tyrant. But he stipulated that Maximus should content himself with the possession of the countries beyond the Alps. The brother of Gratian was confirmed and secured in the sovereignty of Italy, Africa, and the Western Illyricum, and some honorable conditions were inserted in the treaty to protect the memory and the laws of the deceased emperor." According to the custom of the age, the images of the three imperial colleagues were exhibited to the veneration of the people; nor should it be lightly supposed that in the moment of a solemn reconcil-

²⁷ Ambrose mentions the laws of Gratian, "*quas non abrogavit hostis*" (tom. ii. *Epist.* xvii. p. 827).

iation, Theodosius secretly cherished the intention of perfidy and revenge.¹⁸

The contempt of Gratian for the Roman soldiers had exposed him to the fatal effects of their resentment. His profound veneration for the Christian clergy was rewarded by the applause and gratitude of a powerful order, which has claimed in every age the privilege of dispensing honors, both on earth and in heaven.¹⁹ The orthodox bishops bewailed his death and their own irreparable loss; but they were soon comforted by the discovery that Gratian had committed the sceptre of the East to the hands of a prince whose humble faith and fervent zeal were supported by the spirit and abilities of a more vigorous character. Among the benefactors of the Church, the fame of Constantine has been rivalled by the glory of Theodosius. If Constantine had the advantage of erecting the standard of the cross, the emulation of his successor assumed the merit of subduing the Arian heresy and of abolishing the worship of idols in the Roman world. Theodosius was the first of the emperors baptized in the true faith of the Trinity. Although he was born of a Christian family, the maxims, or at least the practice, of the age encouraged him to delay the ceremony of his initiation, till he was admonished of the danger of delay by the serious illness which threatened his life towards the end of the first year of his reign. Before he again took the field against the Goths, he received the sacrament of baptism²⁰ from Acholius, the orthodox bishop of Thessalonica;²¹ and,

Baptism and
orthodox
edicts of
Theodosius.
A.D. 380.
Feb. 28.

¹⁸ Zosimus, l. iv. [c. 37] p. 251, 252. We may disclaim his odious suspicions, but we cannot reject the treaty of peace which the friends of Theodosius have absolutely forgotten, or slightly mentioned.

¹⁹ Their oracle, the Archbishop of Milan, assigns to his pupil Gratian a high and respectable place in heaven (tom. ii. de Obiit. Val. Consol. p. 1193).

²⁰ For the baptism of Theodosius, see Sozomen (l. vii. c. 4), Socrates (l. v. c. 6), and Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 728).

²¹ Ascolius, or Acholius, was honored by the friendship and the praises of Ambrose, who styles him, "murus fidei atque sanctitatis" (tom. ii. Epist. xv. p. 820); and afterwards celebrates his speed and diligence in running to Constantinople, Italy, etc. (Epist. xvi. p. 822)—a virtue which does not appertain either to a *wall* or a *bishop*.

as the emperor ascended from the holy font, still glowing with the warm feelings of regeneration, he dictated a solemn edict, which proclaimed his own faith, and prescribed the religion of his subjects. "It is our pleasure" (such is the imperial style) "that all the nations which are governed by our clemency and moderation should steadfastly adhere to the religion which was taught by St. Peter to the Romans, which faithful tradition has preserved, and which is now professed by the pontiff Damasus, and by Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic holiness. According to the discipline of the apostles and the doctrine of the Gospel, let us believe the sole deity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, under an equal majesty and a pious Trinity. We authorize the followers of this doctrine to assume the title of Catholic Christians; and as we judge that all others are extravagant madmen, we brand them with the infamous name of heretics, and declare that their conventicles shall no longer usurp the respectable appellation of churches. Besides the condemnation of divine justice, they must expect to suffer the severe penalties which our authority, guided by heavenly wisdom, shall think proper to inflict upon them."²² The faith of a soldier is commonly the fruit of instruction rather than of inquiry; but as the emperor always fixed his eyes on the visible landmarks of orthodoxy which he had so prudently constituted, his religious opinions were never affected by the specious texts, the subtle arguments, and the ambiguous creeds of the Arian doctors. Once indeed he expressed a faint inclination to converse with the eloquent and learned Eunomius, who lived in retirement at a small distance from Constantinople. But the dangerous interview was prevented by the prayers of the Empress Flaccilla, who trembled for the salvation of her husband; and the mind of Theodosius was confirmed by a theological argument adapted to the rudest capacity. He had lately bestowed on his eldest son Arcadius the name and honors of Augustus, and the two princes were seated on a stately throne to receive the homage of their

²² *Codex Theodos.* l. xvi. tit. i. leg. 2, with Godefroy's Commentary, tom. vi. p. 5-9. Such an edict deserved the warmest praises of Baronius, "*auream sanctionem, edictum pium et salutare — Sic itur ad astra.*"

subjects. A bishop, Amphilochius of Iconium, approached the throne, and, after saluting with due reverence the person of his sovereign, he accosted the royal youth with the same familiar tenderness which he might have used towards a plebeian child. Provoked by this insolent behavior, the monarch gave orders that the rustic priest should be instantly driven from his presence. But while the guards were forcing him to the door, the dexterous polemic had time to execute his design by exclaiming, with a loud voice, "Such is the treatment, O emperor! which the King of Heaven has prepared for those impious men who affect to worship the Father, but refuse to acknowledge the equal majesty of his divine Son." Theodosius immediately embraced the Bishop of Iconium, and never forgot the important lesson which he had received from this dramatic parable."

Constantinople was the principal seat and fortress of Arianism; and, in a long interval of forty years," the faith of the princes and prelates who reigned in the capital of the East was rejected in the purer schools of Rome and Alexandria. The archiepiscopal throne of Macedonius, which had been polluted with so much Christian blood, was successively filled by Eudoxus and Damophilus. Their diocese enjoyed a free importation of vice and error from every province of the empire. The eager pursuit of religious controversy afforded a new occupation to the busy idleness of the metropolis; and we may credit the assertion of an intelligent observer, who describes, with some pleasantry, the effects of their loquacious zeal. "This city," says he, "is full of mechanics and slaves, who are all of them profound theologians, and preach in the shops and in the streets. If you desire a man to change a piece of silver, he informs you wherein the

²² Sozomen, l. vii. c. 6. Theodoret, l. v. c. 16. Tillemont is displeased (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vi. p. 627, 628) with the terms of "rustic bishop," "obscure city." Yet I must take leave to think that both Amphilochius and Iconium were objects of inconsiderable magnitude in the Roman empire.

²³ Sozomen, l. vii. c. 5. Socrates, l. v. c. 7. Marcellin. in *Chron.* The account of forty years must be dated from the election or intrusion of Eusebius, who merely exchanged the bishopric of Nicomedia for the throne of Constantinople.

Son differs from the Father ; if you ask the price of a loaf, you are told, by way of reply, that the Son is inferior to the Father ; and if you inquire whether the bath is ready, the answer is, that the Son was made out of nothing.”²² The heretics, of various denominations, subsisted in peace under the protection of the Arians of Constantinople, who endeavored to secure the attachment of those obscure sectaries, while they abused, with unrelenting severity, the victory which they had obtained over the followers of the Council of Nice. During the partial reigns of Constantius and Valens the feeble remnant of the Homoousians was deprived of the public and private exercise of their religion ; and it has been observed, in pathetic language, that the scattered flock was left without a shepherd to wander on the mountains, or to be devoured by rapacious wolves.²³ But as their zeal, instead of being subdued, derived strength and vigor from oppression, they seized the first moments of imperfect freedom, which they acquired by the death of Valens, to form themselves into a regular congregation, under the conduct of an episcopal pastor. Two natives of Cappadocia, Basil and Gregory Nazianzen,²⁴ were distinguished above all their contemporaries²⁵ by the rare union of profane eloquence and of orthodox piety. These orators, who might sometimes be compared, by themselves and by the public, to the most celebrated of the ancient Greeks, were united by the ties of the strictest friendship. They

Gregory
Nazianzen

²² See Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv. p. 71. The thirty third Oration of Gregory Nazianzen affords indeed some similar ideas, even some still more ridiculous ; but I have not yet found the *words* of this remarkable passage, which I allege on the faith of a correct and liberal scholar.

²³ See the thirty-second Oration of Gregory Nazianzen, and the account of his own life, which he has composed in 1800 iambics. Yet every physician is prone to exaggerate the inveterate nature of the disease which he has cured.

²⁴ I confess myself deeply indebted to the *two* Lives of Gregory Nazianzen, composed, with very different views, by Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. ix. p. 305-560, 692-731), and Le Clerc (Bibliothèque Universelle, tom. xviii. p. 1-128).

²⁵ Unless Gregory Nazianzen mistook thirty years in his own age, he was born, as well as his friend Basil, about the year 329. The preposterous chronology of Suidas has been graciously received, because it removes the scandal of Gregory's father, a saint likewise, begetting children after he became a bishop (Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. ix. p. 698-697).

had cultivated with equal ardor the same liberal studies in the schools of Athens; they had retired with equal devotion to the same solitude in the deserts of Pontus; and every spark of emulation or envy appeared to be totally extinguished in the holy and ingenuous breasts of Gregory and Basil. But the exaltation of Basil from a private life to the archiepiscopal throne of Cæsarea discovered to the world, and perhaps to himself, the pride of his character; and the first favor which he condescended to bestow on his friend was received, and perhaps was intended, as a cruel insult.²⁰ Instead of employing the superior talents of Gregory in some useful and conspicuous station, the haughty prelate selected, among the fifty bishoprics of his extensive province, the wretched village of Sasima,²¹ without water, without verdure, without society, situate at the junction of three highways, and frequented only by the incessant passage of rude and clamorous wagoners. Gregory submitted with reluctance to this humiliating exile. He was ordained Bishop of Sasima; but he solemnly protests that he never consummated his spiritual marriage with this disgusting bride. He afterwards consented to undertake the government of his native Church of Nazianzus,²² of which his father had

²⁰ Gregory's Poem on his own Life contains some beautiful lines (tom. ii. p. 8 [edit. Paris, 1609]), which burst from the heart, and speak the pangs of injured and lost friendship:

——— πόνοι κοινὸι λόγων,
Ὁμόστεγός τε καὶ συνέστιος βίος,
Νοῦς δὲ ἐν ἀμφίῳ . . .
Διασκέδασται πάντα, κῆρρύπται χαρὰι,
Αἶθραι φέρουσι τὰς καλαῖας ἐλπίδας.

In the *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, Helena addresses the same pathetic complaint to her friend Hermia:

Is all the counsel that we two have shar'd,
The sisters' vows, etc.

Shakspeare had never read the poems of Gregory Nazianzen; he was ignorant of the Greek language; but his mother-tongue, the language of nature is the same in Cappadocia and in Britain.

²⁰ This unfavorable portrait of Sasima is drawn by Gregory Nazianzen (tom ii. de Vitâ suâ, p. 7, 8) Its precise situation, forty-nine miles from Archelaïs and thirty-two from Tyana, is fixed in the Itinerary of Antoninus (p. 144. edit. Wes-seling).

²¹ The name of Nazianzus has been immortalized by Gregory; but his native town, under the Greek or Roman title of Diocæsarea (Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclési.*

been bishop above five-and-forty years. But as he was still

accepts the
mission of
Constanti-
nople.
A.D. 378
November.

conscious that he deserved another audience and another theatre, he accepted, with no unworthy ambition, the honorable invitation which was addressed to him from the orthodox party of Constantinople.

On his arrival in the capital, Gregory was entertained in the house of a pious and charitable kinsman; the most spacious room was consecrated to the uses of religious worship; and the name of *Anastasia* was chosen to express the resurrection of the Nicene faith. This private conventicle was afterwards converted into a magnificent Church; and the credulity of the succeeding age was prepared to believe the miracles and visions which attested the presence, or at least the protection, of the Mother of God.²² The pulpit of the *Anastasia* was the scene of the labors and triumphs of Gregory Nazianzen; and in the space of two years he experienced all the spiritual adventures which constitute the prosperous or adverse fortunes of a missionary.²³ The Arians, who were provoked by the boldness of his enterprise, represented his doctrine as if he had preached three distinct and equal Deities; and the devout populace was excited to suppress, by violence and tumult, the irregular assemblies of the Athanasian heretics. From the Cathedral of St. Sophia there issued a motley crowd "of common beggars who had forfeited their claim to pity, of monks who had the appearance of goats or satyrs, and of women more terrible than so many Jezebels." The doors of the *Anastasia* were broken open; much mischief was perpetrated, or attempted, with sticks, stones, and firebrands; and as a man lost his life in the affray, Gregory, who was summoned the next morning before the magistrate, had the satisfaction of supposing that he publicly confessed the name of Christ. After he was delivered from the fear and danger of a foreign enemy,

tom. ix. p. 692), is mentioned by Pliny (vi. 3), Ptolemy, and Hierocles (*Itinerar. Wesseling*, p. 709). It appears to have been situate on the edge of Isauria.

²² See Ducange, *Constant. Christiana*, l. iv. p. 141, 142. The *ἁγία δὲναμος* of Sozomen (l. vii. c. 5) is interpreted to mean the Virgin Mary.

²³ Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclési.* tom. ix. p. 432, etc.) diligently collects, enlarges, and explains the oratorical and poetical hints of Gregory himself

his infant Church was disgraced and distracted by intestine faction. A stranger, who assumed the name of *Maximus*²⁴ and the cloak of a Cynic philosopher, insinuated himself into the confidence of Gregory, deceived and abused his favorable opinion, and, forming a secret connection with some bishops of Egypt, attempted, by a clandestine ordination, to supplant his patron in the episcopal seat of Constantinople. These mortifications might sometimes tempt the Cappadocian missionary to regret his obscure solitude. But his fatigues were rewarded by the daily increase of his fame and his congregation; and he enjoyed the pleasure of observing that the greater part of his numerous audience retired from his sermons satisfied with the eloquence of the preacher,²⁵ or dissatisfied with the manifold imperfections of their faith and practice.²⁶

The Catholics of Constantinople were animated with joyful confidence by the baptism and edict of Theodosius; and they impatiently waited the effects of his gracious promise. Their hopes were speedily accomplished; and the emperor, as soon as he had finished the operations of the campaign, made his public entry into the capital at the head of a victorious army. The next day after his arrival he summoned Damophilus to his presence, and offered that Arian prelate the hard alternative of subscribing the Nicene creed, or of instantly resigning, to the orthodox believers, the use and possession of the episcopal palace, the Cathedral of St. Sophia, and all the churches of Constantinople. The zeal of Damophilus, which in a Catholic saint would have been justly applauded, embraced, without hesitation, a life of

Ruin of Arianism at Constantinople.
A.D. 380.
Nov. 26.

²⁴ He pronounced an oration (tom. i. Orat. xxiii. p. 409) in his praise; but after their quarrel the name of *Maximus* was changed into that of *Heron* (see Jerome, tom. i. in Catalog. Script. Eccles. p. 301 [tom. ii. p. 980, edit. Vallars.]). I touch slightly on these obscure and personal squabbles.

²⁵ Under the modest emblem of a dream, Gregory (tom. ii. Carmen ix. p. 78) describes his own success with some human complacency. Yet it should seem, from his familiar conversation with his auditor St. Jerome (tom. i. Epist. ad Nepotian. p. 14 [tom. i. p. 261, edit. Vallars.]), that the preacher understood the true value of popular applause.

²⁶ "Lacrime auditorum laudes tue sint," is the lively and judicious advice of St. Jerome [loc. cit.].

poverty and exile," and his removal was immediately followed by the purification of the imperial city. The Arians might complain, with some appearance of justice, that an inconsiderable congregation of sectaries should usurp the hundred churches which they were insufficient to fill, whilst the far greater part of the people was cruelly excluded from every place of religious worship. Theodosius was still inexorable; but as the angels who protected the Catholic cause were only visible to the eyes of faith, he prudently reinforced those heavenly legions with the more effectual aid of temporal and carnal weapons, and the Church of St. Sophia was occupied by a large body of the imperial guards. If the mind of Gregory was susceptible of pride, he must have felt a very lively satisfaction when the emperor conducted him through the streets in solemn triumph, and, with his own hand, respectfully placed him on the archiepiscopal throne of Constantinople. But the saint (who had not subdued the imperfections of human virtue) was deeply affected by the mortifying consideration that his entrance into the fold was that of a wolf rather than of a shepherd; that the glittering arms which surrounded his person were necessary for his safety; and that he alone was the object of the imprecations of a great party, whom, as men and citizens, it was impossible for him to despise. He beheld the innumerable multitude, of either sex and of every age, who crowded the streets, the windows, and the roofs of the houses; he heard the tumultuous voice of rage, grief, astonishment, and despair; and Gregory fairly confesses that on the memorable day of his installation the capital of the East wore the appearance of a city taken by storm, and in the hands of a barbarian conqueror.²⁷ About six weeks afterwards, Theodosius declared his resolution of expelling from all the churches of his domin-

²⁷ Socrates (l. v. c. 7) and Sozomen (l. vii. c. 5) relate the evangelical words and actions of Damophilus without a word of approbation. He considered, says Socrates, that it is difficult to *resist* the powerful; but it was easy, and would have been profitable, to *submit*.

²⁸ See Gregory Nazianzen, tom. ii. de Vitâ suâ, p. 21, 22. For the sake of posterity, the Bishop of Constantinople records a stupendous prodigy. In the month of November, it was a cloudy morning, but the sun broke forth when the procession entered the church.

ions the bishops and their clergy who should obstinately refuse to believe, or at least to profess, the doctrine of the Council of Nice. His lieutenant Sapor was armed with the ample powers of a general law, a special commission, and a military force;* and this ecclesiastical revolution was conducted with so much discretion and vigor that the religion of the emperor was established, without tumult or bloodshed, in all the provinces of the East. The writings of the Arians, if they had been permitted to exist,** would perhaps contain the lamentable story of the persecution which afflicted the Church under the reign of the impious Theodosius; and the sufferings of *their* holy confessors might claim the pity of the disinterested reader. Yet there is reason to imagine that the violence of zeal and revenge was in some measure eluded by the want of resistance; and that, in their adversity, the Arians displayed much less firmness than had been exerted by the orthodox party under the reigns of Constantius and Valens. The moral character and conduct of the hostile sects appear to have been governed by the same common principles of nature and religion; but a very material circumstance may be discovered which tended to distinguish the degrees of their theological faith. Both parties, in the schools as well as in the temples, acknowledged and worshipped the divine majesty of Christ; and, as we are always prone to impute our own sentiments and passions to the Deity, it would be deemed more prudent and respectful to exaggerate than to circumscribe the adorable perfections of the Son of God. The disciple of Athanasius exulted in the proud confidence that he had entitled himself to the divine favor, while the follower of Arius must have been tormented by the secret apprehension that he was guilty perhaps of an unpardonable offence by the scanty praise and parsimonious honors which

* Of the three ecclesiastical historians, Theodoret alone (l. v. c. 2) has mentioned this important commission of Sapor, which Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 728) judiciously removes from the reign of Gratian to that of Theodosius.

** I do not reckon Philostorgius, though he mentions (l. ix. c. 19) the expulsion of Damophilus. The Eunomian historian has been carefully strained through an orthodox sieve

he bestowed on the Judge of the World. The opinions of Arianism might satisfy a cold and speculative mind ; but the doctrine of the Nicene Creed, most powerfully recommended by the merits of faith and devotion, was much better adapted to become popular and successful in a believing age.

The hope that truth and wisdom would be found in the assemblies of the orthodox clergy induced the emperor to convene, at Constantinople, a synod of one hundred and fifty bishops, who proceeded, without much difficulty or delay, to complete the theological system which had been established in the Council of Nice.

The Council
of Constanti-
nople.
A.D. 381.
May.

The vehement disputes of the fourth century had been chiefly employed on the nature of the Son of God ; and the various opinions which were embraced concerning the *Second*, were extended and transferred, by a natural analogy, to the *Third* person of the Trinity.⁴¹ Yet it was found, or it was thought, necessary, by the victorious adversaries of Arianism, to explain the ambiguous language of some respectable doctors ; to confirm the faith of the Catholics ; and to condemn an unpopular and inconsistent sect of Macedonians, who freely admitted that the Son was consubstantial to the Father, while they were fearful of seeming to acknowledge the existence of *Three* Gods. A final and unanimous sentence was pronounced to ratify the equal Deity of the Holy Ghost. The mysterious doctrine has been received by all the nations and all the churches of the Christian world ; and their grateful reverence has assigned to the bishops of Theodosius the second rank among the general councils.⁴² Their knowledge of religious truth may have been preserved by tradition, or it may have been com-

⁴¹ Le Clerc has given a curious extract (Bibliothèque Universelle, tom. xviii. p. 91-105) of the theological sermons which Gregory Nazianzen pronounced at Constantinople against the Arians, Ennomians, Macedonians, etc. He tells the Macedonians, who deified the Father and the Son, without the Holy Ghost, that they might as well be styled *Tritheists* as *Ditheists*. Gregory himself was almost a *Tritheist*, and his monarchy of heaven resembles a well-regulated aristocracy.

⁴² The first general council of Constantinople now triumphs in the Vatican ; but the popes had long hesitated, and their hesitation perplexes and almost staggers the humble Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. ix. p. 499, 500).

municated by inspiration; but the sober evidence of history will not allow much weight to the personal authority of the Fathers of Constantinople. In an age when the ecclesiastics had scandalously degenerated from the model of apostolical purity, the most worthless and corrupt were always the most eager to frequent and disturb the episcopal assemblies. The conflict and fermentation of so many opposite interests and tempers inflamed the passions of the bishops; and their ruling passions were the love of gold and the love of dispute. Many of the same prelates who now applauded the orthodox piety of Theodosius had repeatedly changed, with prudent flexibility, their creeds and opinions; and in the various revolutions of the Church and State, the religion of their sovereign was the rule of their obsequious faith. When the emperor suspended his prevailing influence, the turbulent synod was blindly impelled by the absurd or selfish motives of pride, hatred, and resentment. The death of Meletius, which happened at the Council of Constantinople, presented the most favorable opportunity of terminating the schism of Antioch, by suffering his aged rival, Paulinus, peaceably to end his days in the episcopal chair. The faith and virtues of Paulinus were unblemished. But his cause was supported by the Western churches; and the bishops of the synod resolved to perpetuate the mischiefs of discord, by the hasty ordination of a perjured candidate,⁴³ rather than to betray the imagined dignity of the East, which had been illustrated by the birth and death of the Son of God. Such unjust and disorderly proceedings forced the gravest members of the assembly to dissent and to secede; and the clamorous majority, which remained masters of the field of battle, could be compared only to wasps or magpies, to a flight of cranes, or to a flock of geese.⁴⁴

⁴³ Before the death of Meletius, six or eight of his most popular ecclesiastics, among whom was Flavian, had *abjured*, for the sake of peace, the bishopric of Antioch (Sozomen, l. vii. c. 3, 11; Socrates, l. v. c. 5). Tillemont thinks it his duty to disbelieve the story, but he owns that there are many circumstances in the life of Flavian which *seem* inconsistent with the praises of Chrysostom and the character of a saint (Mém. Ecclés. tom. x. p. 541).

⁴⁴ Consult Gregory Nazianzen, De Vitâ suâ, tom. ii. p. 25-28. His general and particular opinion of the clergy and their assemblies may be seen in verse and

A suspicion may possibly arise that so unfavorable a picture of ecclesiastical synods has been drawn by the partial hand of some obstinate heretic or some malicious infidel. But the name of the sincere historian who has conveyed this instructive lesson to the knowledge of posterity must silence the impotent murmurs of superstition and bigotry. He was one of the most pious and eloquent bishops of the age; a saint, and a doctor of the Church; the scourge of Arianism, and the pillar of the orthodox faith; a distinguished member of the Council of Constantinople, in which, after the death of Meletius, he exercised the functions of president; in a word, Gregory Nazianzen himself. The harsh and ungenerous treatment which he experienced," instead of derogating from the truth of his evidence, affords an additional proof of the spirit which actuated the deliberations of the synod. Their unanimous suffrage had confirmed the pretensions which the Bishop of Constantinople derived from the choice of the people and the approbation of the emperor. But Gregory soon became the victim of malice and envy. The bishops of the East, his strenuous adherents, provoked by his moderation in the affairs of Antioch, abandoned him, without support, to the adverse faction of the Egyptians, who disputed the validity of his election, and rigorously asserted the obsolete canon that prohibited the licentious practice of episcopal translations. The pride or the humility of Gregory prompted him to decline a contest which might have been imputed to ambition and avarice; and he publicly offered, not without some mixture of indignation, to renounce the government of a Church which had been restored, and almost created, by his labors. His resignation was accepted by the synod, and by the emperor, with more readiness than he seems to have expected. At the time when he might have hoped to enjoy the

Retreat of
Gregory Na-
zianzen.
A.D. 381.

nose (tom. i. Orat. i. p. 33; Epist. lv. p. 814, tom. ii.; Carmen x. p. 81). Such passages are faintly marked by Tillemont, and fairly produced by Le Clerc.

* See Gregory, tom. ii. De Vita sua, p. 28-31. The fourteenth, twenty-seventh, and thirty-second Orations were pronounced in the several stages of this business. The peroration of the last (tom. i. p. 528), in which he takes a solemn leave of men and angels, the city and the emperor, the East and the West, etc., is pathetic, and almost sublime.

fruits of his victory, his episcopal throne was filled by the senator Nectarius; and the new archbishop, accidentally recommended by his easy temper and venerable aspect, was obliged to delay the ceremony of his consecration till he had previously despatched the rites of his baptism." After this remarkable experience of the ingratitude of princes and prelates, Gregory retired once more to his obscure solitude of Cappadocia, where he employed the remainder of his life, about eight years, in the exercise of poetry and devotion. The title of saint has been added to his name; but the tenderness of his heart⁴⁶ and the elegance of his genius reflect a more pleasing lustre on the memory of Gregory Nazianzen.

It was not enough that Theodosius had suppressed the insolent reign of Arianism, or that he had abundantly revenged the injuries which the Catholics sustained from the zeal of Constantius and Valens. The orthodox emperor considered every heretic as a rebel against the supreme powers of heaven and of earth; and each of those powers might exercise their peculiar jurisdiction over the soul and body of the guilty. The decrees of the Council of Constantinople had ascertained the true standard of the faith; and ecclesiastics who governed the conscience of Theodosius suggested the most effectual methods of persecution. In the space of fifteen years he promulgated at least fifteen severe edicts against the heretics,⁴⁷ more especially against those who rejected the doctrine of the Trinity; and, to deprive them of every hope of escape, he sternly enacted that if any laws or rescripts should be alleged in their favor, the judges should consider them as the illegal productions either of fraud

Edicts of
Theodosius
against the
heretics.
A.D. 380-394.

⁴⁶ The whimsical ordination of Nectarius is attested by Sozomen (l. vii. c. 8); but Tillemont observes (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. ix. p. 719), "Après tout, ce narré de Sozomène est si honteux pour tous ceux qu'il y mêle, et surtout pour Théodose, qu'il vaut mieux travailler à le détruire qu'à le soutenir." An admirable canon of criticism!

⁴⁷ I can only be understood to mean that such was his natural temper when it was not hardened or inflamed by religious zeal. From his retirement he exhorts Nectarius to prosecute the heretics of Constantinople.

⁴⁸ See the Theodosian Code, l. xvi. tit. v. leg. 6-23, with Godefroy's commentary on each law, and his general summary, or *Paratitlon*, tom. vi. p. 104-110.

or forgery. The penal statutes were directed against the ministers, the assemblies, and the persons of the heretics; and the passions of the legislator were expressed in the language of declamation and invective. I. The heretical teachers, who usurped the sacred titles of Bishops or Presbyters, were not only excluded from the privileges and emoluments so liberally granted to the orthodox clergy, but they were exposed to the heavy penalties of exile and confiscation if they presumed to preach the doctrine or to practise the rites of their *accursed* sects. A fine of ten pounds of gold (above four hundred pounds sterling) was imposed on every person who should dare to confer, or receive, or promote an heretical ordination; and it was reasonably expected that if the race of pastors could be extinguished, their helpless flocks would be compelled, by ignorance and hunger, to return within the pale of the Catholic Church. II. The rigorous prohibition of conventicles was carefully extended to every possible circumstance in which the heretics could assemble with the intention of worshipping God and Christ according to the dictates of their conscience. Their religious meetings, whether public or secret, by day or by night, in cities or in the country, were equally proscribed by the edicts of Theodosius; and the building or ground which had been used for that illegal purpose was forfeited to the imperial domain. III. It was supposed that the error of the heretics could proceed only from the obstinate temper of their minds; and that such a temper was a fit object of censure and punishment. The anathemas of the Church were fortified by a sort of civil excommunication, which separated them from their fellow-citizens by a peculiar brand of infamy; and this declaration of the supreme magistrate tended to justify, or at least to excuse, the insults of a fanatic populace. The sectaries were gradually disqualified for the possession of honorable or lucrative employments; and Theodosius was satisfied with his own justice, when he decreed that, as the Eunomians distinguished the nature of the Son from that of the Father, they should be incapable of making their wills, or of receiving any advantage from testamentary donations. The guilt of the **Manichæan** heresy was esteemed of such magnitude that it

could be expiated only by the death of the offender; and the same capital punishment was inflicted on the Audians, or *Quartodecimans*,⁴⁰ who should dare to perpetrate the atrocious crime of celebrating on an improper day the festival of Easter. Every Roman might exercise the right of public accusation; but the office of *Inquisitors* of the Faith, a name so deservedly abhorred, was first instituted under the reign of Theodosius. Yet we are assured that the execution of his penal edicts was seldom enforced; and that the pious emperor appeared less desirous to punish than to reclaim or terrify his refractory subjects.⁴¹

The theory of persecution was established by Theodosius, whose justice and piety have been applauded by the saints; but the practice of it, in the fullest extent, was reserved for his rival and colleague Maximus, the first among the Christian princes who shed the blood of his Christian subjects on account of their religious opinions. The cause of the Priscillianists,⁴² a recent sect of heretics who disturbed the provinces of Spain, was transferred, by appeal, from the Synod of Bordeaux to the Imperial Consistory of Treves; and, by the sentence of the Prætorian præfect, seven persons were tortured, condemned, and executed. The first of these was Priscillian⁴³ himself, Bishop of Avila,⁴⁴

Execution of
Priscillian
and his asso-
ciates.
A.D. 385.

⁴⁰ They always kept their Easter, like the Jewish Passover, on the fourteenth day of the first moon after the vernal equinox; and thus pertinaciously opposed the Roman Church and Nicene Synod, which had fixed Easter to a Sunday. Bingham's *Antiquities*, l. xx. c. 5, vol. ii. 309, fol. edit.

⁴¹ Sozomen, l. vii. c. 12.

⁴² See the Sacred History of Sulpicius Severus (l. ii. p. 437-452, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1647), a correct and original writer. Dr. Lardner (*Credibility*, etc., part ii. vol. ix. p. 256-350) has labored this article with pure learning, good sense, and moderation. Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. viii. p. 491-527) has raked together all the dirt of the fathers—a useful scavenger!

⁴³ Sulpicius Severus mentions the arch-heretic with esteem and pity. "Felix profecto, si non pravo studio corrupisset optimum ingenium; prorsus multa in eo animi et corporis bona carneres" (*Hist. Sacra*, l. ii. p. 439). Even Jerome (tom. i. in *Script. Eccles.* p. 302 [tom. ii. p. 934, edit. Vallars.]) speaks with temper of Priscillian and Latronian.

⁴⁴ The bishopric (in Old Castile) is now worth 20,000 ducats a year (*Busching's Geography*, vol. ii. p. 808), and is therefore much less likely to produce the author of a new heresy.

in Spain, who adorned the advantages of birth and fortune by the accomplishments of eloquence and learning. Two presbyters and two deacons accompanied their beloved master in his death, which they esteemed as a glorious martyrdom; and the number of religious victims was completed by the execution of Latronian, a poet who rivalled the fame of the ancients; and of Euchrocia, a noble matron of Bordeaux, the widow of the orator Delphidius.* Two bishops who had embraced the sentiments of Priscillian were condemned to a distant and dreary exile;† and some indulgence was shown to the meaner criminals who assumed the merit of an early repentance. If any credit could be allowed to confessions extorted by fear or pain, and to vague reports the offspring of malice and credulity, the heresy of the Priscillianists would be found to include the various abominations of magic, of impiety, and of lewdness.‡ Priscillian, who wandered about the world in the company of his spiritual sisters, was accused of praying stark-naked in the midst of the congregation; and it was confidently asserted that the effects of his criminal intercourse with the daughter of Euchrocia had been suppressed by means still more odious and criminal. But an accurate, or rather a candid, inquiry will discover that if the Priscillianists violated the laws of nature, it was not by the licentiousness, but by the austerity, of their lives. They absolutely condemned the use of the marriage-bed; and the peace of families was often disturbed by indiscreet separations. They enjoined, or recommended, a total abstinence from all animal food; and their continual prayers, fasts, and vigils inculcated a rule of strict and perfect devotion. The speculative tenets of the sect concerning the person of Christ and the nature of the human soul

* “Exprobrabatur mulieri viduæ nimia religio, et diligentius culta divinitas” (Pacat. in Panegyr. Vet. xii. 29). Such was the idea of a humane though ignorant polytheist.

† One of them was sent in Syllinam insulam quæ ultra Britanniam est. What must have been the ancient condition of the rocks of Scilly? (Camden’s *Britannia*, vol. ii. p. 1819.)

‡ The scandalous calumnies of Augustine, Pope Leo, etc., which Tillemont swallows like a child and Lardner refutes like a man, may suggest some candid suspicions in favor of the older Gnostics.

were derived from the Gnostic and Manichæan system; and this vain philosophy, which had been transported from Egypt to Spain, was ill adapted to the grosser spirits of the West. The obscure disciples of Priscillian suffered, languished, and gradually disappeared. His tenets were rejected by the clergy and people, but his death was the subject of a long and vehement controversy; while some arraigned and others applauded the justice of his sentence. It is with pleasure that we can observe the humane inconsistency of the most illustrious saints and bishops, Ambrose of Milan⁸⁷ and Martin of Tours,⁸⁸ who on this occasion asserted the cause of toleration. They pitied the unhappy men who had been executed at Treves; they refused to hold communion with their episcopal murderers; and if Martin deviated from that generous resolution, his motives were laudable and his repentance was exemplary. The Bishops of Tours and Milan pronounced, without hesitation, the eternal damnation of heretics; but they were surprised and shocked by the bloody image of their temporal death, and the honest feelings of nature resisted the artificial prejudices of theology. The humanity of Ambrose and Martin was confirmed by the scandalous irregularity of the proceedings against Priscillian and his adherents. The civil and ecclesiastical ministers had transgressed the limits of their respective provinces. The secular judge had presumed to receive an appeal, and to pronounce a definitive sentence, in a matter of faith and episcopal jurisdiction. The bishops had disgraced themselves by exercising the functions of accusers in a criminal prosecution. The cruelty of Ithacius,⁸⁹ who beheld the tortures and solicited the death of the heretics, provoked the just indignation of mankind; and the vices of that profligate bishop were admitted as a proof that his zeal was instigated by the sordid mo-

⁸⁷ Ambros. tom. ii. Epist. xxiv. p. 891.

⁸⁸ In the Sacred History, and the Life of St. Martin, Sulpicius Severus uses some cation; but he declares himself more freely in the Dialogues (iii. 15). Martin was reprov'd, however, by his own conscience and by an angel; nor could he afterwards perform miracles with so much ease.

⁸⁹ The Catholic presbyter (Sulp. Sever. l. ii. p. 448) and the pagan orator (Pacat. in Panegy. Vet. xii. 29) reprobate with equal indignation the character and conduct of Ithacius.

tives of interest. Since the death of Priscillian, the rude attempts of persecution have been refined and methodized in the holy office, which assigns their distinct parts to the ecclesiastical and secular powers. The devoted victim is regularly delivered by the priest to the magistrate, and by the magistrate to the executioner; and the inexorable sentence of the Church, which declares the spiritual guilt of the offender, is expressed in the mild language of pity and intercession.

Among the ecclesiastics who illustrated the reign of Theodosius, Gregory Nazianzen was distinguished by the talents of an eloquent preacher; the reputation of miraculous gifts added weight and dignity to the monastic virtues of Martin of Tours;⁶⁰ but the palm of episcopal vigor and ability was justly claimed by the intrepid Ambrose.⁶¹ He was descended from a noble family of Romans; his father had exercised the important office of Prætorian Præfect of Gaul; and the son, after passing through the studies of a liberal education, attained, in the regular gradation of civil honors, the station of Consular of Liguria, a province which included the imperial residence of Milan. At the age of thirty-four, and before he had received the sacrament of baptism, Ambrose, to his own surprise and to that of the world, was suddenly transformed from a governor to an archbishop. Without the least mixture, as it is said, of art or intrigue, the whole body of the people unanimously saluted him with the episcopal title; the concord and perseverance of their acclamations were ascribed to a preternatural impulse; and the reluctant magistrate was compelled to undertake a spiritual office for which he was not prepared by the habits and occupations

Ambrose,
Archbishop
of Milan
A.D. 374-397.

⁶⁰ The Life of St. Martin, and the Dialogues concerning his miracles, contain facts adapted to the grossest barbarism, in a style not unworthy of the Augustan age. So natural is the alliance between good taste and good sense that I am always astonished by this contrast.

⁶¹ The short and superficial Life of St. Ambrose, by his deacon Paulinus (Appendix ad edit. Benedict. p. i.-xv.), has the merit of original evidence. Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. x p. 78-306) and the Benedictine editors (p. xxxi.-lxiii) have labored with their usual diligence.

of his former life. But the active force of his genius soon qualified him to exercise with zeal and prudence the duties of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and while he cheerfully renounced the vain and splendid trappings of temporal greatness, he condescended, for the good of the Church, to direct the conscience of the emperors and to control the administration of the empire. Gratian loved and revered him as a father; and the elaborate treatise on the faith of the Trinity was designed for the instruction of the young prince. After his tragic death, at a time when the Empress Justina trembled for her own safety and for that of her son Valentinian, the Archbishop of Milan was despatched on two different embassies to the Court of Treves. He exercised with equal firmness and dexterity the powers of his spiritual and political characters; and perhaps contributed, by his authority and eloquence, to check the ambition of Maximus and to protect the peace of Italy.²² Ambrose had devoted his life and his abilities to the service of the Church. Wealth was the object of his contempt; he had renounced his private patrimony; and he sold, without hesitation, the consecrated plate for the redemption of captives. The clergy and people of Milan were attached to their archbishop; and he deserved the esteem, without soliciting the favor or apprehending the displeasure, of his feeble sovereigns.

The government of Italy and of the young emperor naturally devolved to his mother, Justina, a woman of beauty and spirit, but who, in the midst of an orthodox people, had the misfortune of professing the Arian heresy, which she endeavored to instil into the mind of her son. Justina was persuaded that a Roman emperor might claim, in his own dominions, the public exercise of his religion; and she proposed to the archbishop, as a moderate and reasonable concession, that he should resign the use of a single church, either in the city or suburbs of Milan. But the conduct of Ambrose was governed by very dif-

His successful opposition to the Empress Justina.
A.D. 385.
April 8—
April 10.

²² Ambrose himself (tom. ii. Epist. xxiv. p. 388-391) gives the emperor a very spirited account of his own embassy.

ferent principles.⁸⁸ The palaces of the earth might indeed belong to Cæsar, but the churches were the houses of God; and within the limits of his diocese, he himself, as the lawful successor of the apostles, was the only minister of God. The privileges of Christianity, temporal as well as spiritual, were confined to the true believers; and the mind of Ambrose was satisfied that his own theological opinions were the standard of truth and orthodoxy. The archbishop, who refused to hold any conference or negotiation with the instruments of Satan, declared with modest firmness his resolution to die a martyr rather than to yield to the impious sacrilege; and Justina, who resented the refusal as an act of insolence and rebellion, hastily determined to exert the imperial prerogative of her son. As she desired to perform her public devotions on the approaching festival of Easter, Ambrose was ordered to appear before the council. He obeyed the summons with the respect of a faithful subject, but he was followed, without his consent, by an innumerable people; they pressed with impetuous zeal against the gates of the palace; and the affrighted minister of Valentinian, instead of pronouncing a sentence of exile on the Archbishop of Milan, humbly requested that he would interpose his authority to protect the person of the emperor and to restore the tranquillity of the capital. But the promise which Ambrose received and communicated were soon violated by a perfidious court; and, during six of the most solemn days which Christian piety has set apart for the exercise of religion, the city was agitated by the irregular convulsions of tumult and fanaticism. The officers of the household were directed to prepare, first the Portian, and afterwards the new *Basilica*, for the immediate reception of the emperor and his mother. The splendid canopy and hangings of the royal sea were arranged in the customary manner; but it was found necessary to defend them, by a strong guard, from the insult of the populace. The Arian ecclesiastics who ventured to

⁸⁸ His own representation of his principles and conduct (tom. ii. Epist. xx. xxi. xxii. p. 852-880) is one of the curious monuments of ecclesiastical antiquity. It contains two letters to his sister Marcellina, with a petition to Valentinian, and

show themselves in the streets were exposed to the most imminent danger of their lives; and Ambrose enjoyed the merit and reputation of rescuing his personal enemies from the hands of the enraged multitude.

But while he labored to restrain the effects of their zeal, the pathetic vehemence of his sermons continually inflamed the angry and seditious temper of the people of Milan. The characters of Eve, of the wife of Job, of Jezebel, of Herodias, were indecently applied to the mother of the emperor; and her desire to obtain a Church for the Arians was compared to the most cruel persecutions which Christianity had endured under the reign of paganism. The measures of the court served only to expose the magnitude of the evil. A fine of two hundred pounds of gold was imposed on the corporate body of merchants and manufacturers; an order was signified, in the name of the emperor, to all the officers and inferior servants of the courts of justice that, during the continuance of the public disorders, they should strictly confine themselves to their houses; and the ministers of Valentinian imprudently confessed that the most respectable part of the citizens of Milan was attached to the cause of their archbishop. He was again solicited to restore peace to his country by a timely compliance with the will of his sovereign. The reply of Ambrose was couched in the most humble and respectful terms, which might, however, be interpreted as a serious declaration of civil war. "His life and fortune were in the hands of the emperor; but he would never betray the Church of Christ or degrade the dignity of the episcopal character. In such a cause he was prepared to suffer whatever the malice of the demon could inflict; and he only wished to die in the presence of his faithful flock, and at the foot of the altar; *he* had not contributed to excite, but it was in the power of God alone to appease, the rage of the people; he deprecated the scenes of blood and confusion which were likely to ensue; and it was his fervent prayer that he might not survive to behold the ruin of a flourishing city, and perhaps the desolation of all Italy." The ob-

⁶⁶ Retz had a similar message from the queen to request that he would appear

stinate bigotry of Justina would have endangered the empire of her son if, in this contest with the Church and people of Milan, she could have depended on the active obedience of the troops of the palace. A large body of Goths had marched to occupy the *Basilica*, which was the object of the dispute; and it might be expected from the Arian principles and barbarous manners of these foreign mercenaries that they would entertain no scruples in the execution of the most sanguinary orders. They were encountered on the sacred threshold by the archbishop, who, thundering against them a sentence of excommunication, asked them, in the tone of a father and master, whether it was to invade the house of God that they had implored the hospitable protection of the republic. The suspense of the barbarians allowed some hours for a more effectual negotiation; and the empress was persuaded by the advice of her wisest counsellors to leave the Catholics in possession of all the churches of Milan; and to dissemble, till a more convenient season, her intentions of revenge. The mother of Valentinian could never forgive the triumph of Ambrose; and the royal youth uttered a passionate exclamation that his own servants were ready to betray him into the hands of an insolent priest.

The laws of the empire, some of which were inscribed with the name of Valentinian, still condemned the Arian heresy,

and seemed to excuse the resistance of the Catholic

A.D. 396.

By the influence of Justina, an edict of toleration was promulgated in all the provinces which were subject to the Court of Milan; the free exercise of their religion was granted to those who professed the faith of Rimini; and the emperor declared that all persons who should infringe this sacred and salutary constitution should be capitally punished as the enemies of the public peace." The character and language

the tumult of Paris. It was no longer in his power, etc. "À quoi j'ajoutai tout ce que vous pouvez vous imaginer de respect, de douleur, de regret, et de soumission," etc. (*Mémoires*, tom. i. p. 140). Certainly I do not compare either the causes or the men; yet the coadjutor himself had some idea (p. 84) of imitating St. Ambrose.

* Sozomen alone (l. vii. c. 18) throws this luminous fact into a dark and perplexed narrative.

of the Archbishop of Milan may justify the suspicion that his conduct soon afforded a reasonable ground, or at least a specious pretence, to the Arian ministers, who watched the opportunity of surprising him in some act of disobedience to a law which he strangely represents as a law of blood and tyranny. A sentence of easy and honorable banishment was pronounced, which enjoined Ambrose to depart from Milan without delay, whilst it permitted him to choose the place of his exile and the number of his companions. But the authority of the saints, who have preached and practised the maxims of passive loyalty, appeared to Ambrose of less moment than the extreme and pressing danger of the Church. He boldly refused to obey; and his refusal was supported by the unanimous consent of his faithful people." They guarded by turns the person of their archbishop; the gates of the cathedral and the episcopal palace were strongly secured; and the imperial troops who had formed the blockade were unwilling to risk the attack of that impregnable fortress. The numerous poor who had been relieved by the liberality of Ambrose embraced the fair occasion of signaling their zeal and gratitude; and as the patience of the multitude might have been exhausted by the length and uniformity of nocturnal vigils, he prudently introduced into the Church of Milan the useful institution of a loud and regular psalmody. While he maintained this arduous contest, he was instructed by a dream to open the earth in a place where the remains of two martyrs, Gervasius and Protasius," had been deposited above three hundred years. Immediately under the pavement of the church two perfect skeletons were found," with the heads separated from their

⁶⁶ *Excubabat pia plebs in ecclesiâ mori parata cum episcopo suo. . . . Nos adhuc frigidi excitabamur tamen civitate attonitâ atque turbatâ.*—Augustin. *Confession.* l. ix. c. 7.

⁶⁷ Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. ii. p. 78, 498. Many churches in Italy, Gaul, etc., were dedicated to these unknown martyrs, of whom St. Gervase seems to have been more fortunate than his companion.

⁶⁸ "Invenimus miræ magnitudinis viros duos, ut prisca setas ferebat" (tom. ii. *Epist.* xxii. p. 875). The size of these skeletons was fortunately or skilfully suited to the popular prejudice of the gradual decrease of the human stature which has prevailed in every age since the time of Homer.

"Grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris."

bodies, and a plentiful effusion of blood. The holy relics were presented, in solemn pomp, to the veneration of the people, and every circumstance of this fortunate discovery was admirably adapted to promote the designs of Ambrose. The bones of the martyrs, their blood, their garments, were supposed to contain a healing power; and the preternatural influence was communicated to the most distant objects, without losing a part of its original virtue. The extraordinary cure of a blind man," and the reluctant confessions of several demoniacs, appeared to justify the faith and sanctity of Ambrose; and the truth of those miracles is attested by Ambrose himself, by his secretary Paulinus, and by his proselyte the celebrated Augustine, who at that time professed the art of rhetoric in Milan. The reason of the present age may possibly approve the incredulity of Justina and her Arian court, who derided the theatrical representations which were exhibited by the contrivance and at the expense of the archbishop.⁷⁰ Their effect, however, on the minds of the people was rapid and irresistible; and the feeble sovereign of Italy found himself unable to contend with the favorite of Heaven. The powers likewise of the earth were interposed in the defence of Ambrose. The disinterested advice of Theodosius was the genuine result of piety and friendship, and the mask of religious zeal concealed the hostile and ambitious designs of the tyrant of Gaul.⁷¹

The reign of Maximus might have ended in peace and prosperity, could he have contented himself with the possession of three ample countries which now constitute three most flourishing kingdoms of modern Europe. But the aspiring usurper, whose sordid and

Maximus
invades Italy.
A.D. 387.
August.

⁷⁰ Ambros. tom. ii. Epist. xxii. p. 875. Augustin. Confes. l. ix. c. 7; de Civitate Dei, l. xxii. c. 8. Paulin. in Vita St. Ambros. c. 14, in Append. Benedict. p. The blind man's name was Severus; he touched the holy garment, recovered sight, and devoted the rest of his life (at least twenty-five years) to the service of the Church. I should recommend this miracle to our divines, if it did not prove the worship of relics as well as the Nicene creed.

⁷¹ Paulin. in Vita St. Ambros. c. 5 [15], in Append. Benedict. p. 5.

⁷² Tillemont, Mém. Ecclésiast. tom. x. p. 190, 760. He partially allows the mediation of Theodosius, and capriciously rejects that of Maximus, though it is attested by Prosper, Sozomen, and Theodoret.

bition was not dignified by the love of glory and of arms, considered his actual forces as the instruments only of his future greatness, and his success was the immediate cause of his destruction. The wealth which he extorted⁷² from the oppressed provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain was employed in levying and maintaining a formidable army of barbarians, collected, for the most part, from the fiercest nations of Germany. The conquest of Italy was the object of his hopes and preparations; and he secretly meditated the ruin of an innocent youth, whose government was abhorred and despised by his Catholic subjects. But as Maximus wished to occupy, without resistance, the passes of the Alps, he received with perfidious smiles Domninus of Syria, the ambassador of Valentinian, and pressed him to accept the aid of a considerable body of troops for the service of a Pannonian war. The penetration of Ambrose had discovered the snares of an enemy under the professions of friendship;⁷³ but the Syrian Domninus was corrupted or deceived by the liberal favor of the Court of Treves; and the Council of Milan obstinately rejected the suspicion of danger with a blind confidence which was the effect, not of courage, but of fear. The march of the auxiliaries was guided by the ambassador; and they were admitted, without distrust, into the fortresses of the Alps. But the crafty tyrant followed, with hasty and silent footsteps, in the rear; and, as he diligently intercepted all intelligence of his motions, the gleam of armor and the dust excited by the troops of cavalry first announced the hostile approach of a stranger to the gates of Milan. In this extremity, Justina and her son might accuse their own imprudence and the perfidious arts of Maximus; but they wanted time and force and resolution to stand against the Gauls and Germans, either in the field or within the walls of a large and disaffected city. Flight was their only hope, Aquileia their only refuge; and, as Maximus

⁷² The modest censure of Sulpicius (Dialog. iii. 15 [p. 576]) inflicts a much deeper wound than the feeble declamation of Pacatus (xii. 25, 26).

⁷³ "*Esto tutior adversus hominem, pacis involucre [bellum] tegentem,*" was the wise caution of Ambrose (tom. ii. p. 891) after his return from his second embassy.

now displayed his genuine character, the brother of Gratian might expect the same fate from the hands of the same assassin. Maximus entered Milan in triumph; and if the wise archbishop refused a dangerous and criminal connection with the usurper, he might indirectly contribute to the success of his arms by inculcating from the pulpit the duty of resignation, rather than that of resistance.⁷⁴ The unfortunate Justina reached Aquileia in safety; but she distrusted the strength of the fortifications; she dreaded the event of a siege; and she resolved to implore the protection of the great Theodosius, whose power and virtue were celebrated in all the countries of the West. A vessel was secretly provided to transport the imperial family; they embarked with precipitation in one of the obscure harbors of Venetia, or Istria; traversed the whole extent of the Adriatic and Ionian seas; turned the extreme promontory of Peloponnesus; and, after a long but successful navigation, reposed themselves in the port of Thessalonica.

Flight of
Valentinian.

All the subjects of Valentinian deserted the cause of a prince who, by his abdication, had absolved them from the duty of allegiance; and if the little city of Æmona, on the verge of Italy, had not presumed to stop the career of his inglorious victory, Maximus would have obtained without a struggle the sole possession of the Western empire.

Instead of inviting his royal guests to the palace of Constantinople, Theodosius had some unknown reasons to fix their residence at Thessalonica; but these reasons did not proceed from contempt or indifference, as he speedily made a visit to that city, accompanied by the greatest part of his court and senate. After the first

Theodosius
takes arms in
the cause of
Valentinian.
A.D. 387.

tender expressions of friendship and sympathy, the pious Emperor of the East gently admonished Justina that the guilt of heresy was sometimes punished in this world as well as in the next; and that the public profession of the Nicene faith would be the most efficacious step to promote the restoration of her son by the satisfaction which it must occasion both on earth

⁷⁴ Baronius (A.D. 387, No. 63) applies to this season of public distress some of the penitential sermons of the archbishop.

and in heaven. The momentous question of peace or war was referred by Theodosius to the deliberation of his council; and the arguments which might be alleged on the side of honor and justice had acquired, since the death of Gratian, a considerable degree of additional weight. The persecution of the imperial family, to which Theodosius himself had been indebted for his fortune, was now aggravated by recent and repeated injuries. Neither oaths nor treaties could restrain the boundless ambition of Maximus; and the delay of vigorous and decisive measures, instead of prolonging the blessings of peace, would expose the Eastern empire to the danger of a hostile invasion. The barbarians who had passed the Danube had lately assumed the character of soldiers and subjects, but their native fierceness was yet untamed; and the operations of a war which would exercise their valor and diminish their numbers might tend to relieve the provinces from an intolerable oppression. Notwithstanding these specious and solid reasons, which were approved by a majority of the council, Theodosius still hesitated whether he should draw the sword in a contest which could no longer admit any terms of reconciliation; and his magnanimous character was not disgraced by the apprehensions which he felt for the safety of his infant sons and the welfare of his exhausted people. In this moment of anxious doubt, while the fate of the Roman world depended on the resolution of a single man, the charms of the Princess Galla most powerfully pleaded the cause of her brother Valentinian.* The heart of Theodosius was softened by the tears of beauty; his affections were insensibly engaged by the graces of youth and innocence; the art of Justina managed and directed the impulse of passion; and the celebration of the royal nuptials was the assurance and signal of the civil war. The unfeeling critics, who consider every amorous weakness as an indelible stain on the memory of a great and

* The flight of Valentinian and the love of Theodosius for his sister are related by Zosimus (l. iv. [c. 43] p. 263, 264). Tillemont produces some weak and ambiguous evidence to antedate the second marriage of Theodosius (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 740), and consequently to refute "ces contes de Zosime qui seroient trop contraires à la piété de Theodose."

orthodox emperor, are inclined on this occasion to dispute the suspicious evidence of the historian Zosimus. For my own part, I shall frankly confess that I am willing to find, or even to seek, in the revolutions of the world some traces of the mild and tender sentiments of domestic life; and amidst the crowd of fierce and ambitious conquerors, I can distinguish with peculiar complacency, a gentle hero who may be supposed to receive his armor from the hands of love. The alliance of the Persian king was secured by the faith of treaties the martial barbarians were persuaded to follow the standard or to respect the frontiers of an active and liberal monarch and the dominions of Theodosius, from the Euphrates to the Adriatic, resounded with the preparations of war both by land and sea. The skilful disposition of the forces of the East seemed to multiply their numbers, and distracted the attention of Maximus. He had reason to fear that a chosen body of troops, under the command of the intrepid Arbogastes would direct their march along the banks of the Danube, and boldly penetrate through the Rætian provinces into the centre of Gaul. A powerful fleet was equipped in the harbor of Greece and Epirus, with an apparent design that, as soon as the passage had been opened by a naval victory, Valentinian and his mother should land in Italy, proceed without delay to Rome, and occupy the majestic seat of religion and empire. In the meanwhile Theodosius himself advanced, at the head of a brave and disciplined army, to encounter his unworthy rival, who, after the siege of Æmona,^a had fixed his camp in the neighborhood of Siscia, a city of Pannonia, strongly fortified by the broad and rapid stream of the Save.

The veterans, who still remembered the long resistance and successive resources of the tyrant Magnentius, might prepare themselves for the labors of three bloody campaigns. But the contest with his successor, who, like him had usurped the throne of the West, was easily decided in the term of two months,⁷⁸ and within the

Defeat and
death of
Maximus.
A.D. 388.
June-
August.

⁷⁸ See Godefroy's Chronology of the Laws, Cod. Theodos. tom. i. p. cxix.

space of two hundred miles. The superior genius of the Emperor of the East might prevail over the feeble Maximus, who in this important crisis showed himself destitute of military skill or personal courage; but the abilities of Theodosius were seconded by the advantage which he possessed of a numerous and active cavalry. The Huns, the Alani, and, after their example, the Goths themselves, were formed into squadrons of archers, who fought on horseback, and confounded the steady valor of the Gauls and Germans by the rapid motions of Tartar war. After the fatigue of a long march in the heat of summer, they spurred their foaming horses into the waters of the Save, swam the river in the presence of the enemy, and instantly charged and routed the troops who guarded the high ground on the opposite side. Marcellinus, the tyrant's brother, advanced to support them with the select cohorts, which were considered as the hope and strength of the army. The action, which had been interrupted by the approach of night, was renewed in the morning; and, after a sharp conflict, the surviving remnant of the bravest soldiers of Maximus threw down their arms at the feet of the conqueror. Without suspending his march, to receive the loyal acclamations of the citizens of Æmona, Theodosius pressed forward to terminate the war by the death or captivity of his rival, who fled before him with the diligence of fear. From the summit of the Julian Alps he descended with such incredible speed in the plain of Italy that he reached Aquileia on the evening of the first day; and Maximus, who found himself encompassed on all sides, had scarcely time to shut the gates of the city. But the gates could not long resist the effort of a victorious enemy; and the despair, the disaffection, the indifference of the soldiers and people, hastened the downfall of the wretched Maximus. He was dragged from his throne, rudely stripped of the imperial ornaments, the robe, the diadem, and the purple slippers; and conducted, like a malefactor, to the car in the presence of Theodosius, at a place about three miles from Aquileia. The behavior of the emperor was not intended as an insult, and he showed some disposition to pity and forgive the tyrant of the West, who had never been his personal enemy.

and was now become the object of his contempt. Our sympathy is the most forcibly excited by the misfortunes to which we are exposed; and the spectacle of a proud competitor now prostrate at his feet could not fail of producing very serious and solemn thoughts in the mind of the victorious emperor. But the feeble emotion of involuntary pity was checked by his regard for public justice and the memory of Gratian; and he abandoned the victim to the pious zeal of the soldiers, who drew him out of the imperial presence and instantly separated his head from his body. The intelligence of his defeat and death was received with sincere or well-dissembled joy: his son Victor, on whom he had conferred the title of Augustus, died by the order, perhaps by the hand, of the bold Arbogastes; and all the military plans of Theodosius were successfully executed. When he had thus terminated the civil war, with less difficulty and bloodshed than he might naturally expect, he employed the winter months of his residence at Milan to restore the state of the afflicted provinces; and early in the spring he made, after the example of Constantine and Constantius, his triumphal entry into the ancient capital of the Roman empire."

The orator, who may be silent without danger, may praise without difficulty and without reluctance;"⁷⁷ and posterity will
 Virtues of Theodosius. confess that the character of Theodosius"⁷⁸ might furnish the subject of a sincere and ample panegyric.

⁷⁷ Besides the hints which may be gathered from chronicles and ecclesiastical history, Zosimus (l. iv. [c. 40 seq.] p. 259-267), Orosius (l. vi. c. 35), and Pacatus (in Panegyr. Vet. xii. 30-47) supply the loose and scanty materials of this civil war. Ambrose (tom. ii. Epist. xl. p. 952, 953) darkly alludes to the well-known events of a magazine surprised, an action at Petovio, a Sicilian, perhaps a naval, victory, etc. Ausonius (p. 236, edit. Toll.) applauds the peculiar merit and good fortune of Aquileia.

⁷⁸ "Quam promptum laudare principem, tam tutum siluisse de principe" (Pacat. in Panegyr. Vet. xii. 2). Latinus Pacatus Drepanius, a native of Gaul, pronounced this oration at Rome (A.D. 388). He was afterwards Proconsul of Africa; and his friend Ausonius praises him as a poet second only to Virgil. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 303.

⁷⁹ See the fair portrait of Theodosius by the younger Victor. The strokes are distinct and the colors are mixed. The praise of Pacatus is too vague; and Claudian always seems afraid of exalting the father above the son.

The wisdom of his laws and the success of his arms rendered his administration respectable in the eyes both of his subjects and of his enemies. He loved and practised the virtues of domestic life, which seldom hold their residence in the palaces of kings. Theodosius was chaste and temperate; he enjoyed without excess the sensual and social pleasures of the table, and the warmth of his amorous passions was never diverted from their lawful objects. The proud titles of imperial greatness were adorned by the tender names of a faithful husband, an indulgent father. His uncle was raised by his affectionate esteem to the rank of a second parent. Theodosius embraced as his own the children of his brother and sister; and the expressions of his regard were extended to the most distant and obscure branches of his numerous kindred. His familiar friends were judiciously selected from among those persons who, in the equal intercourse of private life, had appeared before his eyes without a mask. The consciousness of personal and superior merit enabled him to despise the accidental distinction of the purple; and he proved by his conduct that he had forgotten all the injuries, while he most gratefully remembered all the favors and services, which he had received before he ascended the throne of the Roman empire. The serious or lively tone of his conversation was adapted to the age, the rank, or the character of his subjects whom he admitted into his society; and the affability of his manners displayed the image of his mind. Theodosius respected the simplicity of the good and virtuous: every art, every talent, of a useful or even of an innocent nature was rewarded by his judicious liberality; and, except the heretics, whom he persecuted with implacable hatred, the diffusive circle of his benevolence was circumscribed only by the limits of the human race. The government of a mighty empire may assuredly suffice to occupy the time and the abilities of a mortal; yet the diligent prince, without aspiring to the unsuitable reputation of profound learning, always reserved some moments of his leisure for the instructive amusement of reading. History, which enlarged his experience, was his favorite study. The annals of Rome, in the long period of eleven hundred years, presented

him with a various and splendid picture of human life; and it has been particularly observed that whenever he perused the cruel acts of Cinna, of Marius, or of Sylla, he warmly expressed his generous detestation of those enemies of humanity and freedom. His disinterested opinion of past events was usefully applied as the rule of his own actions; and Theodosius has deserved the singular commendation that his virtues always seemed to expand with his fortune. The season of his prosperity was that of his moderation, and his clemency appeared the most conspicuous after the danger and success of the civil war. The Moorish guards of the tyrant had been massacred in the first heat of the victory, and a small number of the most obnoxious criminals suffered the punishment of the law. But the emperor showed himself much more attentive to relieve the innocent than to chastise the guilty. The oppressed subjects of the West, who would have deemed themselves happy in the restoration of their lands, were astonished to receive a sum of money equivalent to their losses; and the liberality of the conqueror supported the aged mother and educated the orphan daughters of Maximus.⁸⁰ A character thus accomplished might almost excuse the extravagant supposition of the orator Pacatus that, if the elder Brutus could be permitted to revisit the earth, the stern republican would abjure, at the feet of Theodosius, his hatred of kings, and ingenuously confess that such a monarch was the most faithful guardian of the happiness and dignity of the Roman people.⁸¹

Yet the piercing eye of the founder of the republic must have discerned two essential imperfections which might, perhaps, have abated his recent love of despotism: the virtuous mind of Theodosius was often relaxed by indolence,⁸² and it was sometimes inflamed by passion.⁸³ In the

Faults of
Theodosius.

⁸⁰ Ambros. tom. ii. Epist. xl. p. 955. Pacatus, from the want of skill or of courage, omits this glorious circumstance.

⁸¹ Pacat. in Panegyri. Vet. xii. 20.

⁸² Zosimus, l. iv. [c. 50] p. 271, 272. His partial evidence is marked by an air of candor and truth. He observes these vicissitudes of sloth and activity, not as a vice, but as a singularity, in the character of Theodosius.

⁸³ This choleric temper is acknowledged and excused by Victor [Epit. c. 48]. "Sed habes" (says Ambrose in decent and manly language to his sovereign)

pursuit of an important object his active courage was capable of the most vigorous exertions; but as soon as the design was accomplished or the danger was surmounted, the hero sank into inglorious repose, and, forgetful that the time of a prince is the property of his people, resigned himself to the enjoyment of the innocent but trifling pleasures of a luxurious court. The natural disposition of Theodosius was hasty and choleric; and in a station where none could resist and few would dissuade the fatal consequence of his resentment, the humane monarch was justly alarmed by the consciousness of his infirmity and of his power. It was the constant study of his life to suppress or regulate the intemperate sallies of passion, and the success of his efforts enhanced the merit of his clemency. But the painful virtue which claims the merit of victory is exposed to the danger of defeat; and the reign of a wise and merciful prince was polluted by an act of cruelty which would stain the annals of Nero or Domitian. Within the space of three years, the inconsistent historian of Theodosius must relate the generous pardon of the citizens of Antioch and the inhuman massacre of the people of Thessalonica.

The lively impatience of the inhabitants of Antioch was never satisfied with their own situation or with the character and conduct of their successive sovereigns. The Arian subjects of Theodosius deplored the loss of their churches; and as three rival bishops disputed the throne of Antioch, the sentence which decided their pretensions excited the murmurs of the two unsuccessful congregations. The exigencies of the Gothic war, and the inevitable expense that accompanied the conclusion of the peace, had constrained the emperor to aggravate the weight of the public impositions; and the provinces of Asia, as they had not been involved in the distress, were the less inclined to contribute to the relief, of Europe. The auspicious period now

The sedition
of Antioch.
A.D. 387.

"*naturæ impetum, quem si quis lenire velit, cito vertes ad misericordiam : si quis stimulet, in magis exsuscitas, ut eum revocare vix possis*" (tom ii *Epist* li p. 998). Theodosius (Claud. in iv. *Cons. Hon.* 266, etc.) exhorts his son to moderate his anger.

approached of the tenth year of his reign—a festival more grateful to the soldiers, who received a liberal donative, than to the subjects, whose voluntary offerings had been long since converted into an extraordinary and oppressive burden. The edicts of taxation interrupted the repose and pleasures of Antioch; and the tribunal of the magistrate was besieged by a suppliant crowd, who, in pathetic, but at first in respectful language, solicited the redress of their grievances. They were gradually incensed by the pride of their haughty rulers, who treated their complaints as a criminal resistance. Their satirical wit degenerated into sharp and angry invectives; and, from the subordinate powers of government, the invectives of the people insensibly rose to attack the sacred character of the emperor himself. Their fury, provoked by a fee-

Feb. 26.

ble opposition, discharged itself on the images of the imperial family, which were erected, as objects of public veneration, in the most conspicuous places of the city. The statues of Theodosius, of his father, of his wife, Flaccilla, of his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, were insolently thrown down from their pedestals, broken in pieces, or dragged with contempt through the streets; and the indignities which were offered to the representations of imperial majesty sufficiently declared the impious and treasonable wishes of the populace. The tumult was almost immediately suppressed by the arrival of a body of archers; and Antioch had leisure to reflect on the nature and consequences of her crime.* According to the duty of his office, the governor of the province despatched a faithful narrative of the whole transaction, while the trembling citizens intrusted the confession of their crime and the assurances of their repentance to the zeal of Flavian, their bishop, and to the eloquence of the senator Hilarius, the friend, and most probably the disciple, of Libanius, whose genius on this melancholy occasion was not useless to his country.** But the

* The Christians and pagans agreed in believing that the sedition of Antioch was excited by the demons. A gigantic woman (says Sozomen, l. vii c. 23) paraded the streets with a scourge in her hand. An old man, says Libanius (*Orat.* xii. p. 396), transformed himself into a youth, then a boy, etc.

** Zosimus, in his short and disingenuous account (l. iv. [c. 41] p. 258, 259), is

two capitals, Antioch and Constantinople, were separated by the distance of eight hundred miles; and, notwithstanding the diligence of the imperial posts, the guilty city was severely punished by a long and dreadful interval of suspense. Every rumor agitated the hopes and fears of the Antiochians, and they heard with terror that their sovereign, exasperated by the insult which had been offered to his own statues, and more especially to those of his beloved wife, had resolved to level with the ground the offending city, and to massacre, without distinction of age or sex, the criminal inhabitants,⁶⁶ many of whom were actually driven by their apprehensions to seek a refuge in the mountains of Syria and the adjacent desert. At length,

March 22. twenty-four days after the sedition, the General Hellebicus, and Cæsarius, master of the offices, declared the will of the emperor and the sentence of Antioch. That proud capital was degraded from the rank of a city; and the metropolis of the East, stripped of its lands, its privileges, and its revenues, was subjected, under the humiliating denomination of a village, to the jurisdiction of Laodicea.⁶⁷ The baths, the circus, and the theatres were shut; and that every source of plenty and pleasure might at the same time be intercepted, the distribution of corn was abolished by the severe instructions of Theodosius. His commissioners then proceeded to inquire into the guilt of individuals—of those who had perpetrated, and of those who had not prevented, the destruction of the sacred statues. The tribunal of Hellebicus and Cæsarius, encompassed with armed soldiers, was erected in the midst of the Forum. The noblest and most wealthy of the citizens of Antioch appeared before them in chains. The examination was assisted by the use of torture, and their sentence was pro-

certainly mistaken in sending Libanius himself to Constantinople. His own orations fix him at Antioch.

⁶⁶ Libanius (*Orat.* l. p. 6, edit. Venet.) declares that under such a reign the fear of a massacre was groundless and absurd, especially in the emperor's absence; for his presence, according to the eloquent slave, might have given a sanction to the most bloody acts.

⁶⁷ Laodicea, on the sea-coast, sixty-five miles from Antioch (see Noris, *Epoch. Syro-Maced. Dissert.* iii. p. 280). The Antiochians were offended that the dependent city of Seleucia should presume to intercede for them.

nounced or suspended according to the judgment of these extraordinary magistrates. The houses of the criminals were exposed to sale; their wives and children were suddenly reduced from affluence and luxury to the most abject distress; and a bloody execution was expected to conclude the horrors of a day^a which the preacher of Antioch, the eloquent Chrysostom, has represented as a lively image of the last and universal judgment of the world. But the ministers of Theodosius performed with reluctance the cruel task which had been assigned them: they dropped a gentle tear over the calamities of the people, and they listened with reverence to the pressing solicitations of the monks and hermits, who descended in swarms from the mountains.^b Hellebicus and Cæsarius were persuaded to suspend the execution of their sentence; and it was agreed that the former should remain at Antioch while the latter returned with all possible speed to Constantinople, and presumed once more to consult the will of his sovereign. The resentment of Theodosius had already subsided; the deputies of the people, both the bishop and the orator, had obtained a favorable audience; and the reproaches of the emperor were the complaints of injured friendship rather than the stern menaces of pride and power. A free and general pardon was granted to the city and citizens of Antioch; the prison-doors were thrown open; the senators who despaired of their lives recovered the possession of their houses and estates; and the capital of the East was restored to the enjoyment of her ancient dignity and splendor. Theodosius condescended to praise the senate of Constantinople, who had generously interceded for their distressed brethren. He rewarded the eloquence of Hilarius with the government of Palestine, and dismissed the Bishop of Antioch with the warmest expressions of his respect and gratitude. A

Clemency of
Theodosius.

^a As the days of the tumult depend on the *movable* festival of Easter, they can only be determined by the previous determination of the year. The year 387 has been preferred, after a laborious inquiry, by Tillemont (*Hist. des Emp.* tom. v. p. 741-744) and Montfaucon (*Chrysostom*, tom. xiii. p. 105-110).

^b Chrysostom opposes *their* courage, which was not attended with much risk, to the cowardly flight of the Cynics.

thousand new statues arose to the clemency of Theodosius; the applause of his subjects was ratified by the approbation of his own heart; and the emperor confessed that if the exercise of justice is the most important duty, the indulgence of mercy is the most exquisite pleasure, of a sovereign.⁹⁰

The sedition of Thessalonica is ascribed to a more shameful cause, and was productive of much more dreadful consequences. That great city, the metropolis of all the Illyrian provinces, had been protected from the dangers of the Gothic war by strong fortifications and a numerous garrison. Botheric, the general of those troops, and, as it should seem from his name, a barbarian, had among his slaves a beautiful boy, who excited the impure desires of one of the charioteers of the circus. The insolent and brutal lover was thrown into prison by the order of Botheric; and he sternly rejected the importunate clamors of the multitude, who on the day of the public games lamented the absence of their favorite, and considered the skill of a charioteer as an object of more importance than his virtue. The resentment of the people was embittered by some previous disputes; and, as the strength of the garrison had been drawn away for the service of the Italian war, the feeble remnant, whose numbers were reduced by desertion, could not save the unhappy general from their licentious fury. Botheric and several of his principal officers were inhumanly murdered; their mangled bodies were dragged about the streets; and the emperor, who then resided at Milan, was surprised by the intelligence of the audacious and wanton cruelty of the people of Thessalonica. The sentence of a dispassionate judge would have inflicted a severe punishment on the au-

⁹⁰ The sedition of Antioch is represented in a lively and almost dramatic manner by two orators who had their respective shares of interest and merit. See Libanius (Orat. xiv. xv. [xii. xiii.] p. 389-420, edit. Morel; Orat. i. p. 1-14, Venet. 1754) and the twenty orations of St. John Chrysostom, De Statuis (tom. ii. p. 1-235, edit. Montfaucon). I do not pretend to much personal acquaintance with Chrysostom; but Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 263-283) and Hermant (Vie de St. Chrysostome, tom. i. p. 137-224) had read him with pious curiosity and diligence.

thors of the crime; and the merit of Botheric might contribute to exasperate the grief and indignation of his master. The fiery and choleric temper of Theodosius was impatient of the dilatory forms of a judicial inquiry; and he hastily resolved that the blood of his lieutenant should be expiated by the blood of the guilty people. Yet his mind still fluctuated between the counsels of clemency and of revenge; the zeal of the bishops had almost extorted from the reluctant emperor the promise of a general pardon; his passion was again inflamed by the flattering suggestions of his minister Rufinus; and, after Theodosius had despatched the messengers of death, he attempted, when it was too late, to prevent the execution of his orders. The punishment of a Roman city was blindly committed to the undistinguishing sword of the barbarians; and the hostile preparations were concerted with the dark and perfidious artifice of an illegal conspiracy. The people of Thessalonica were treacherously invited, in the name of their sovereign, to the games of the circus; and such was their insatiate avidity for those amusements that every consideration of fear or suspicion was disregarded by the numerous spectators. As soon as the assembly was complete, the soldiers, who had secretly been posted round the circus, received the signal, not of the races, but of a general massacre. The promiscuous carnage continued three hours, without discrimination of strangers or natives, of age or sex, of innocence or guilt; the most moderate accounts state the number of the slain at seven thousand; and it is affirmed by some writers that more than fifteen thousand victims were sacrificed to the manes of Botheric. A foreign merchant, who had probably no concern in his murder, offered his own life and all his wealth to supply the place of *one* of his two sons; but, while the father hesitated with equal tenderness, while he was doubtful to choose and unwilling to condemn, the soldiers determined his suspense by plunging their daggers at the same moment into the breasts of the defenceless youths. The apology of the assassins that they were obliged to produce the prescribed number of heads serves only to increase, by an appearance of order and design, the horrors of the massacre, which

was executed by the commands of Theodosius. The guilt of the emperor is aggravated by his long and frequent residence at Thessalonica. The situation of the unfortunate city, the aspect of the streets and buildings, the dress and faces of the inhabitants, were familiar, and even present, to his imagination; and Theodosius possessed a quick and lively sense of the existence of the people whom he destroyed.⁹¹

The respectful attachment of the emperor for the orthodox clergy had disposed him to love and admire the character of Ambrose, who united all the episcopal virtues in the most eminent degree. The friends and ministers of Theodosius imitated the example of their sovereign; and he observed, with more surprise than displeasure, that all his secret counsels were immediately communicated to the archbishop, who acted from the laudable persuasion that every measure of civil government may have some connection with the glory of God and the interest of the true religion. The monks and populace of Callinicum, an obscure town on the frontier of Persia, excited by their own fanaticism and by that of their bishop, had tumultuously burned a conventicle of the Valentinians and a synagogue of the Jews. The seditious prelate was condemned by the magistrate of the province either to rebuild the synagogue or to repay the damage; and this moderate sentence was confirmed by the emperor. But it was not confirmed by the Archbishop of Milan.⁹² He dictated an epistle of censure and reproach, more suitable, perhaps, if the emperor had received the mark of circumcision and renounced the faith of his baptism. Ambrose considers

Influence and
conduct of
Ambrose.
A.D. 388.

⁹¹ The original evidence of Ambrose (tom. ii. Epist. li. p. 998), Augustine (*De Civitate Dei*, v. 26), and Paulinus (in *Vit. Ambros.* c. 24), is delivered in vague expressions of horror and pity. It is illustrated by the subsequent and unequal testimonies of Sozomen (*l. vii. c. 25*), Theodoret (*l. v. c. 17*), Theophanes (*Chronograph.* p. 62 [tom. i. p. 118, edit. Bonn.]), Cedrenus (p. 317 [tom. i. p. 556, edit. Bonn.]), and Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiii. [c. 18] p. 34). Zosimus alone, the partial enemy of Theodosius, most unaccountably passes over in silence the worst of his actions.

⁹² See the whole transaction in Ambrose (tom. ii. Epist. xl. xli. p. 946-956), and his biographer, Paulinus (c. 28). Bayle and Barbeyrac (*Morales des Pères*, ch. xvii. p. 325, etc.) have justly condemned the archbishop.

the toleration of the Jewish as the persecution of the Christian religion; boldly declares that he himself and every true believer would eagerly dispute with the Bishop of Callinicum the merit of the deed and the crown of martyrdom; and laments, in the most pathetic terms, that the execution of the sentence would be fatal to the fame and salvation of Theodosius. As this private admonition did not produce an immediate effect, the archbishop from his pulpit⁸⁸ publicly addressed the emperor on his throne; nor would he consent to offer the oblation of the altar till he had obtained from Theodosius a solemn and positive declaration which secured the impunity of the bishop and monks of Callinicum. The recantation of Theodosius was sincere; and, during the term of his residence at Milan, his affection for Ambrose was continually increased by the habits of pious and familiar conversation.

When Ambrose was informed of the massacre of Thessalonica, his mind was filled with horror and anguish. He retired into the country to indulge his grief and to avoid the presence of Theodosius. But as the archbishop was satisfied that a timid silence would render him the accomplice of his guilt, he represented in a private letter the enormity of the crime, which could only be effaced by the tears of penitence. The episcopal vigor of Ambrose was tempered by prudence; and he contented himself with signifying⁸⁹ an indirect sort of excommunication, by the assurance that he had been warned in a vision not to offer the oblation

Penance of
Theodosius.
A.D. 390.

⁸⁸ His sermon is a strange allegory of Jeremiah's rod, of an almond-tree, of the woman who washed and anointed the feet of Christ. But the peroration is direct and personal.

⁸⁹ "Hodie, Episcopo, de me proposuisti." Ambrose modestly confessed it; but he sternly reprimanded Timesius, general of the horse and foot, who had presumed to say that the monks of Callinicum deserved punishment.

⁹⁰ Yet, five years afterwards, when Theodosius was absent from his spiritual guide, he tolerated the Jews, and condemned the destruction of their synagogues. Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. viii leg. 9, with Godefroy's Commentary, tom. vi p 225.

⁹¹ Ambros. tom ii. Epist. li. p. 997-1001. His epistle is a miserable rhapsody on a noble subject. Ambrose could act better than he could write. His compositions are destitute of taste or genius, without the spirit of Tertullian, the copious elegance of Lactantius, the lively wit of Jerome, or the grave energy of Augustine.

n the name or in the presence of Theodosius, and by the advice that he would confine himself to the use of prayer, without presuming to approach the altar of Christ, or to receive the holy eucharist with those hands that were still polluted with the blood of an innocent people. The emperor was deeply affected by his own reproaches and by those of his spiritual father; and after he had bewailed the mischievous and irreparable consequences of his rash fury, he proceeded in the accustomed manner to perform his devotions in the great church of Milan. He was stopped in the porch by the archbishop, who, in the tone and language of an ambassador of Heaven, declared to his sovereign that private contrition was not sufficient to atone for a public fault or to appease the justice of the offended Deity. Theodosius humbly represented that if he had contracted the guilt of homicide, David, the man after God's own heart, had been guilty not only of murder, but of adultery. "You have imitated David in his crime; imitate, then, his repentance," was the reply of the undaunted Ambrose. The rigorous conditions of peace and pardon were accepted; and the public penance of the Emperor Theodosius has been recorded as one of the most honorable events in the annals of the Church. According to the mildest rules of ecclesiastical discipline which were established in the fourth century, the crime of homicide was expiated by the penitence of twenty years;* and as it was impossible in the period of human life to purge the accumulated guilt of the massacre of Thessalonica, the murderer should have been excluded from the holy communion till the hour of his death. But the archbishop, consulting the maxims of religious policy, granted some indulgence to the rank of his illustrious penitent, who humbled in the dust the pride of the diadem; and the public edification might be admitted as a weighty reason to abridge the duration of his punishment. It was sufficient that the Em-

* According to the discipline of St Basil (canon lvi.), the voluntary homicide was *four* years a mourner, *five* a hearer, *seven* in a prostrate state, and *four* in a standing posture. I have the original (Beveridge, Pandect. tom. ii. p. 47-151) and a translation (Chardon, Hist. des Sacrements, tom. iv. p. 219-277) of the Canonical Epistles of St. Basil.

peror of the Romans, stripped of the ensigns of royalty, should appear in a mournful and suppliant posture; and that, in the midst of the church of Milan, he should humbly solicit, with sighs and tears, the pardon of his sins." In this spiritual cure Ambrose employed the various methods of mildness and severity. After a delay of about eight months, Theodosius was restored to the communion of the faithful; and the edict which interposes a salutary interval of thirty days between the sentence and the execution may be accepted as the worthy fruits of his repentance." Posterity has applauded the virtuous firmness of the archbishop; and the example of Theodosius may prove the beneficial influence of those principles which could force a monarch, exalted above the apprehension of human punishment, to respect the laws and ministers of an invisible Judge. "The prince," says Montesquieu, "who is actuated by the hopes and fears of religion may be compared to a lion, docile only to the voice, and tractable to the hand, of his keeper."¹⁰⁰ The motions of the royal animal will therefore depend on the inclination and interest of the man who has acquired such dangerous authority over him; and the priest who holds in his hand the conscience of a king may inflame or moderate his sanguinary passions. The cause of humanity and that of persecution have been asserted by the same Ambrose with equal energy and with equal success.

After the defeat and death of the tyrant of Gaul, the Roman world was in the possession of Theodosius. He derived from the choice of Gratian his honorable title to the provinces of the East; he had acquired the West by the right of conquest; and the three years which he spent in Italy were usefully employed to restore

Generosity of
Theodosius.
A.D. 388-391.

¹⁰⁰ The penance of Theodosius is authenticated by Ambrose (tom. ii. de Obiit. Theodos. c. 34, p. 1207), Augustine (De Civitate Dei, v. 26), and Paulinus (in Vit. Ambros. c. 24). Socrates is ignorant; Sozomen (l. vii. c. 25) concise, and the copious narrative of Theodoret (l. v. c. 18) must be used with precaution.

¹⁰⁰ Codex Theodos. l. ix. tit. xl. leg. 18. The date and circumstances of this law are perplexed with difficulties; but I feel myself inclined to favor the honest efforts of Tillemont (Hist. des Emp. tom. v. p. 721) and Pagi (Critica, tom. i. p. 578).

¹⁰⁰ Un prince qui aime la religion, et qui la craint, est un lion qui cède à la main qui le flatte ou à la voix qui l'apaise.—Esprit des Loix, l. xxiv. ch. 2.

thousand new statues arose to the clemency of Theodosius; the applause of his subjects was ratified by the approbation of his own heart; and the emperor confessed that if the exercise of justice is the most important duty, the indulgence of mercy is the most exquisite pleasure, of a sovereign.⁹⁰

The sedition of Thessalonica is ascribed to a more shameful cause, and was productive of much more dreadful consequences. That great city, the metropolis of all the Illyrian provinces, had been protected from the dangers of the Gothic war by strong fortifications and a numerous garrison. Botheric, the general of those troops, and, as it should seem from his name, a barbarian, had among his slaves a beautiful boy, who excited the impure desires of one of the charioteers of the circus. The insolent and brutal lover was thrown into prison by the order of Botheric; and he sternly rejected the importunate clamors of the multitude, who on the day of the public games lamented the absence of their favorite, and considered the skill of a charioteer as an object of more importance than his virtue. The resentment of the people was embittered by some previous disputes; and, as the strength of the garrison had been drawn away for the service of the Italian war, the feeble remnant, whose numbers were reduced by desertion, could not save the unhappy general from their licentious fury. Botheric and several of his principal officers were inhumanly murdered; their mangled bodies were dragged about the streets; and the emperor, who then resided at Milan, was surprised by the intelligence of the audacious and wanton cruelty of the people of Thessalonica. The sentence of a dispassionate judge would have inflicted a severe punishment on the au-

⁹⁰ The sedition of Antioch is represented in a lively and almost dramatic manner by two orators who had their respective shares of interest and merit. See Libanius (Orat. xiv. xv. [xii. xiii.] p. 389-420, edit. Morel; Orat. i. p. 1-14, Venet. 1754) and the twenty orations of St. John Chrysostom, *De Statuis* (tom. ii. p. 1-235, edit. Montfaucon). I do not pretend to *much* personal acquaintance with Chrysostom; but Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 263-283) and Hermant (*Vie de St. Chrysostome*, tom. i. p. 137-224) had read him with pious curiosity and diligence.

and instructions was soon erased by the lessons of a more orthodox education. His growing zeal for the faith of Nice, and his filial reverence for the character and authority of Ambrose, disposed the Catholics to entertain the most favorable opinion of the virtues of the young Emperor of the West.¹⁰³ They applauded his chastity and temperance, his contempt of pleasure, his application to business, and his tender affection for his two sisters, which could not, however, seduce his impartial equity to pronounce an unjust sentence against the meanest of his subjects. But this amiable youth, before he had accomplished the twentieth year of his age, was oppressed by domestic treason, and the empire was again involved in the horrors of a civil war. Arbogastes,¹⁰⁴ a gallant soldier of the nation of the Franks, held the second rank in the service of Gratian. On the death of his master he joined the standard of Theodosius, contributed by his valor and military conduct to the destruction of the tyrant, and was appointed after the victory master-general of the armies of Gaul. His real merit and apparent fidelity had gained the confidence both of the prince and people; his boundless liberality corrupted the allegiance of the troops; and, whilst he was universally esteemed as the pillar of the State, the bold and crafty barbarian was secretly determined either to rule or to ruin the empire of the West. The important commands of the army were distributed among the Franks; the creatures of Arbogastes were promoted to all the honors and offices of the civil government; the progress of the conspiracy removed every faithful servant from the presence of Valentinian; and the emperor, without power and without intelligence, insensibly sank into the precarious and dependent condition of a captive.¹⁰⁵ The indigna-

¹⁰³ See Ambrose (tom. ii. de Obit. Valentinian. c. 15, etc., p. 1178; c. 36, etc., p. 1184) When the young emperor gave an entertainment, he fasted himself. He refused to see a handsome actress, etc. Since he ordered his wild beasts to be killed, it is ungenerous in Philostorgius (l. xi. c. 1) to reproach him with the love of that amusement.

¹⁰⁴ Zosimus (l. iv. [c. 58] p. 275) praises the enemy of Theodosius. But he is detested by Socrates (l. v. c. 25) and Orosius (l. vii. c. 35).

¹⁰⁵ Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 9, p. 165, in the second volume of the *Historians*

tion which he expressed, though it might arise only from the rash and impatient temper of youth, may be candidly ascribed to the generous spirit of a prince who felt that he was not unworthy to reign. He secretly invited the Archbishop of Milan to undertake the office of a mediator, as the pledge of his sincerity and the guardian of his safety. He contrived to apprise the Emperor of the East of his helpless situation, and he declared that unless Theodosius could speedily march to his assistance, he must attempt to escape from the palace, or rather prison, of Vienne, in Gaul, where he had imprudently fixed his residence in the midst of the hostile faction. But the hopes of relief were distant and doubtful; and, as every day furnished some new provocation, the emperor, without strength or counsel, too hastily resolved to risk an immediate contest with his powerful general. He received Arbogastes on the throne, and, as the count approached with some appearance of respect, delivered to him a paper which dismissed him from all his employments. "*My authority*," replied Arbogastes, with insulting coolness, "does not depend on the smile or the frown of a monarch;" and he contemptuously threw the paper on the ground. The indignant monarch snatched at the sword of one of the guards, which he struggled to draw from its scabbard, and it was not without some degree of violence that he was prevented from using the deadly weapon against his enemy or against himself. A few days after this extraordinary quarrel, in which he had exposed his resentment and his weakness, the unfortunate Valentinian was found strangled in his apartment, and some pains were employed to disguise the manifest guilt of Arbogastes, and to persuade the world that the death of the young emperor had been the voluntary effect of his own despair.¹⁰⁸ His body was conducted with decent pomp to the sepulchre of Milan, and the archbishop pronounced a funeral oration to

His death.
A.D. 392.
May 15.

of France) has preserved a curious fragment of *Sulpicius Alexander*, an historian far more valuable than himself.

¹⁰⁸ Godefroy (*Dissertat. ad Philostorg. p. 429-484*) has diligently collected all the circumstances of the death of Valentinian II. The variations and the ignorance of contemporary writers prove that it was secret.

commemorate his virtue and his misfortunes.¹⁰⁷ On this occasion the humanity of Ambrose tempted him to make a singular breach in his theological system, and to comfort the weeping sisters of Valentinian by the firm assurance that their pious brother, though he had not received the sacrament of baptism, was introduced without difficulty into the mansions of eternal bliss.¹⁰⁸

The prudence of Arbogastes had prepared the success of his ambitious designs, and the provincials, in whose breasts every sentiment of patriotism or loyalty was extinguished, expected with tame resignation the unknown master whom the choice of a Frank might place on the imperial throne. But some remains of pride and prejudice still opposed the elevation of Arbogastes himself, and the judicious barbarian thought it more advisable to reign under the name of some dependent Roman. He bestowed the purple on the rhetorician Eugenius,¹⁰⁹ whom he had already raised from the place of his domestic secretary to the rank of master of the offices. In the course both of his private and public service the count had always approved the attachment and abilities of Eugenius. His learning and eloquence, supported by the gravity of his manners, recommended him to the esteem of the people, and the reluctance with which he seemed to ascend the throne may inspire a favorable prejudice of his virtue and moderation. The ambassadors of the new emperor were immediately despatched to the court of Theodosius, to communicate, with affected grief, the unfortunate accident of the death of Valentinian, and, without mentioning the name

¹⁰⁷ De Obitu Valentinian. tom. ii. p. 1173–1196. He is forced to speak a discreet and obscure language; yet he is much bolder than any layman, or perhaps any other ecclesiastic, would have dared to be.

¹⁰⁸ See c. 51, p. 1188; c. 75, p. 1193. Dom Chardon (*Hist. des Sacrements*, tom. i. p. 86), who owns that St. Ambrose most strenuously maintains the *indispensable* necessity of baptism, labors to reconcile the contradiction.

¹⁰⁹

“Quem sibi Germanus famulum delegerat exul,”

is the contemptuous expression of Claudian (iv. Cons. Hon. 74). Eugenius professed Christianity; but his secret attachment to paganism (Sozomen, l. vii. c. 22; Philostorg. l. xi. c. 2) is probable in a grammarian, and would secure the friendship of Zosimus (l. iv. [c. 54] p. 276, 277).

of Arbogastes, to request that the monarch of the East would embrace as his lawful colleague the respectable citizen who had obtained the unanimous suffrage of the armies and provinces of the West.¹¹⁰ Theodosius was justly provoked that the perfidy of a barbarian should have destroyed in a moment the labors and the fruit of his former victory; and he was excited by the tears of his beloved wife¹¹¹ to revenge the fate of her unhappy brother, and once more to assert by arms the violated majesty of the throne. But as the second conquest of the West was a task of difficulty and danger, he dismissed with splendid presents and an ambiguous answer the ambassadors of Eugenius; and almost two years were consumed in the preparations of the civil war. Before he formed any decisive resolution, the pious emperor was anxious to discover the will of Heaven; and as the progress of Christianity had silenced the oracles of Delphi and Dodona, he consulted an Egyptian monk, who possessed, in the opinion of the age, the gift of miracles and the knowledge of futurity. Entropius, one of the favorite eunuchs of the palace of Constantinople, embarked for Alexandria, from whence he sailed up the Nile as far as the city of Lycopolis, or of Wolves, in the remote province of Thebais.¹¹² In the neighborhood of that city and on the summit of a lofty mountain, the holy John¹¹³ had constructed with his own hands an humble cell, in which he had dwelt above fifty years without opening his

Theodosius
prepares for
war.

¹¹⁰ Zosimus l. iv. [c. 55] p. 278) mentions this embassy; but he is diverted by another story from relating the event.

¹¹¹ *Συνεράραξεν ἡ τοῦτου γαμετὴ Γάλλα τὰ βασίλεια, τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὀλοφύρομένη.* Zosim. l. iv. [c. 55] p. 277. He afterwards says [c. 57] p. 280) that Galla died in childbed [A.D. 394.—S.], and intimates that the affliction of her husband was extreme but short.

¹¹² Lycopolis is the modern Sint, or Osiot, a town of Said, about the size of St. Denys, which drives a profitable trade with the kingdom of Sennaar, and has a very convenient fountain, “cujus potû signa virginitatis eripiuntur.” See D'Anville, Description de l'Égypte, p. 181. Abulfeda, Descript. Egypt. p. 14; and the curious Annotations, p. 25, 92, of his editor Michaelis.

¹¹³ The Life of John of Lycopolis is described by his two friends, Rufinus (l. ii. c. i. p. 449) and Palladius (Hist. Lausiac. c. 43, p. 738), in Rosweyde's great Collection of the Vitæ Patrum. Tillemont (Mém. Ecclési. tom. x. p. 718, 720) has settled the chronology.

door, without seeing the face of a woman, and without tasting any food that had been prepared by fire or any human art. Five days of the week he spent in prayer and meditation, but on Saturdays and Sundays he regularly opened a small window, and gave audience to the crowd of suppliants who successively flowed from every part of the Christian world. The eunuch of Theodosius approached the window with respectful steps, proposed his questions concerning the event of the civil war, and soon returned with a favorable oracle, which animated the courage of the emperor by the assurance of a bloody but infallible victory.¹¹⁴ The accomplishment of the prediction was forwarded by all the means that human prudence could supply. The industry of the two masters-general, Stilicho and Timasius, was directed to recruit the numbers and to revive the discipline of the Roman legions. The formidable troops of barbarians marched under the ensigns of their national chieftains. The Iberian, the Arab, and the Goth, who gazed on each other with mutual astonishment, were enlisted in the service of the same prince;^a and the renowned Alaric acquired in the school of Theodosius the knowledge of the art of war which he afterwards so fatally exerted for the destruction of Rome.¹¹⁵

The Emperor of the West, or, to speak more properly, his

¹¹⁴ Sozomen, l. vii. c. 22. Claudian (in Entrop. l. i. 312) mentions the eunuch's journey; but he most contemptuously derides the Egyptian dreams and the oracles of the Nile.

¹¹⁵ Zosimus, l. iv. [c. 57] p. 280; Socrates, l. vii. 10. Alaric himself (De Bell. Getico, 524) dwells with more complacency on his early exploits against the Romans:

“—— Tot Augustos Hebro qui teste fugavi.”

Yet his vanity could scarcely have proved this *plurality* of flying emperors.

^a Gibbon has embodied the picturesque verses of Claudian:

—— Nec tantis dissona linguis
 Tuba, nec armorum cultu diversior unquam
 Confluxit populus: totam pater undique secum
 Moverat Auroram; mixtis hic Colchus Iberis,
 Hic mitis & velatus Arabs, hic crine decoro
 Armenius, hic picta Sacæ, facataque Medus,
 Hic gemmata niger tentoria fixerat Indus.

De Laud. Stil. i. 15.—M.

general Arbogastes, was instructed by the misconduct and misfortune of Maximus how dangerous it might prove to extend the line of defence against a skilful antagonist, who was free to press or to suspend, to contract or to multiply, his various methods of attack.¹¹⁶

His victory
over Eugene-
nius.
A.D. 394.
Sept. 6.

Arbogastes fixed his station on the confines of Italy; the troops of Theodosius were permitted to occupy, without resistance, the provinces of Pannonia as far as the foot of the Julian Alps; and even the passes of the mountains were negligently, or perhaps artfully, abandoned to the bold invader. He descended from the hills, and beheld, with some astonishment, the formidable camp of the Gauls and Germans that covered with arms and tents the open country which extends to the walls of Aquileia and the banks of the Frigidus,¹¹⁷ or Cold River.¹¹⁸ This narrow theatre of the war, circumscribed by the Alps and the Adriatic, did not allow much room for the operations of military skill. The spirit of Arbogastes would have disdained a pardon; his guilt extinguished the hope of a negotiation; and Theodosius was impatient to satisfy his glory and revenge by the chastisement of the assassins of Valentinian. Without weighing the natural and artificial obstacles that opposed his efforts, the Emperor of the East immediately attacked the fortifications of his rivals, assigned the post of honorable danger to the Goths, and cherished a secret wish that the bloody conflict might diminish the pride and numbers of the conquerors. Ten thousand of those auxiliaries,

¹¹⁶ Claudian (in iv. Cons. Honor. 77, etc.) contrasts the military plans of the two usurpers :

——— Novitas audere priori
Suadebat; cautumque dabant exempla sequentem.
Hic nova moliri præceps: hic querere tuta
Providus. Hic fuis, collectis viribus ille;
Hic vagus excurrans; hic intra claustra reductus;
Dissimiles, sed morte pares ———

¹¹⁷ The Frigidus, a small though memorable stream in the country of Goretz, now called the Vipao, falls into the Sontius, or Lisonzo, above Aquileia, some miles from the Adriatic. See D'Anville's ancient and modern maps and the Italia Antiqua of Cluverius (tom. i. p. 188).

¹¹⁸ Claudian's wit is intolerable; the snow was dyed red; the cold river smoked; and the channel must have been choked with carcasses if the current had not been swelled with blood.

and Bacurius, general of the Iberians, died bravely on the field of battle. But the victory was not purchased by their blood; the Gauls maintained their advantage, and the approach of night protected the disorderly flight or retreat of the troops of Theodosius. The emperor retired to the adjacent hills where he passed a disconsolate night without sleep, without provisions, and without hopes,¹¹⁹ except that strong assurance which, under the most desperate circumstances, the independent mind may derive from the contempt of fortune and of life. The triumph of Eugenius was celebrated by the insolent and dissolute joy of his camp, whilst the active and vigilant Arbogastes secretly detached a considerable body of troops to occupy the passes of the mountains and to encompass the rear of the Eastern army. The dawn of day discovered to the eyes of Theodosius the extent and the extremity of his danger, but his apprehensions were soon dispelled by a friendly message from the leaders of those troops who expressed their inclination to desert the standard of the tyrant. The honorable and lucrative rewards which they stipulated as the price of their perfidy were granted without hesitation; and, as ink and paper could not easily be procured, the emperor subscribed on his own tablets the ratification of the treaty. The spirit of his soldiers was revived by this seasonable reinforcement, and they again marched with confidence to surprise the camp of a tyrant whose principal officers appeared to distrust either the justice or the success of his arms. In the heat of the battle a violent tempest,¹²⁰ such as is often felt among the Alps, sud-

¹¹⁹ Theodoret affirms that St. John and St. Philip appeared to the waking or sleeping emperor on horseback, etc. This is the first instance of apostolic chivalry, which afterwards became so popular in Spain and in the Crusades.

¹²⁰

Te propter, gelidis Aquilo de monte procellis
 Obruit adversas acies, revolutaque tela
 Vertit in auctores, et turbine reppulit hastas.
 O nimium dilecte Deo, cui fundit ab antris
 Æolus armatas humes; cui militat Æther,
 Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti.

These famous lines of Claudian (in iii. Cons. Honor. 98, etc., A.D. 396) are alleged by his contemporaries, Augustine and Orosius, who suppress the pagan deity of Æolus, and add some circumstances from the information of eye-witnesses. Within four months after the victory it was compared by Ambrose to the miraculous victories of Moses and Joshua.

denly arose from the East. The army of Theodosius was sheltered by their position from the impetuosity of the wind, which blew a cloud of dust in the faces of the enemy, disordered their ranks, wrested their weapons from their hands, and diverted or repelled their ineffectual javelins. This accidental advantage was skilfully improved. The violence of the storm was magnified by the superstitious terrors of the Gauls, and they yielded without shame to the invisible powers of Heaven, who seemed to militate on the side of the pious emperor. His victory was decisive, and the deaths of his two rivals were distinguished only by the difference of their characters. The rhetorician Eugenius, who had almost acquired the dominion of the world, was reduced to implore the mercy of the conqueror, and the unrelenting soldiers separated his head from his body as he lay prostrate at the feet of Theodosius. Arbogastes, after the loss of a battle in which he had discharged the duties of a soldier and a general, wandered several days among the mountains. But when he was convinced that his cause was desperate and his escape impracticable, the intrepid barbarian imitated the example of the ancient Romans and turned his sword against his own breast. The fate of the empire was determined in a narrow corner of Italy; and the legitimate successor of the house of Valentinian embraced the Archbishop of Milan, and graciously received the submission of the provinces of the West. Those provinces were involved in the guilt of rebellion, while the inflexible courage of Ambrose alone had resisted the claims of successful usurpation. With a manly freedom which might have been fatal to any other subject the archbishop rejected the gifts of Eugenius,* declined his correspondence, and withdrew himself from Milan to avoid the odious presence of a tyrant whose downfall he predicted in discreet and ambiguous language. The merit of Ambrose was applauded by the conqueror, who secured the attachment of the people by his alliance with the Church;

* Arbogastes and his emperor had openly espoused the pagan party, according to Ambrose and Augustine. See Le Beau, v. 40. Beugnot (*Histoire de la Destruction du Paganisme*) is more full, and perhaps somewhat fanciful, on this remarkable reaction in favor of paganism.—M.

and the clemency of Theodosius is ascribed to the humane intercession of the Archbishop of Milan.¹²¹

After the defeat of Eugenius, the merit as well as the authority of Theodosius was cheerfully acknowledged by all the inhabitants of the Roman world. The experience of his past conduct encouraged the most pleasing expectations of his future reign; and the age of the emperor, which did not exceed fifty years, seemed to extend the prospect of the public felicity. His death, only four months after his victory, was considered by the people as an unforeseen and fatal event, which destroyed in a moment the hopes of the rising generation. But the indulgence of ease and luxury had secretly nourished the principles of disease.¹²² The strength of Theodosius was unable to support the sudden and violent transition from the palace to the camp; and the increasing symptoms of a dropsy announced the speedy dissolution of the emperor. The opinion, and perhaps the interest, of the public had confirmed the division of the Eastern and Western empires; and the two royal youths Arcadius and Honorius, who had already obtained, from the tenderness of their father, the title of Augustus, were destined to fill the thrones of Constantinople and of Rome. Those princes were not permitted to share the danger and glory of the civil war;¹²³ but as soon as Theodosius had triumphed over his unworthy rivals, he called his younger son, Honorius, to enjoy the fruits of the victory, and to receive the sceptre of the West from the hands of his dying father. The arrival of Honorius at Milan

¹²¹ The events of this civil war are gathered from Ambrose (tom. ii. Epist. lxi. p. 1022), Paulinus (in Vit. Ambros. c. 26-34), Augustine (De Civitate Dei, v. 26), Orosius (l. vii. c. 35), Sozomen (l. vii. c. 24), Theodoret (l. v. c. 24), Zosimus (l. iv. [c. 58], p. 281, 282), Claudian (in iii. Cons. Hon. 68-105; in iv. Cons. Hon. 70-117), and the Chronicles published by Scaliger.

¹²² This disease, ascribed by Socrates (l. v. c. 26) to the fatigues of war, is represented by Philostorgius (l. xi. c. 2) as the effect of sloth and intemperance; for which Photius calls him an impudent liar (Godefroy, Dissert. p. 438).

¹²³ Zosimus supposes that the boy Honorius accompanied his father (l. iv. [c. 58] p. 280). Yet the "quanto flagrant pectora voto" is all that flattery would allow to a contemporary poet, who clearly describes the emperor's refusal, and the journey of Honorius, *after* the victory (Claudian, in iii. Cons. 78-125).

was welcomed by a splendid exhibition of the games of the circus; and the emperor, though he was oppressed by the weight of his disorder, contributed by his presence to the public joy. But the remains of his strength were exhausted by the painful effort which he made to assist at the spectacles of the morning. Honorius supplied during the rest of the day the place of his father; and the great Theodosius expired in the ensuing night. Notwithstanding the recent animosities of a civil war, his death was universally lamented. The barbarians whom he had vanquished, and the churchmen by whom he had been subdued, celebrated with loud and sincere applause the qualities of the deceased emperor which appeared the most valuable in their eyes. The Romans were terrified by the impending dangers of a feeble and divided administration; and every disgraceful moment of the unfortunate reigns of Arcadius and Honorius revived the memory of their irreparable loss.

In the faithful picture of the virtues of Theodosius, his imperfections have not been dissembled: the act of cruelty and the habits of indolence which tarnished the glory of one of the greatest of the Roman princes. An historian perpetually adverse to the fame of Theodosius has exaggerated his vices and their pernicious effects. He boldly asserts that every rank of subjects imitated the effeminate manners of their sovereign; that every species of corruption polluted the course of public and private life; and that the feeble restraints of order and decency were insufficient to resist the progress of that degenerate spirit which sacrifices without a blush the consideration of duty and interest to the base indulgence of sloth and appetite.¹³⁴ The complaints of contemporary writers, who deplore the increase of luxury and depravation of manners, are commonly expressive of their peculiar temper and situation. There are few observers who possess a clear and comprehensive view of the revolutions of society, and who are capable of discovering the nice and secret springs of action which impel, in the same uniform direction, the blind

¹³⁴ Zosimus, l. iv. [c. 38] p. 244.

and capricious passions of a multitude of individuals. If it can be affirmed with any degree of truth that the luxury of the Romans was more shameless and dissolute in the reign of Theodosius than in the age of Constantine, perhaps, or of Augustus, the alteration cannot be ascribed to any beneficial improvements which had gradually increased the stock of national riches. A long period of calamity or decay must have checked the industry and diminished the wealth of the people; and their profuse luxury must have been the result of that indolent despair which enjoys the present hour and declines the thoughts of futurity. The uncertain condition of their property discouraged the subjects of Theodosius from engaging in those useful and laborious undertakings which require an immediate expense, and promise a slow and distant advantage. The frequent examples of ruin and desolation tempted them not to spare the remains of a patrimony which might, every hour, become the prey of the rapacious Goth. And the mad prodigality which prevails in the confusion of a shipwreck or a siege may serve to explain the progress of luxury amidst the misfortunes and terrors of a sinking nation.

The effeminate luxury which infected the manners of courts and cities had instilled a secret and destructive poison into the camps of the legions; and their degeneracy has been marked by the pen of a military writer who had accurately studied the genuine and ancient principles of Roman discipline. It is the just and important observation of Vegetius that the infantry was invariably covered with defensive armor from the foundation of the city to the reign of the Emperor Gratian. The relaxation of discipline and the disuse of exercise rendered the soldiers less able and less willing to support the fatigues of the service; they complained of the weight of the armor, which they seldom wore; and they successively obtained the permission of laying aside both their cuirasses and their helmets. The heavy weapons of their ancestors, the short sword and the formidable *pilum*, which had subdued the world, insensibly dropped from their feeble hands. As the use of the shield is incompatible with that of the bow, they reluctantly marched into the field, condemned to suffer

The infantry
lay aside
their armor.

either the pain of wounds or the ignominy of flight, and always disposed to prefer the more shameful alternative. The cavalry of the Goths, the Huns, and the Alani had felt the benefits and adopted the use of defensive armor; and, as they excelled in the management of missile weapons, they easily overwhelmed the naked and trembling legions, whose heads and breasts were exposed, without defence, to the arrows of the barbarians. The loss of armies, the destruction of cities, and the dishonor of the Roman name ineffectually solicited the successors of Gratian to restore the helmets and cuirasses of the infantry. The enervated soldiers abandoned their own and the public defence; and their pusillanimous indolence may be considered as the immediate cause of the downfall of the empire.¹²⁵

¹²⁵ Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, l. i. c. 20. The series of calamities which he marks compel us to believe that the *Hero* to whom he dedicates his book is the last and most inglorious of the Valentinians.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Final Destruction of Paganism.—Introduction of the Worship of Saints and Relics among the Christians.

THE ruin of paganism, in the age of Theodosius, is perhaps the only example of the total extirpation of any ancient and popular superstition, and may therefore deserve to be considered as a singular event in the history of the human mind. The Christians, more especially the clergy, had impatiently supported the prudent delays of Constantine and the equal toleration of the elder Valentinian; nor could they deem their conquest perfect or secure as long as their adversaries were permitted to exist. The influence which Ambrose and his brethren had acquired over the youth of Gratian and the piety of Theodosius was employed to infuse the maxims of persecution into the breasts of their imperial proselytes. Two specious principles of religious jurisprudence were established, from whence they deduced a direct and rigorous conclusion against the subjects of the empire who still adhered to the ceremonies of their ancestors: *that* the magistrate is, in some measure, guilty of the crimes which he neglects to prohibit or to punish; and *that* the idolatrous worship of fabulous deities and real demons is the most abominable crime against the supreme majesty of the Creator. The laws of Moses and the examples of Jewish history¹ were hastily, perhaps erroneously, applied by the clergy to the mild and universal reign of Christianity.* The zeal of the emper-

The destruction of the pagan religion. A.D. 373-395.

¹ St. Ambrose (tom. ii. de Obiit. Theodos. p. 1208 [edit. Bened.]) expressly praises and recommends the zeal of Josiah in the destruction of idolatry. The language of Julius Firmicus Maternus on the same subject (De Erroribus Profanis. Relig. p. 467, edit. Gronov. [Rotterdam. 1743]) is piously inhuman. "Nec filio jubet (the Mosaic law) parci, nec fratri, et per amatam conjugem gladium vindicem ducit," etc.

* Bayle (tom. ii. p. 406, in his *Commentaire Philosophique*) justifies and limits

ors was excited to vindicate their own honor and that of the Deity; and the temples of the Roman world were subverted about sixty years after the conversion of Constantine.*

From the age of Numa to the reign of Gratian, the Romans preserved the regular succession of the several colleges of the sacerdotal order.³ Fifteen PONTIFFS exercised their supreme jurisdiction over all things and persons that were consecrated to the service of the gods; and the various questions which perpetually arose in a loose and traditionary system were submitted to the judgment of their holy tribunal. Fifteen grave and learned AUGURS observed the face of the heavens, and prescribed the actions of heroes according to the flight of birds. Fifteen keepers of the Sibylline books (their name of QUINDECIMVIRS was derived from their number) occasionally consulted the history of future, and, as it should seem, of contingent events. Six VESTALS devoted their virginity to the guard of the sacred fire and of the unknown pledges of the duration of Rome, which no mortal had been suffered to behold with impunity.⁴ Seven EPULOS prepared the table of the gods, conducted the solemn procession, and regulated the ceremonies of the annual festival. The three FLAMENS of Jupiter, of Mars, and of Quirinus were considered as the peculiar ministers of the three most powerful deities, who watched over the fate of Rome and of the universe. The KING of the SACRIFICES represented the person of Numa and

State of
paganism
at Rome.

these intolerant laws by the temporal reign of Jehovah over the Jews. The attempt is laudable.

* See the outlines of the Roman hierarchy in Cicero (*De Legibus*, ii. 7, 8), Livy (i. 20), Dionysius Halicarnassensis (l. ii. [c. 63 seq.] p. 119-129, edit. Hudson), Beaufort (*République Romaine*, tom. i. p. 1-90), and Moyle (vol. i. p. 10-55). The last is the work of an English Whig as well as of a Roman antiquary.

⁴ These mystic and perhaps imaginary symbols have given birth to various fables and conjectures. It seems probable that the Palladium was a small statue (three cubits and a half high) of Minerva, with a lance and distaff; that it was usually enclosed in a *seria*, or barrel; and that a similar barrel was placed by its side to disconcert curiosity or sacrilege. See Mezeriac (*Comment. sur les Épitres d'Ovide*, tom. i. p. 60-66) and Lipsius (tom. iii. p. 610, de *Vestâ*, etc., c. 10).

* On the destruction of the pagan religion, see Lasanlx, *Der Untergang des Hellenismus und die Einziehung seiner Tempelgüter durch die christlichen Kaiser*, München, 1854.—S.

of his successors in the religious functions, which could be performed only by royal hands. The confraternities of the *SALIIANS*, the *LUPERCALS*, etc., practised such rites as might extort a smile of contempt from every reasonable man, with a lively confidence of recommending themselves to the favor of the immortal gods. The authority which the Roman priests had formerly obtained in the counsels of the republic was gradually abolished by the establishment of monarchy and the removal of the seat of empire. But the dignity of their sacred character was still protected by the laws and manners of their country; and they still continued, more especially the college of pontiffs, to exercise in the capital, and sometimes in the provinces, the rights of their ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction. Their robes of purple, chariots of state, and sumptuous entertainments attracted the admiration of the people; and they received from the consecrated lands and the public revenue an ample stipend, which liberally supported the splendor of the priesthood and all the expenses of the religious worship of the State. As the service of the altar was not incompatible with the command of armies, the Romans, after their consulships and triumphs, aspired to the place of pontiff or of augur; the seats of Cicero^a and Pompey were filled, in the fourth century, by the most illustrious members of the senate; and the dignity of their birth reflected additional splendor on their sacerdotal character. The fifteen priests who composed the college of pontiffs enjoyed a more distinguished rank as the companions of their sovereign; and the Christian emperors condescended to accept the robe and ensigns which were appropriated to the office of supreme pontiff. But when Gratian ascended the throne, more scrupulous or more enlightened, he sternly rejected those profane symbols;^a applied to the ser-

^a Cicero frankly (ad Atticum, l. ii. Epist. 5) or indirectly (ad Familiar. l. xv. Epist. 4) confesses that the *Augurate* is the supreme object of his wishes. Pliny is proud to tread in the footsteps of Cicero (l. iv. Epist. 8), and the chain of tradition might be continued from history and marbles.

^a Zosimus, l. iv. [c. 36] p. 249, 250. I have suppressed the foolish pun about *Pontifex* and *Maximus*.

^a It is not true that Gratian rejected those profane symbols when he ascended the throne. It was at a later period of his life. See Editor's note, vol. ii. p. 552.—S.

vice of the State or of the Church the revenues of the priests and vestals; abolished their honors and immunities; and dissolved the ancient fabric of Roman superstition, which was supported by the opinions and habits of eleven hundred years. Paganism was still the constitutional religion of the senate. The hall or temple in which they assembled was adorned by the statue and altar of Victory⁷—a majestic female standing on a globe, with flowing garments, expanded wings, and a crown of laurel in her outstretched hand.⁸ The senators were sworn on the altar of the goddess to observe the laws of the emperor and of the empire; and a solemn offering of wine and incense was the ordinary prelude of their public deliberations.⁹ The removal of this ancient monument was the only injury which Constantius had offered to the superstition of the Romans. The altar of Victory was again restored by Julian, tolerated by Valentinian, and once more banished from the senate by the zeal of Gratian.¹⁰ But the emperor yet spared the statues of the gods which were exposed to the public veneration: four hundred and twenty-four temples or chapels still remained to satisfy the devotion of the people, and in every quarter of Rome the delicacy of the Christians was offended by the fumes of idolatrous sacrifice.¹¹

But the Christians formed the least numerous party in the senate of Rome;¹² and it was only by their absence that they could express their dissent from the legal though profane acts of a pagan majority. In that assembly the dying embers

⁷ This statue was transported from Tarentum to Rome, placed in the Curia Julia by Cæsar, and decorated by Augustus with the spoils of Egypt.

⁸ Prudentius (l. ii [in Symm.] in initio) has drawn a very awkward portrait of Victory; but the curious reader will obtain more satisfaction from Montfaucon's *Antiquities* (tom. i. p. 341).

⁹ See Suetonius (in August. c. 35) and the *Exordium* of Pliny's *Panegyric*.

¹⁰ These facts are mutually allowed by the two advocates Symmachus and Ambrose.

¹¹ The *Notitia Urbis*, more recent than Constantine, does not find one Christian church worthy to be named among the edifices of the city. Ambrose (tom. ii. *Epist.* xvii. p. 825) deploras the public scandals of Rome, which continually offended the eyes, the ears, and the nostrils of the faithful.

¹² Ambrose repeatedly affirms, in contradiction to common-sense (Moyle's *Works*, vol. ii. p. 147), that the Christians had a majority in the senate,

of freedom were for a moment revived and inflamed by the breath of fanaticism. Four respectable deputations were successively voted to the imperial court,¹² to represent the grievances of the priesthood and the senate, and to solicit the restoration of the altar of Victory. The conduct of this important business was intrusted to the eloquent Symmachus,¹⁴ a wealthy and noble senator, who united the sacred characters of pontiff and augur with the civil dignities of Proconsul of Africa and præfect of the city. The breast of Symmachus was animated by the warmest zeal for the cause of expiring paganism; and his religious antagonists lamented the abuse of his genius and the inefficacy of his moral virtues.¹⁵ The orator, whose petition is extant to the Emperor Valentinian, was conscious of the difficulty and danger of the office which he had assumed. He cautiously avoids every topic which might appear to reflect on the religion of his sovereign; humbly declares that prayers and entreaties are his only arms; and artfully draws his arguments from the schools of rhetoric rather than from those of philosophy. Symmachus endeavors to seduce the imagination of a young prince by displaying the attributes of the goddess of Victory; he insinuates that the confiscation of the revenues which were consecrated to the service of the gods was a measure unworthy of his liberal and disinterested character; and he maintains that the Roman sacrifices would be deprived of their force and energy if they were no longer celebrated at

¹² The *first* (A.D. 382) to Gratian, who refused them audience; the *second* (A.D. 384) to Valentinian, when the field was disputed by Symmachus and Ambrose; the *third* (A.D. 388) to Theodosius; and the *fourth* (A.D. 392) to Valentinian. Lardner (Heathen Testimonies, vol. iv. p. 372-399) fairly represents the whole transaction.

¹⁴ Symmachus, who was invested with all the civil and sacerdotal honors, represented the emperor under the two characters of *Pontifex Maximus* and *Princeps Senatus*. See the proud inscription at the head of his works.*

¹⁵ As if any one, says Prudentius (in Symmach. i. 639), should dig in the mud with an instrument of gold and ivory. Even saints, and polemic saints, treat this adversary with respect and civility.

* M. Beugnot has made it doubtful whether Symmachus was more than *Pontifex Major*. Destruction du Paganisme, vol. i. p. 459.—M.

the expense as well as in the name of the republic. Even scepticism is made to supply an apology for superstition. The great and incomprehensible *secret* of the universe eludes the inquiry of man. Where reason cannot instruct, custom may be permitted to guide; and every nation seems to consult the dictates of prudence by a faithful attachment to those rites and opinions which have received the sanction of ages. If those ages have been crowned with glory and prosperity—if the devout people have frequently obtained the blessings which they have solicited at the altars of the gods—it must appear still more advisable to persist in the same salutary practice, and not to risk the unknown perils that may attend any rash innovations. The test of antiquity and success was applied with singular advantage to the religion of Numa; and ROME herself, the celestial genius that presided over the fates of the city, is introduced by the orator to plead her own cause before the tribunal of the emperors. “Most excellent princes,” says the venerable matron, “fathers of your country! pity and respect my age, which has hitherto flowed in an uninterrupted course of piety. Since I do not repent, permit me to continue in the practice of my ancient rites. Since I am born free, allow me to enjoy my domestic institutions. This religion has reduced the world under my laws. These rites have repelled Hannibal from the city, and the Gauls from the Capitol. Were my gray hairs reserved for such intolerable disgrace? I am ignorant of the new system that I am required to adopt; but I am well assured that the correction of old age is always an ungrateful and ignominious office.”¹⁸ The fears of the people supplied what the discretion of the orator had suppressed; and the calamities which afflicted or threatened the declining empire were unanimously imputed by the pagans to the new religion of Christ and of Constantine.

¹⁸ See the fifty-fourth Epistle of the tenth book of Symmachus [p. 289, edit. Paris, 1604]. In the form and disposition of his ten books of Epistles he imitated the younger Pliny, whose rich and florid style he was supposed by his friends to equal or excel (Macrob. Saturnal. l. v. c. i.). But the luxury of Symmachus consists of barren leaves, without fruits, and even without flowers. Few facts and few sentiments can be extracted from his verbose correspondence.

But the hopes of Symmachus were repeatedly baffled by the firm and dexterous opposition of the Archbishop of Milan, who fortified the emperors against the fallacious eloquence of the advocate of Rome. In this controversy Ambrose condescends to speak the language of a philosopher, and to ask, with some contempt, why it should be thought necessary to introduce an imaginary and invisible power as the cause of those victories which were sufficiently explained by the valor and discipline of the legions. He justly derides the absurd reverence for antiquity, which could only tend to discourage the improvements of art, and to replunge the human race into their original barbarism. From thence gradually rising to a more lofty and theological tone, he pronounces that Christianity alone is the doctrine of truth and salvation, and that every mode of polytheism conducts its deluded votaries through the paths of error to the abyss of eternal perdition.¹⁷ Arguments like these, when they were suggested by a favorite bishop, had power to prevent the restoration of the altar of Victory; but the same arguments fell with much more energy and effect from the mouth of a conqueror, and the gods of antiquity were dragged in triumph at the chariot-wheels of Theodosius.¹⁸ In a full meeting of the senate, the emperor proposed, according to the forms of the republic, the important question, whether the worship of Jupiter or that of Christ should be the religion of the Romans?¹⁹

¹⁷ See Ambrose (tom ii. Epist. xvii. xviii. p. 825-833). The former of these epistles is a short caution; the latter is a formal reply to the petition or *libel* of Symmachus. The same ideas are more copiously expressed in the poetry, if it may deserve that name, of Prudentius, who composed his two books against Symmachus (A.D. 404) while that senator was still alive. It is whimsical enough that Montesquieu (*Considérations*, etc., c. xix. tom. iii. p. 487) should overlook the two professed antagonists of Symmachus, and amuse himself with descanting on the more remote and indirect confutations of Orosius, St. Augustine, and Salvian.

¹⁸ See Prudentius (in Symmach. l. i. 545, etc.). The Christian agrees with the pagan Zosimus (l. iv. [c. 59] p. 283) in placing this visit of Theodosius after the second civil war, "gemini bis victor cæde Tyranni" (l. i. 410). But the time and circumstances are better suited to his first triumph.

¹⁹ M. Beugnot (in his *Histoire de la Destruction du Paganisme en Occident*, i. p. 483-488) questions altogether the truth of this statement. It is very remark-

The liberty of suffrages, which he affected to allow, was destroyed by the hopes and fears that his presence inspired; and the arbitrary exile of Symmachus was a recent admonition that it might be dangerous to oppose the wishes of the monarch. On a regular division of the senate, Jupiter was condemned and degraded by the sense of a very large majority; and it is rather surprising that any members should be found bold enough to declare, by their speeches and votes, that they were still attached to the interest of an abdicated deity.¹⁹ The hasty conversion of the senate must be attributed either to supernatural or to sordid motives; and many of these reluctant proselytes betrayed, on every favorable occasion, their secret disposition to throw aside the mask of odious dissimulation. But they were gradually fixed in the new religion, as the cause of the ancient became more hopeless; they yielded to the authority of the emperor, to the fashion of the

¹⁹ Prudentius, after proving that the sense of the senate is declared by a legal majority, proceeds to say (609, etc.),

Adspice quam pleno subsellia nostra Senatâ
Decernant infame Jovis pulvinar, et omne
Idolum longe purgatâ ex tibe fugandum.
Qua vocat egregi sententia Principis, illic
Libera, tum pedibus, tum corde, frequentia transit.

Zosimus ascribes to the conscript fathers a heathenish courage which few of them are found to possess.

able that Zosimus and Prudentius concur in asserting the fact of the question being solemnly deliberated by the senate, though with directly opposite results. Zosimus declares that the majority of the assembly adhered to the ancient religion of Rome; Gibbon has adopted the authority of Prudentius, who, as a Latin writer, though a poet, deserves more credit than the Greek historian. Both concur in placing this scene after the second triumph of Theodosius, but it has been almost demonstrated—and Gibbon (see the preceding note) seems to have acknowledged this—by Pagi and Tillemont, that Theodosius did not visit Rome after the defeat of Eugenius. M. Beugnot urges with much force the improbability that the Christian emperor would submit such a question to the senate, whose authority was nearly obsolete, except on one occasion, which was almost hailed as an epoch in the restoration of her ancient privileges. The silence of Ambrose and of Jerome on an event so striking, and redounding so much to the honor of Christianity, is of considerable weight. M. Beugnot would ascribe the whole scene to the poetic imagination of Prudentius; but I must observe that, however Prudentius is sometimes elevated by the grandeur of his subject to vivid and eloquent language, this flight of invention would be so much bolder and more vigorous than usual with this poet that I cannot but suppose there must have been some foundation for the story, though it may have been exaggerated by the poet and misrepresented by the historian.—M.

times, and to the entreaties of their wives and children,²⁰ who were instigated and governed by the clergy of Rome and the monks of the East. The edifying example of the Anician family was soon imitated by the rest of the nobility: the Bassi, the Paullini, the Gracchi, embraced the Christian religion; and "the luminaries of the world, the venerable assembly of Catos" (such are the high-flown expressions of Prudentius), "were impatient to strip themselves of their pontifical garment, to cast the skin of the old serpent, to assume the snowy robes of baptismal innocence, and to humble the pride of the consular fasces before the tombs of the martyrs."²¹ The citizens, who subsisted by their own industry, and the populace, who were supported by the public liberality, filled the churches of the Lateran and Vatican with an incessant throng of devout proselytes. The decrees of the senate which proscribed the worship of idols were ratified by the general consent of the Romans;²² the splendor of the Capitol was defaced, and the solitary temples were abandoned to ruin and contempt.²³ Rome submitted to the yoke of the Gospel; and the van-

²⁰ Jerome specifies the pontiff Albinus, who was surrounded with such a believing family of children and grandchildren as would have been sufficient to convert even Jupiter himself—an extraordinary proselyte! (tom. i. ad Lætam, p. 54 [Ep. cvii. tom. i. p. 671, edit. Vallars.]).^a

²¹ Exultare Patres videas, pulcherrima mundi
Lumina; Conciliumque sentum gestire Catonum
Candidiore togâ niveum pietatis amictum
Sumere; et exuvias deponere pontificales.

The fancy of Prudentius is warmed and elevated by victory.

²² Prudentius, after he has described the conversion of the senate and people, asks, with some truth and confidence,

Et dubitamus adhuc Romam, tibi, Christe, dicatam
In leges transisse tuas?

²³ Jerome exults in the desolation of the Capitol and the other temples of Rome (tom. i. p. 54, tom. ii. p. 95).

^a Gibbon has here followed the conjecture of Erasmus and others, who, *against all the MSS.*, read *Jovem* for *juvenem*. The passage in the edition of Vallarsius is, "sancta et fidelis domus unum sanctificat infidelem. Jam candidatus est fidei, quem filiorum et nepotum credens turba circumdat. Ego puto etiam ipsum juvenem si habuisset talem cognationem, potuisse in Christum credere." The meaning is that Albinus, who was now old, might have been converted in his youth, if he had then had so many Christian relations.—S.

quished provinces had not yet lost their reverence for the name and authority of Rome.^a

The filial piety of the emperors themselves engaged them to proceed with some caution and tenderness in the reformation of the Eternal City. Those absolute monarchs acted with less regard to the prejudices of the provincials. The pious labor, which had been suspended near twenty years since the death of Constantius,³⁴ was vigorously resumed, and finally accomplished, by the zeal of Theodosius. Whilst that warlike prince yet struggled with the Goths, not for the glory, but for the safety, of the republic, he ventured to offend a considerable party of his subjects by some acts which might perhaps secure the protection of Heaven, but which must seem rash and unseasonable in the eye of human prudence. The success of his first experiments against the pagans encouraged the pious emperor to reiterate and enforce his edicts of proscription. The same laws which had been originally published in the provinces of the East were applied, after the defeat of Maximus, to the whole extent of the Western empire; and every victory of the orthodox Theodosius contributed to the triumph of the Christian and catholic faith.³⁵ He attacked superstition in her most vital part by prohibiting the use of sacrifices, which he de-

Destruction
of the tem-
ples in the
provinces.
A.D. 361, etc.

³⁴ Libanius (*Orat. pro Templis*, p. 10, Genev. 1634, published by James Godefroy, and now extremely scarce) accuses Valentinian and Valens of prohibiting sacrifices. Some partial order may have been issued by the Eastern emperor; but the idea of any general law is contradicted by the silence of the Code and the evidence of ecclesiastical history.^b

³⁵ See his laws in the Theodosian Code, l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 7-11.

^a M. Bengnot is more correct in his general estimate of the measures enforced by Theodosius for the abolition of paganism. He seized (according to Zosimus) the funds bestowed by the public for the expense of sacrifices. The public sacrifices ceased, not because they were positively prohibited, but because the public treasury would no longer bear the expense. The public and the private sacrifices in the provinces, which were not under the same regulations with those of the capital, continued to take place. In Rome itself, many pagan ceremonies, which were without sacrifice, remained in full force. The gods therefore were invoked, the temples were frequented, the pontificates inscribed, according to ancient usage, among the family titles of honor; and it cannot be asserted that idolatry was completely destroyed by Theodosius. See Bengnot, p. 491.—M.

^b See in Reiske's edition of Libanius, tom. ii. p. 155. Sacrifice was prohibited by Valens, but not the offering of incense.—M.

clared to be criminal as well as infamous; and if the terms of his edicts more strictly condemned the impious curiosity which examined the entrails of the victims," every subsequent explanation tended to involve in the same guilt the general practice of *immolation*, which essentially constituted the religion of the pagans. As the temples had been erected for the purpose of sacrifice, it was the duty of a benevolent prince to remove from his subjects the dangerous temptation of offending against the laws which he had enacted. A special commission was granted to Cynegius, the Prætorian Præfect of the East, and afterwards to the Counts Jovius and Gaudentius, two officers of distinguished rank in the West, by which they were directed to shut the temples, to seize or destroy the instruments of idolatry, to abolish the privileges of the priests, and to confiscate the consecrated property for the benefit of the emperor, of the Church, or of the army.²⁷ Here the desolation might have stopped; and the naked edifices which were no longer employed in the service of idolatry might have been protected from the destructive rage of fanaticism. Many of those temples were the most splendid and beautiful monuments of Grecian architecture; and the em-

²⁶ Homer's sacrifices are not accompanied with any inquisition of entrails (see Feathus, *Antiquitat. Homer* l. i. c. 10, 16). The Tuscans, who produced the first *Hæuspices*, subdued both the Greeks and the Romans (Cicero de *Divinatione*, ii. 23).^a

²⁷ Zosimus, l. iv. [c. 37], p. 245, 249. Theodoret, l. v. c. 21. Idatius in Chron. Prosper. Aquitan. l. iii. c. 38, apud Baronium, *Annal. Eccles.* A.D. 389, No. 52. Libanius (pro *Templis*, p. 10) labors to prove that the commands of Theodosius were not direct and positive.^b

^a The Greeks, however, observed the entrails of victims as early as the Persian wars. See the well-known passage in Æschylus, *Prometh.* 498 seq. (edit. Dindorf), where Prometheus is said to have taught mortals the art.—S.

^b Libanius appears to be the best authority for the East, where, under Theodosius, the work of devastation was carried on with very different degrees of violence, according to the temper of the local authorities and of the clergy, and more especially the neighborhood of the more fanatical monks. Neander well observes that the prohibition of sacrifice would be easily misinterpreted into an authority for the destruction of the buildings in which sacrifices were performed (*Geschichte der christlichen Religion*, u p. 156). An abuse of this kind led to this remarkable oration of Libanius. Neander, however, justly doubts whether this bold vindication, or at least exculpation, of paganism was ever delivered before, or even placed in the hands of, the Christian emperor.—M.

peror himself was interested not to deface the splendor of his own cities, or to diminish the value of his own possessions. Those stately edifices might be suffered to remain as so many lasting trophies of the victory of Christ. In the decline of the arts, they might be usefully converted into magazines, manufactures, or places of public assembly; and perhaps, when the walls of the temple had been sufficiently purified by holy rites, the worship of the true Deity might be allowed to expiate the ancient guilt of idolatry. But as long as they subsisted, the pagans fondly cherished the secret hope that an auspicious revolution, a second Julian, might again restore the altars of the gods; and the earnestness with which they addressed their unavailing prayers to the throne²⁸ increased the zeal of the Christian reformers to extirpate, without mercy, the root of superstition. The laws of the emperors exhibit some symptoms of a milder disposition;²⁹ but their cold and languid efforts were insufficient to stem the torrent of enthusiasm and rapine which was conducted, or rather impelled, by the spiritual rulers of the Church. In Gaul, the holy Martin, Bishop of Tours,³⁰ marched at the head of his faithful monks to destroy the idols, the temples, and the consecrated trees of his extensive diocese; and, in the execution of this arduous task, the prudent reader will judge whether Martin was supported by the aid of miraculous powers or of carnal weapons. In Syria, the divine and excellent Marcellus,³¹ as he is styled by Theodoret, a bishop animated with apostolic fervor, resolved to level with the ground the stately temples within the diocese of Apamea. His attack was resisted by the skill and solidity

²⁸ Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 8, 18. There is room to believe that this temple of Edessa, which Theodosius wished to save for civil uses, was soon afterwards a heap of ruins (Libanius *pro Templis*, p. 26, 27, and Godefroy's notes, p. 59).

²⁹ See this curious oration of Libanius *pro Templis*, pronounced, or rather composed, about the year 390. I have consulted with advantage Dr. Lardner's version and remarks (*Heathen Testimonies*, vol. iv. p. 135-163).

³⁰ See the *Life of Martin* by Sulpicius Severus, c. 9-14. The saint once mistook (as Don Quixote might have done) a harmless funeral for an idolatrous procession, and imprudently committed a miracle.

³¹ Compare Sozomen (l. vii. c. 15) with Theodoret (l. v. c. 21). Between them they relate the crusade and death of Marcellus.

with which the Temple of Jupiter had been constructed. The building was seated on an eminence: on each of the four sides the lofty roof was supported by fifteen massy columns, sixteen feet in circumference; and the large stones of which they were composed were firmly cemented with lead and iron. The force of the strongest and sharpest tools had been tried without effect. It was found necessary to undermine the foundations of the columns, which fell down as soon as the temporary wooden props had been consumed with fire; and the difficulties of the enterprise are described under the allegory of a black demon, who retarded, though he could not defeat, the operations of the Christian engineers. Elated with victory, Marcellus took the field in person against the powers of darkness; a numerous troop of soldiers and gladiators marched under the episcopal banner; and he successively attacked the villages and country temples of the diocese of Apamea. Whenever any resistance or danger was apprehended, the champion of the faith, whose lameness would not allow him either to fight or fly, placed himself at a convenient distance beyond the reach of darts. But this prudence was the occasion of his death; he was surprised and slain by a body of exasperated rustics; and the synod of the province pronounced, without hesitation, that the holy Marcellus had sacrificed his life in the cause of God. In the support of this cause, the monks, who rushed with tumultuous fury from the desert, distinguished themselves by their zeal and diligence. They deserved the enmity of the pagans, and some of them might deserve the reproaches of avarice and intemperance—of avarice, which they gratified with holy plunder; and of intemperance, which they indulged at the expense of the people, who foolishly admired their tattered garments, loud psalmody, and artificial paleness.* A small number of temples was protected by the fears, the venality, the taste, or the prudence of the civil and ecclesiastical governors. The Temple of the Ce-

* Libanius *pro Templis*, p. 10-13. He rails at these black-garbed men, the Christian monks, who eat more than elephants. Poor elephants! *they* are temperate animals.

lestial Venus at Carthage, whose sacred precincts formed a circumference of two miles, was judiciously converted into a Christian church;³³ and a similar consecration has preserved inviolate the majestic dome of the Pantheon at Rome.³⁴ But in almost every province of the Roman world an army of fanatics, without authority and without discipline, invaded the peaceful inhabitants; and the ruin of the fairest structures of antiquity still displays the ravages of *those* barbarians who alone had time and inclination to execute such laborious destruction.

In this wide and various prospect of devastation, the spectator may distinguish the ruins of the Temple of Serapis at Alexandria.³⁵ Serapis does not appear to have been one of the native gods or monsters who sprang from the fruitful soil of superstitious Egypt.³⁶ The first of the Ptolemies had been commanded by a dream to import the mysterious stranger from the coast of Pontus, where he had been long adored by the inhabitants of Sinope; but his attributes and his reign were so imperfectly understood that it became a subject of dispute whether he represented

The Temple
of Serapis at
Alexandria.

³³ Prosper. Aquitan. l. iii. c. 38, apud Baronium, Annal. Eccles. A.D. 389, No. 58, etc. The temple had been shut some time, and the access to it was overgrown with brambles.

³⁴ Donatus, Roma Antiqua et Nova, l. iv. c. 4, p. 468. This consecration was performed by Pope Boniface IV. I am ignorant of the favorable circumstances which had preserved the Pantheon above two hundred years after the reign of Theodosius.

³⁵ Sophronius composed a recent and separate history (Jerome, in Script. Eccles. tom. i. p. 308), which has furnished materials to Socrates (l. v. c. 16), Theodoret (l. v. c. 22), and Rufinus (l. ii. c. 22). Yet the last, who had been at Alexandria before and after the event, may deserve the credit of an original witness.

³⁶ Gerard Vossius (Opera, tom. v. p. 80, and De Idololatriâ, l. i. c. 29) strives to support the strange notion of the fathers that the patriarch Joseph was adored in Egypt as the bull Apis and the god Serapis.*

* Modern writers are agreed that the worship of Serapis was not so strange to the ancient Egyptians as the narrative of Tacitus would imply. Serapis appears to have been worshipped by the ancient Egyptians as the god of the lower world, and hence to have been identified under the Ptolemies with the Jupiter, Dis, or Pluto of Sinope. He was the Osiris of the lower world, and among the Greeks and Romans took the place of this deity. See Guigniaut, Sérapis et son Origine, Paris, 1828; also in the fifth volume of Bournouf's translation of Tacitus, and in the second volume of Orrell's Tacitus; Bunsen, Aegyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte, vol. i. p. 502.—S.

the bright orb of day or the gloomy monarch of the subterraneous regions.³⁷ The Egyptians, who were obstinately devoted to the religion of their fathers, refused to admit this foreign deity within the walls of their cities.³⁸ But the obsequious priests, who were seduced by the liberality of the Ptolemies, submitted without resistance to the power of the god of Pontus; an honorable and domestic genealogy was provided; and in this fortunate usurper was introduced into the throne and bed of Osiris,³⁹ the husband of Isis, and the celestial monarch of Egypt. Alexandria, which claimed his peculiar protection, gloried in the name of the city of Serapis. His temple, which rivalled the pride and magnificence of the Capitol, was erected on the spacious summit of an artificial mount raised one hundred steps above the level of the adjacent parts of the city; and the interior cavity was strongly supported by arches and distributed into vaults and subterraneous apartments. The consecrated buildings were surrounded by a quadrangular portico; the stately halls and exquisite statues displayed the triumph of the arts; and the treasures of ancient learning were preserved in the famous Alexandrian library, which had arisen with new splendor from its ashes.⁴¹ After the edicts of

³⁷ *Origo dei nondum nostris celebrata. Egyptiorum antistites sic memorant etc.*—Tacit. Hist. iv. 83. The Greeks who had travelled into Egypt were all ignorant of this new deity.

³⁸ Macrobius, Saturnal. i. i. c. 7. Such a living fact decisively proves his foreign extraction.

³⁹ At Rome, Isis and Serapis were united in the same temple. The precedent which the queen assumed may seem to betray her unequal alliance with the stranger of Pontus. But the superiority of the female sex was established in Egypt as a civil and religious institution (Diodor. Sicul. tom. i. l. i [c. 27] p. 31, edit. Weseling); and the same order is observed in Plutarch's treatise of Isis and Osiris whom he identifies with Serapis.

⁴⁰ Ammianus (xxii. 16). The *Expositio Totius Mundi* (p. 8 in Hudson's Geography. Minor. tom. iii.) and Rufinus (l. ii. c. 22) celebrate the *Serapeum* as one of the wonders of the world.

⁴¹ See Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom ix. p. 397–416. The old library of the Ptolemies was totally consumed in Cæsar's Alexandrian war. Marcellus gave the whole collection of Pergamus (200,000 volumes) to Cleopatra at the foundation of the new library of Alexandria.*

* The statements of Gibbon, both in the text and in the note, require some

Theodosius had severely prohibited the sacrifices of the pagans, they were still tolerated in the city and temple of Serapis; and this singular indulgence was imprudently ascribed to the superstitious terrors of the Christians themselves, as if they had feared to abolish those ancient rites which could alone secure the inundations of the Nile, the harvests of Egypt, and the subsistence of Constantinople.⁴³

At that time, "the archiepiscopal throne of Alexandria was filled by Theophilus," the perpetual enemy of peace and virtue; a bold, bad man, whose hands were alternately polluted with gold and with blood. His pious indignation was excited by the honors of Serapis; and

Its final destruction.
A.D. 389.

⁴³ Libanius (pro Templis, p. 21) indiscreetly provokes his Christian masters by this insulting remark.

⁴⁴ We may choose between the date of Marcellinus (A.D. 389) or that of Prosper (A.D. 391). Tillemont (Hist. des Emp. tom. v. p. 310, 756) prefers the former, and Pagi the latter.^a

⁴⁵ Tillemont, Mém. Ecclési. tom. xi. p. 441-500. The ambiguous situation of Theophilus—a *saint*, as the friend of Jerome; a *devil*, as the enemy of Chrysostom—produces a sort of impartiality; yet, upon the whole, the balance is justly inclined against him.

modification. There were *two* libraries of Alexandria under the Ptolemies, the larger one in the quarter called Bruchium, and the smaller one, named *the daughter*, in the Serapeum, which was situated in the quarter called Rhacôtis. The former was totally destroyed in the conflagration of the Bruchium during Caesar's Alexandrian war; but the latter, which was of great value, remained uninjured. (See Matter, Histoire de l'École d'Alexandrie, vol. i. p. 183 seq., 237 seq.) It is not stated by any ancient writer where the collection of Pergamus was placed, which Antony gave to Cleopatra (Plutarch, Anton. c. 58); but it is most probable that it was deposited in the Bruchium, as that quarter of the city was now without a library, and the queen was anxious to repair the ravages occasioned by the civil war. If this supposition is correct, two Alexandrian libraries continued to exist after the time of Caesar, and this is rendered still more probable by the fact that during the first three centuries of the Christian era the Bruchium was still the literary quarter of Alexandria. But a great change took place in the time of Aurelian. This emperor, in suppressing the revolt of Firmus in Egypt, A.D. 273, is said to have destroyed the Bruchium; and though this statement is hardly to be taken literally, the Bruchium ceased from this time to be included within the walls of Alexandria, and was regarded only as a suburb of the city. Whether the great library in the Bruchium, with the museum and its other literary establishments, perished at this time, we do not know; but the Serapeum for the next century takes its place as the literary quarter of Alexandria, and becomes the chief library in the city. Hence later writers erroneously speak of the Serapeum as if it had been from the beginning the great Alexandrian library. See Matter, *ut supra*, p. 300 seq.—S.

^a Clinton (Fast. Rom. vol. i. p. 522) places the destruction in 390.—S.

the insults which he offered to an ancient chapel of Bacchus^a convinced the pagans that he meditated a more important and dangerous enterprise. In the tumultuous capital of Egypt the slightest provocation was sufficient to inflame a civil war. The votaries of Serapis, whose strength and numbers were much inferior to those of their antagonists, rose in arms at the instigation of the philosopher Olympius,⁴⁶ who exhorted them to die in the defence of the altars of the gods. These pagan fanatics fortified themselves in the temple, or rather fortress, of Serapis; repelled the besiegers by daring sallies and a resolute defence; and, by the inhuman cruelties which they exercised on their Christian prisoners, obtained the last consolation of despair. The efforts of the prudent magistrate were usefully exerted for the establishment of a truce till the answer of Theodosius should determine the fate of Serapis. The two parties assembled without arms in the principal square, and the imperial rescript was publicly read. But when a sentence of destruction against the idols of Alexandria was pronounced, the Christians sent up a shout of joy and exultation; whilst the unfortunate pagans, whose fury had given way to consternation, retired with hasty and silent steps, and eluded, by their flight or obscurity, the resentment of their enemies. Theophilus proceeded to demolish the Temple of Serapis without any other difficulties than those which he found in the weight and solidity of the materials; but these obstacles proved so insuperable that he was obliged to leave the foundations, and to content himself with reducing the edifice itself to a heap of rubbish, a part of which was soon afterwards cleared away to make room for a church erected in honor of the Christian martyrs. The valuable library of Alexandria was pillaged or destroyed; and, near twenty years afterwards, the appearance

⁴⁶ Lardner (Heathen Testimonies, vol. iv. p. 411) has alleged a beautiful passage from Suidas, or rather from Damascius, which shows the devout and virtuous Olympius, not in the light of a warrior, but of a prophet.

^a Sozomen (vii. c. 15) calls it a Temple of Bacchus; but we may conclude that it was a Temple of Osiris, as the Greeks gave to this deity the name of Bacchus. Socrates (v. 16) calls it a Mithreum, and Rufinus (xii. 22) simply says "*basilica quadam*." See St. Martin, vol. iv. p. 393; Matter, *ut supra*, vol. i. p. 320.—S.

of the empty shelves excited the regret and indignation of every spectator whose mind was not totally darkened by religious prejudice.⁴⁶ The compositions of ancient genius, so many of which have irretrievably perished, might surely have been excepted from the wreck of idolatry for the amusement and instruction of succeeding ages; and either the zeal or the avarice of the archbishop⁴⁷ might have been satiated with the rich spoils which were the reward of his victory. While the images and vases of gold and silver were carefully melted, and those of a less valuable metal were contemptuously broken and cast into the streets, Theophilus labored to expose the frauds and vices of the ministers of the idols: their dexterity in the management of the loadstone; their secret methods of introducing a human actor into a hollow statue;^b and their scandalous abuse of the confidence of devout husbands and unsuspecting females.⁴⁸ Charges like these may seem to de-

⁴⁶ *Nos vidimus armaria librorum, quibus direptis, exinanita ea a nostris hominibus, nostris temporibus memorent.*—Orosius, l. vi. c. 15, p. 421, edit. Havercamp. Though a bigot and a controversial writer, Orosius seems to blush.

⁴⁷ Eunapius, in the *Lives of Antoninus and Aëdesius*, execrates the sacrilegious rapine of Theophilus. Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. xiii. p. 458) quotes an epistle of Isidore of Pelusium, which reproaches the primate with the *idolatrous* worship of gold—the “*auri sacra fames.*”

⁴⁸ Rufinus names the priest of Saturn who, in the character of the god, familiarly conversed with many pious ladies of quality, till he betrayed himself, in a moment of transport, when he could not disguise the tone of his voice. The authentic and impartial narrative of Æschines (see Bayle, *Dictionnaire Critique*, SCAMANDRE) and the adventure of Mundus (Joseph. *Antiquitat. Judaic.* l. xviii. c. 3 [§ 4], p. 877,

^a Gibbon seems to think that the whole of the Serapeum was destroyed; but this was not the case. It would appear that it was only the *sanctuary* of the god that was levelled with the ground, and that the library, the halls, and other buildings in the consecrated ground remained standing long afterwards. Orosius, in the passage quoted in Gibbon's note, is not speaking of the Serapeum, but of some other temples from which the books had been removed: “*Hodie in templis existent, quæ et nos vidimus, armaria librorum, quibus,*” etc. Moreover, if we credit the story of the destruction of the Alexandrian library by Amron, which there seems no good reason to reject (see ch. li., editor's note next to note 122), we may conclude that the library in the Serapeum existed down to A.D. 638. See *Matter* ut supra, vol. i. p. 321 seq.—S.

^b An English traveller, Sir G. Wilkinson, has discovered the secret of the vocal Memnon. There was a cavity in which a person was concealed, and struck a stone, which gave a ringing sound like brass. The Arabs, who stood below when Sir G. Wilkinson performed the miracle, described the sound just as the author of the epigram, ὡς χάλκειο τύποντος.—M.

serve some degree of credit, as they are not repugnant to the cratty and interested spirit of superstition. But the same spirit is equally prone to the base practice of insulting and calumniating a fallen enemy; and our belief is naturally checked by the reflection that it is much less difficult to invent a fictitious story than to support a practical fraud. The colossal statue of Serapis⁴⁸ was involved in the ruin of his temple and religion. A great number of plates of different metals, artificially joined together, composed the majestic figure of the deity, who touched on either side the walls of the sanctuary. The aspect of Serapis, his sitting posture, and the sceptre which he bore in his left hand were extremely similar to the ordinary representations of Jupiter. He was distinguished from Jupiter by the basket, or bushel, which was placed on his head, and by the emblematic monster which he held in his right hand—the head and body of a serpent branching into three tails, which were again terminated by the triple heads of a dog, a lion, and a wolf. It was confidently affirmed that if any impious hand should dare to violate the majesty of the god, the heavens and the earth would instantly return to their original chaos. An intrepid soldier, animated by zeal and armed with a weighty battle-axe, ascended the ladder; and even the Christian multitude expected with some anxiety the event of the combat.⁴⁹ He aimed a vigorous stroke against the cheek of Serapis; the cheek fell to the ground; the thunder was still silent, and both the heavens and the earth continued to preserve their accustomed order and tranquillity.

edit. Havercamp) may prove that such amorous frauds have been practised with success.

⁴⁸ See the images of Serapis, in Montfaucon (tom. ii. p. 297); but the description of Macrobius (Saturnal. l. i. c. 20) is much more picturesque and satisfactory.

⁴⁹

*Sed fortes tremuere manus, motique verendâ
Majestate loci, si robora sacra ferirent
In sua credebant redituras membra secures.*

(Lucan. iii. 429.) "Is it true" (said Augustus to a veteran of Italy at whose house he supped) "that the man who gave the first blow to the golden statue of Anais was instantly deprived of his eyes and of his life?" "*I was that man*" (replied the clear-sighted veteran), "and you now sup on one of the legs of the goddess!" (Plin. Hist. Natur. xxxiii. 24).

The victorious soldier repeated his blows; the huge idol was overthrown and broken in pieces; and the limbs of Serapis were ignominiously dragged through the streets of Alexandria. His mangled carcass was burned in the amphitheatre amidst the shouts of the populace; and many persons attributed their conversion to this discovery of the impotence of their tutelar deity. The popular modes of religion that propose any visible and material objects of worship have the advantage of adapting and familiarizing themselves to the senses of mankind; but this advantage is counterbalanced by the various and inevitable accidents to which the faith of the idolater is exposed. It is scarcely possible that in every disposition of mind he should preserve his implicit reverence for the idols, or the relics, which the naked eye and the profane hand are unable to distinguish from the most common productions of art or nature; and if in the hour of danger their secret and miraculous virtue does not operate for their own preservation, he scorns the vain apologies of his priests, and justly derides the object and the folly of his superstitious attachment." After the fall of Serapis, some hopes were still entertained by the pagans that the Nile would refuse his annual supply to the impious masters of Egypt; and the extraordinary delay of the inundation seemed to announce the displeasure of the river-god. But this delay was soon compensated by the rapid swell of the waters. They suddenly rose to such an unusual height as to comfort the discontented party with the pleasing expectation of a deluge, till the peaceful river again subsided to the well-known and fertilizing level of sixteen cubits, or about thirty English feet.²¹

The temples of the Roman empire were deserted or de-

²¹ The History of the Reformation affords frequent examples of the sudden change from superstition to contempt.

²² Sozomen, l. vii. c. 20. I have supplied the measure. The same standard of the inundation, and consequently of the cubit, has uniformly subsisted since the time of Herodotus. See Fréret, in the *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xvi. p. 344-353. Greaves's *Miscellaneous Works*, vol. i. p. 233. The Egyptian cubit is about twenty-two inches of the English measure.*

* Compare Wilkinson's *Thebes and Egypt*, p. 313.—M.

destroyed; but the ingenious superstition of the pagans still attempted to elude the laws of Theodosius, by which all sacrifices had been severely prohibited. The inhabitants of the country, whose conduct was less exposed to the eye of malicious curiosity, disguised their *religious* under the appearance of *convivial* meetings. On the days of solemn festivals they assembled in great numbers under the spreading shade of some consecrated trees; sheep and oxen were slaughtered and roasted; and this rural entertainment was sanctified by the use of incense and by the hymns which were sung in honor of the gods. But it was alleged that, as no part of the animal was made a burnt-offering, as no altar was provided to receive the blood, and as the previous oblation of salt cakes and the concluding ceremony of libations were carefully omitted, these festal meetings did not involve the guests in the guilt or penalty of an illegal sacrifice.⁵³ Whatever might be the truth of the facts or the merit of the distinction,⁵⁴ these vain pretences were swept away by the last edict of Theodosius, which inflicted a deadly wound on the superstition of the pagans.⁵⁵ This prohibitory law is expressed

The pagan religion is prohibited, A.D. 390;

⁵³ Libanius (pro Templis, p. 15, 16, 17) pleads their cause with gentle and insinuating rhetoric. From the earliest age such feasts had enlivened the country; and those of Bacchus (Georgic. ii. 380) had produced the theatre of Athens. See Godefroy, ad loc., Liban., and Codex Theodos. tom. vi. p. 284 [edit. Lugd. 1665].

⁵⁴ Honorius tolerated these rustic festivals (A.D. 399). "Absque ullo sacrificio, atque ulli superstitione damnabili." But nine years afterwards he found it necessary to reiterate and enforce the same proviso (Codex Theodos. l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 17, 19).

⁵⁵ Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 12. Jortin (Remarks on Eccles. History, vol. iv. p. 184) censures, with becoming asperity, the style and sentiments of this intolerant law.

^{*} Paganism maintained its ground for a considerable time in the rural districts. Endeletius, a poet who lived at the beginning of the fifth century, speaks of the cross as—

Signum quod perhibent esse cunctis Dei,
Magnis qui colitur solus in nubibus.

In the middle of the same century, Maximus, Bishop of Turin, writes against the heathen deities as if their worship was still in full vigor in the neighborhood of his city. Augustine complains of the encouragement of the pagan rites by heathen landowners, and Zeno of Verona, still later, reproves the apathy of the Christian proprietors in conniving at this abuse. (Compare Neander, ii. p. 169.) M. Beugnot shows that this was the case throughout the north and centre of Italy and in Sicily. But neither of these authors has adverted to one fact which must have

in the most absolute and comprehensive terms. "It is our will and pleasure," says the emperor, "that none of our subjects, whether magistrates or private citizens, however exalted or however humble may be their rank and condition, shall presume in any city or in any place to worship an inanimate idol by the sacrifice of a guiltless victim." The act of sacrificing and the practice of divination by the entrails of the victim are declared (without any regard to the object of the inquiry) a crime of high-treason against the State, which can be expiated only by the death of the guilty. The rites of pagan superstition which might seem less bloody and atrocious are abolished as highly injurious to the truth and honor of religion; luminaries, garlands, frankincense, and libations of wine are specially enumerated and condemned; and the harmless claims of the domestic genius, of the household gods, are included in this rigorous proscription. The use of any of these profane and illegal ceremonies subjects the offender to the forfeiture of the house or estate where they have been performed; and if he has artfully chosen the property of another for the scene of his impiety, he is compelled to discharge, without delay, a heavy fine of twenty-five pounds of gold, or more than one thousand pounds sterling. A fine not less considerable is imposed on the connivance of the secret enemies of religion who shall neglect the duty of their respective stations, either to reveal or to punish the guilt of idolatry. Such was the persecuting spirit of the laws of Theodosius, which were repeatedly enforced by his sons and grandsons, with the loud and unanimous applause of the Christian world."

"Such a charge should not be lightly made; but it may surely be justified by the authority of St. Augustine, who thus addresses the Donatists: "*Quis nostrum,*

tended greatly to retard the progress of Christianity in these quarters. It was still chiefly a slave population which cultivated the soil; and however, in the towns, the better class of Christians might be eager to communicate "the blessed liberty of the Gospel" to this class of mankind, however their condition could not but be silently ameliorated by the humanizing influence of Christianity, yet, on the whole, no doubt the servile class would be the least fitted to receive the Gospel, and its general propagation among them would be embarrassed by many peculiar difficulties. The rural population was probably not entirely converted before the general establishment of the monastic institutions. Compare *Quarterly Review* of Beugnot, vol. lvii. p. 52.—M.

In the cruel reigns of Decius and Diocletian, Christianity had been proscribed as a revolt from the ancient and hereditary religion of the empire; and the unjust suspicions which were entertained of a dark and dangerous faction were in some measure countenanced by the inseparable union and rapid conquests of the Catholic Church. But the same excuses of fear and ignorance cannot be applied to the Christian emperors who violated the precepts of humanity and of the Gospel. The experience of ages had betrayed the weakness as well as folly of paganism; the light of reason and of faith had already exposed to the greatest part of mankind the vanity of idols; and the declining sect, which still adhered to their worship, might have been permitted to enjoy in peace and obscurity the religious customs of their ancestors. Had the pagans been animated by the undaunted zeal which possessed the minds of the primitive believers, the triumph of the Church must have been stained with blood; and the martyrs of Jupiter and Apollo might have embraced the glorious opportunity of devoting their lives and fortunes at the foot of their altars. But such obstinate zeal was not congenial to the loose and careless temper of polytheism. The violent and repeated strokes of the orthodox princes were broken by the soft and yielding substance against which they were directed; and the ready obedience of the pagans protected them from the pains and penalties of the Theodosian Code." Instead of asserting that the authority of the gods

quis vestrum, non laudat leges ab Imperatoribus datas adversus sacrificia Paganorum? Et certe longe ibi poena severior constituta est; illius quippe impietatis capitale supplicium est."—*Epist. xcffi. No. 10* [tom. ii. p. 308, edit. Bened. 1797], quoted by Le Clerc (*Bibliothèque Choisie*, tom. viii. p. 277), who adds some judicious reflections on the intolerance of the victorious Christians.*

* *Orosius*, l. vii. c. 28, p. 537. *Augustine* (*Enarrat. in Psalm cxi. apud Lardner, Heathen Testimonies*, vol. iv. p. 458) insults their cowardice. "*Quis eorum comprehensus est in sacrificio (cum his legibus ista prohiberentur) et non negavit?*"

* Yet *Augustine*, with landable inconsistency, disapproved of the forcible demolition of the temples. "Let us first extirpate the idolatry of the hearts of the heathen, and they will either themselves invite us or anticipate us in the execution of this good work."—*Tom. v. s. 62.* Compare *Neander*, ii. 169; and, in p. 155, a beautiful passage from *Chrysostom* against all violent means of propagating Christianity.—*M.*

was superior to that of the emperor, they desisted, with a plaintive murmur, from the use of those sacred rites which their sovereign had condemned. If they were sometimes tempted by a sally of passion or by the hopes of concealment to indulge their favorite superstition, their humble repentance disarmed the severity of the Christian magistrate, and they seldom refused to atone for their rashness by submitting, with some secret reluctance, to the yoke of the Gospel. The churches were filled with the increasing multitude of these unworthy proselytes, who had conformed, from temporal motives, to the reigning religion; and whilst they devoutly imitated the postures and recited the prayers of the faithful, they satisfied their conscience by the silent and sincere invocation of the gods of antiquity.⁵⁵ If the pagans wanted patience to suffer, they wanted spirit to resist; and the scattered myriads who deplored the ruin of the temples yielded, without a contest, to the fortune of their adversaries. The disorderly opposition⁵⁶ of the peasants of Syria and the populace of Alexandria to the rage of private fanaticism was silenced by the name and authority of the emperor. The pagans of the West, without contributing to the elevation of Eugenius, disgraced by their partial attachment the cause and character of the usurper. The clergy vehemently exclaimed that he aggravated the crime of rebellion by the guilt of apostasy; that, by his permission, the altar of Victory was again restored; and that the idolatrous symbol of Jupiter and Hercules were displayed in the field against the invincible standard of the cross. But the vain hopes of the pagans were soon annihilated by the defeat of Eugenius and they were left exposed to the resentment of the conqueror, who labored to deserve the favor of Heaven by the extirpation of idolatry.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Libanius (*pro Templis*, p. 17, 18) mentions, without censure, the occasional conformity, and, as it were, theatrical play, of these hypocrites.

⁵⁶ Libanius concludes his apology (p. 32) by declaring to the emperor that, unless he expressly warrants the destruction of the temples, *ἵσθι τοὺς τῶν ἀγρῶν διόκτορας, καὶ αὐτοῖς, καὶ τῷ νόμῳ βοηθήσουσας*, the proprietors will defend themselves and the laws.

⁵⁷ Paulinus, in *Vit. Ambros.* c. 26. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, l. v. c. 26. Theodoret, l. v. c. 24.

A nation of slaves is always prepared to applaud the clemency of their master who, in the abuse of absolute power, does not proceed to the last extremes of injustice and oppression. Theodosius might undoubtedly have proposed to his pagan subjects the alternative of baptism or of death; and the eloquent Libanius has praised the moderation of a prince who never enacted, by any positive law, that all his subjects should immediately embrace and practise the religion of their sovereign.* The profession of Christianity was not made an essential qualification for the enjoyment of the civil rights of society, nor were any peculiar hardships imposed on the sectaries who credulously received the fables of Ovid and obstinately rejected the miracles of the Gospel. The palace, the schools, the army, and the senate were filled with declared and devout pagans; they obtained, without distinction, the civil and military honors of the empire.* Theodosius distinguished his liberal regard for virtue

* Libanius suggests the form of a persecuting edict which Theodosius might enact (pro Templis, p. 81): a rash joke and a dangerous experiment. Some princes would have taken his advice.

† The most remarkable instance of this, at a much later period, occurs in the person of Merobaudes, a general and a poet, who flourished in the first half of the fifth century. A statue in honor of Merobaudes was placed in the Forum of Trajan, of which the inscription is still extant. Fragments of his poems have been recovered by the industry and sagacity of Niebuhr. In one passage, Merobaudes, in the genuine heathen spirit, attributes the ruin of the empire to the abolition of paganism, and almost renews the old accusation of atheism against Christianity. He impersonates some deity, probably Discord, who summons Bellona to take arms for the destruction of Rome; and in a strain of fierce irony recommends to her, among other fatal measures, to extirpate the gods of Rome:

Roma ipsique tremant furialia murmura reges.
 Tum superos terris atque hospita numina pelle
Romanos populare Deos, et nullus in aris
Vestas exoratos fatus strue palleat ignis.
 His instructa dolis palatia celsa subibo;
 Majorum mores, et pectora prisca fugabo
 Funditus; atque simul, nullo discrimine rerum,
 Spernantur fortes, nec sit reverentia justis.
 Attica neglecto pereat facundia Phœbo:
Indignis contingat honos, et pondera rerum;
 Non virtus sed casus agat tristisque cupido;
 Pectoribus sævi demens furor æstuet auri;
Omniaque hæc sine mente Jovis, sine numine summa.

Merobaudes in Niebuhr's edit. of the Byzantines, p. 14.—M.

and genius by the consular dignity which he bestowed on Symmachus,²² and by the personal friendship which he expressed to Libanius;²³ and the two eloquent apologists of paganism were never required either to change or to dissemble their religious opinions. The pagans were indulged in the most licentious freedom of speech and writing. The historical and philosophic remains of Eunapius, Zosimus,²⁴ and the fanatic teachers of the school of Plato betray the most furious animosity, and contain the sharpest invectives, against the sentiments and conduct of their victorious adversaries. If these audacious libels were publicly known, we must applaud the good sense of the Christian princes, who viewed with a smile of contempt the last struggles of superstition and despair.²⁵ But the imperial laws which prohibited the sacrifices and ceremonies of paganism were rigidly executed; and every hour contributed to destroy the influence of a religion which was supported by custom rather than by argument. The devotion of the poet or the philosopher may be secretly nourished by prayer, meditation, and study; but the exercise of public worship appears to be the only solid foundation of the religious sentiments of

²² Denique pro meritis terrestribus æqua rependens
Munera, sacricolis summos impertit honores,
Dux bonus, et certare sinit cum laude suorum :
Nec pago implicitos per debita culmina mundi
Ire viros prohibet.^a
Ipse magistratum tibi consulis, ipse tribunal
Contulit. Prudent. in Symmach. l. 617, etc.

²³ Libanius (pro Templis, p. 32) is proud that Theodosius should thus distinguish a man who even in his *presence* would swear by Jupiter. Yet this presence seems to be no more than a figure of rhetoric.

²⁴ Zosimus, who styles himself count and ex-advocate of the treasury, reviles, with partial and indecent bigotry, the Christian princes, and even the father of his sovereign. His work must have been privately circulated, since it escaped the invectives of the ecclesiastical historians prior to Evagrius (l. iii. c. 40-41), who lived towards the end of the sixth century.^b

²⁵ Yet the pagans of Africa complained that the times would not allow them to answer with freedom the City of God; nor does St. Augustine (v. 26) deny the charge.

^a I have inserted some lines omitted by Gibbon.—M.

^b Heyne, in his *Disquisitio in Zosimum ejusque Fidem*, places Zosimus towards the close of the fifth century. Zosim. Heynii, p. xvii.—M.

the people, which derive their force from imitation and habit. The interruption of that public exercise may consummate, in the period of a few years, the important work of a national revolution. The memory of theological opinions cannot long be preserved without the artificial helps of priests, of temples, and of books.* The ignorant vulgar, whose minds are still agitated by the blind hopes and terrors of superstition, will be soon persuaded by their superiors to direct their vows to the reigning deities of the age; and will insensibly imbibe an ardent zeal for the support and propagation of the new doctrine which spiritual hunger at first compelled them to accept. The generation that arose in the world after the promulgation of the imperial laws was attracted within the pale of the Catholic Church; and so rapid, yet so gentle, was the fall of paganism that only twenty-eight years after the death of Theodosius the faint and minute vestiges were no longer visible to the eye of the legislator."

The ruin of the pagan religion is described by the sophists as a dreadful and amazing prodigy, which covered the earth with darkness and restored the ancient dominion of chaos and of night. They relate in solemn and pathetic strains that the temples were converted into sepulchres, and that the holy places, which had been adorned by the statues of the gods, were basely polluted by the relics of Christian martyrs. "The monks" (a race of filthy animals, to whom Eunapius is tempted to refuse the name of men) "are the authors of the new worship, which, in the place of those deities who are conceived by the understanding, has sub-

The worship
of the Chris-
tian martyrs.

* The Moors of Spain, who secretly preserved the Mahometan religion above a century under the tyranny of the Inquisition, possessed the Koran, with the peculiar use of the Arabic tongue. See the curious and honest story of their expulsion in Geddes (Miscellanies, vol. i. p. 1-198).

⁶⁷ Paganos qui supersunt, quanquam jam nullo esse credamus, etc.—Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. x leg. 22, A.D. 428. The younger Theodosius was afterwards satisfied that his judgment had been somewhat premature *

* The statement of Gibbon is much too strongly worded. M. Beugnot has traced the vestiges of paganism in the West after this period, in monuments and inscriptions, with curious industry. Compare likewise note, p. 260, on the more tardy progress of Christianity in the rural districts.—M.

stituted the meanest and most contemptible slaves. The heads salted and pickled, of those infamous malefactors who for the multitude of their crimes have suffered a just and ignominious death; their bodies still marked by the impression of the lash and the scars of those tortures which were inflicted by the sentence of the magistrate—such” (continues Eunapius) “as the gods which the earth produces in our days; such are the martyrs, the supreme arbitrators of our prayers and petitions to the Deity, whose tombs are now consecrated as the objects of the veneration of the people.”” Without approving the malice, it is natural enough to share the surprise of the sophist, the spectator of a revolution which raised those obscure victims of the laws of Rome to the rank of celestial and invisible protectors of the Roman empire. The grateful respect of the Christians for the martyrs of the faith was exalted, in time and victory, into religious adoration; and the most illustrious of the saints and prophets were deservedly associated to the honors of the martyrs. One hundred and fifty years after the glorious deaths of St. Peter and St. Paul, the Vatican and the Ostian road were distinguished by the tombs, or rather by the trophies, of those spiritual heroes.” In the age which followed the conversion of Constantine, the emperors, the consuls, and the generals of armies devoutly visited the sepulchre of a tentmaker and a fisherman;” and their venerable bones were deposited under the altars of Christ, on which the bishops of the royal city continually offered the unbloody sacrifice

” See Eunapius, in the *Life of the sophist Aedesius*; in that of Eustathius foretells the ruin of paganism, *καὶ τὴν μυθώδεα, καὶ ἀειδὲς σκότος τυραννῆσαι τὰ ἄνθρωπος γῆς κάλλιστα*.

” Caius (apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. ii. c. 25), a Roman presbyter, who lived the time of Zephyrinus (A.D. 202-219), is an early witness of this superstitious practice.

” Chrysostom. *Quod Christus sit Deus*. Tom. i. nov. edit. No. 9. I am indebted for this quotation to Benedict XIV.’s pastoral letter on the Jubilee of the year 1750. See the curious and entertaining letters of M. Chais, tom. iii.

” *Male facit ergo Romanus episcopus? qui, super mortuorum hominum, Petri & Pauli, secundum nos, ossa veneranda . . . offert Domino sacrificia, et tumulorum, Christi abstrahit altaria.*—Jerome, tom. ii. advers. Vigilant. p. 153 [tom. p. 395, edit. Vallars.].

The new capital of the Eastern world, unable to produce any ancient and domestic trophies, was enriched by the spoils of dependent provinces. The bodies of St. Andrew, St. Luke, and St. Timothy had reposed near three hundred years in the obscure graves from whence they were transported, in solemn pomp, to the Church of the Apostles, which the magnificence of Constantine had founded on the banks of the Thracian Bosphorus.⁷³ About fifty years afterwards the same banks were honored by the presence of Samuel, the judge and prophet of the people of Israel. His ashes, deposited in a golden vase and covered with a silken veil, were delivered by the bishops into each other's hands. The relics of Samuel were received by the people with the same joy and reverence which they would have shown to the living prophet; the highways, from Palestine to the gates of Constantinople, were filled with an uninterrupted procession; and the Emperor Arcadius himself, at the head of the most illustrious members of the clergy and senate, advanced to meet his extraordinary guest, who had always deserved and claimed the homage of kings.⁷⁴ The example of Rome and Constantinople confirmed the faith and discipline of the Catholic world. The honors of the saints and martyrs, after a feeble and ineffectual murmur of profane reason,⁷⁵ were universally established; and in the age of Ambrose and Jerome something was still deemed wanting to the sanctity of a Christian Church, till it had been consecrated by some portion of

⁷³ Jerome (tom. ii. p. 122 [*contra Vigilant.* c. 5, tom. ii. p. 391, edit. Vallars.]) bears witness to these translations, which are neglected by the ecclesiastical historians. The passion of St. Andrew at Patræ is described in an epistle from the clergy of Achaia, which Baronius (*Annal. Eccles.* a. d. 60, No. 34) wishes to believe and Tillemont is forced to reject. St. Andrew was adopted as the spiritual founder of Constantinople (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. i. p. 317-323, 588-594).

⁷⁴ Jerome (tom. ii. p. 122 (l. c. edit. Vallars.)) pompously describes the translation of Samuel, which is noticed in all the chronicles of the times.

⁷⁵ The presbyter Vigilantius, the Protestant of his age, firmly, though ineffectually, withstood the superstition of monks, relics, saints, fasts, etc., for which Jerome compares him to the Hydra, Cerberus, the Centaurs, etc., and considers him only as the organ of the demon (tom. ii. p. 120-126 [tom. ii. p. 387-402, edit. Vallars.]). Whoever will peruse the controversy of St. Jerome and Vigilantius, and St. Augustine's account of the miracles of St. Stephen, may speedily gain some idea of the spirit of the Fathers.

holy relics, which fixed and inflamed the devotion of the faithful. In the long period of twelve hundred years which elapsed between the reign of Constantine and the Reformation of Luther, the worship of saints and corrupted the pure and perfect simplicity of the Christian model; and some symptoms of degeneracy may be observed even in the first generations which adopted and cherished this pernicious innovation.

I. The satisfactory experience that the relics of saints were more valuable than gold or precious stones⁷⁵ stimulated the clergy to multiply the treasures of the Church. Without much regard for truth or probability, they invented names for skeletons, and actions for names. The fame of the apostles, and of the holy men who had imitated their virtues, was darkened by religious fiction. To this invincible band of genuine and primitive martyrs they added myriads of imaginary heroes, who had never existed except in the fancy of crafty or credulous legendaries; and there is reason to suspect that Tours might not be the only diocese in which the bones of a malefactor were adored instead of the of a saint.⁷⁶ A superstitious practice, which tended to increase the temptations of fraud and credulity, insensibly extinguished the light of history and of reason in the Christian world.

II. But the progress of superstition would have been much less rapid and victorious if the faith of the people had not been assisted by the seasonable aid of visions and miracles to ascertain the authenticity and virtue of the most suspicious relics. In the reign of the younger Theodosius II. Lucian,⁷⁷ a presbyter of Jerusalem, and the ecclesiastical mir

⁷⁵ M. de Beausobre (*Hist. du Manichéisme*, tom. ii. p. 648) has applied a wrong sense to the pious observation of the clergy of Smyrna, who carefully preserved the relics of St. Polycarp the martyr.

⁷⁶ Martin of Tours (see his Life, c. 8, by Sulpicius Severus) extorted this confession from the mouth of the dead man. The error is allowed to be natural; the discovery is supposed to be miraculous. Which of the two was likely to happen most frequently?

⁷⁷ Lucian composed in Greek his original narrative, which has been translated by Avitus, and published by Baronius (*Annal. Eccles.* A. D. 415, No. 7-16). Benedictine editors of St. Augustine have given (at the end of the work *De Civili*

ter of the village of Caphargamala, about twenty miles from the city, related a very singular dream, which, to remove his doubts, had been repeated on three successive Saturdays. A venerable figure stood before him, in the silence of the night, with a long beard, a white robe, and a gold rod; announced himself by the name of Gamaliel; and revealed to the astonished presbyter that his own corpse, with the bodies of his son Abibas, his friend Nicodemus, and the illustrious Stephen, the first martyr of the Christian faith, were secretly buried in the adjacent field. He added, with some impatience, that it was time to release himself and his companions from their obscure prison; that their appearance would be salutary to a distressed world; and that they had made choice of Lucian to inform the Bishop of Jerusalem of their situation and their wishes. The doubts and difficulties which still retarded this important discovery were successively removed by new visions; and the ground was opened by the bishop, in the presence of an innumerable multitude. The coffins of Gamaliel, of his son, and of his friend were found in regular order; but when the fourth coffin, which contained the remains of Stephen, was shown to the light, the earth trembled, and an odor such as that of paradise was smelled, which instantly cured the various diseases of seventy-three of the assistants. The companions of Stephen were left in their peaceful residence of Caphargamala; but the relics of the first martyr were transported, in solemn procession, to a church constructed in their honor on Mount Sion; and the minute particles of those relics—a drop of blood,^a or the scrapings of a bone—were acknowledged, in almost every province of the Roman world, to possess a divine and miraculous virtue. The grave and learned Augustine,^b

Dei) two several copies, with many various readings. It is the character of falsehood to be loose and inconsistent. The most incredible parts of the legend are smoothed and softened by Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclés. tom. ii. p. 9, etc.*).

^a A phial of St. Stephen's blood was annually liquefied at Naples till he was superseded by St. Januarius (*Ruinart, Hist. Persecut. Vandal. p. 529*).

^b Augustine composed the two-and-twenty books *De Civitate Dei* in the space of thirteen years, A.D. 413–426 (*Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. xiv p. 608, etc.*).^c

^c According to Clinton, he was a still longer time engaged upon its composition, A.D. 411–428. *Fast. Rom. vol. ii. p. 465.—S.*

whose understanding scarcely admits the excuse of credulity, has attested the innumerable prodigies which were performed in Africa by the relics of St. Stephen; and this marvellous narrative is inserted in the elaborate work of the City of God, which the Bishop of Hippo designed as a solid and immortal proof of the truth of Christianity. Augustine solemnly declares that he has selected those miracles only which were publicly certified by the persons who were either the objects or the spectators of the power of the martyr. Many prodigies were omitted or forgotten; and Hippo had been less favorably treated than the other cities of the province. And yet the bishop enumerates above seventy miracles, of which three were resurrections from the dead, in the space of two years and within the limits of his own diocese.⁸⁰ If we enlarge our view to all the dioceses and all the saints of the Christian world, it will not be easy to calculate the fables and the errors which issued from this inexhaustible source. But we may surely be allowed to observe that a miracle in that age of superstition and credulity lost its name and its merit, since it could scarcely be considered as a deviation from the ordinary and established laws of nature.

III. The innumerable miracles of which the tombs of the martyrs were the perpetual theatre revealed to the pious believer the actual state and constitution of the invisible world; and his religious speculations appeared to be founded on the firm basis of fact and experience. Whatever might be the condition of vulgar souls in the long interval between the dissolution and the resurrection of their bodies, it was evident that the superior spirits of the saints and martyrs did not consume that portion of their exist-

III. Revival
of polythe-
ism.

His learning is too often borrowed, and his arguments are too often his own; but the whole work claims the merit of a magnificent design, vigorously, and not unskillfully, executed.

⁸⁰ See Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, l. xxii. c. 22, and the Appendix, which contains two books of St. Stephen's miracles, by Evodius, Bishop of Uzalis. Freculphus (apud Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, tom. viii. p. 249) has preserved a Gallic or Spanish proverb—"Whoever pretends to have read all the miracles of St. Stephen, he lies."

ence in silent and inglorious sleep."²¹ It was evident (without presuming to determine the place of their habitation or the nature of their felicity) that they enjoyed the lively and active consciousness of their happiness, their virtue, and their powers; and that they had already secured the possession of their eternal reward. The enlargement of their intellectual faculties surpassed the measure of the human imagination; since it was proved by *experience* that they were capable of hearing and understanding the various petitions of their numerous votaries, who, in the same moment of time, but in the most distant parts of the world, invoked the name and assistance of Stephen or of Martin."²² The confidence of their petitioners was founded on the persuasion that the saints who reigned with Christ cast an eye of pity upon earth; that they were warmly interested in the prosperity of the Catholic Church; and that the individuals who imitated the example of their faith and piety were the peculiar and favorite objects of their most tender regard. Sometimes, indeed, their friendship might be influenced by considerations of a less exalted kind. They viewed with partial affection the places which had been consecrated by their birth, their residence, their death, their burial, or the possession of their relics. The meaner passions of pride, avarice, and revenge may be deemed unworthy of a

²¹ Burnet (*De Statu Mortuorum*, p. 56-84) collects the opinions of the Fathers, as far as they assert the sleep or repose of human souls till the day of judgment. He afterwards exposes (p. 91, etc.) the inconveniences which must arise if they possessed a more active and sensible existence.*

²² Vigilantius placed the souls of the prophets and martyrs either in the bosom of Abraham ("in loco refrigerii"), or else under the altar of God. "*Nec posse [de] suis tumultis et ubi voluerint adesse presentes.*" But Jerome (tom. ii. p. 122 [tom. ii. p. 392, edit. Vallars.]) sternly refutes this *blasphemy*. "*Tu Deo leges pones? Tu apostolis vincula injicies, ut usque ad diem judicii teneantur custodiri nec sint cum Domino suo; de quibus scriptum est, Sequuntur Agnum quocunque vadit. Si Agnus ubique, ergo, et hi, qui cum Agno sunt, ubique esse credendi sunt. Et cum diabolus et dæmones toto vagantur in orbe,*" etc.

* The notion that the soul after death fell into a state of sleep till the day of judgment is said to have been of Arabian origin. It was entertained at one time by Erasmus, and by Sir T. Browne in his *Religio Medici*. Calvin wrote his tract entitled *Psychopannychi* against it. See Dyer's *Life of Calvin*, p. 29. The 40th article of the Church of England (1552) was directed against it.—S.

celestial breast; yet the saints themselves condescended to testify their grateful approbation of the liberality of their votaries; and the sharpest bolts of punishment were hurled against those impious wretches who violated their magnificent shrine or disbelieved their supernatural power.⁸³ Atrocious, indeed must have been the guilt, and strange would have been the scepticism, of those men if they had obstinately resisted the proofs of a divine agency, which the elements, the whole range of the animal creation, and even the subtle and invisible operations of the human mind, were compelled to obey.⁸⁴ The immediate and almost instantaneous effects that were supposed to follow the prayer or the offence satisfied the Christians of the ample measure of favor and authority which the saints enjoyed in the presence of the Supreme God; and it seemed almost superfluous to inquire whether they were continually obliged to intercede before the throne of grace, or whether they might not be permitted to exercise, according to the dictates of their benevolence and justice, the delegated powers of their subordinate ministry. The imagination, which had been raised by a painful effort to the contemplation and worship of the Universal Cause, eagerly embraced such inferior objects of adoration as were more proportioned to its gross conception and imperfect faculties. The sublime and simple theology of the primitive Christians was gradually corrupted; and the MONARCHY of heaven, already clouded by metaphysical subtleties, was degraded by the introduction of a popular mythology which tended to restore the reign of polytheism.⁸⁵

IV. As the objects of religion were gradually reduced to the standard of the imagination, the rites and ceremonies were introduced that seemed most powerfully to affect the senses of the

⁸³ Fleury, *Discours sur l'Hist. Ecclésiastique*, iii. p. 80.

⁸⁴ At Minorca, the relics of St. Stephen converted in eight days 540 Jews; with the help, indeed, of some wholesome severities, such as burning the synagogues driving the obstinate infidels to starve among the rocks, etc. See the original letter of Severus, Bishop of Minorca (ad calcem St. Augustin. de Civ. Dei), and the judicious remarks of Basnage (tom. viii. p. 245-251).

⁸⁵ Mr. Hume (*Essays*, vol. ii. p. 484) observes, like a philosopher, the natural flux and reflux of polytheism and theism.

vulgar If, in the beginning of the fifth century,⁶⁶ Tertullian or Lactantius⁶⁷ had been suddenly raised from the dead to assist at the festival of some popular saint or martyr,⁶⁸ they would have gazed with astonishment and indignation on the profane spectacle which had succeeded to the pure and spiritual worship of a Christian congregation. As soon as the doors of the church were thrown open, they must have been offended by the smoke of incense, the perfume of flowers, and the glare of lamps and tapers, which diffused at noonday a gaudy, superfluous, and, in their opinion, a sacrilegious light. If they approached the balustrade of the altar, they made their way through the prostrate crowd, consisting, for the most part, of strangers and pilgrims who resorted to the city on the vigil of the feast, and who already felt the strong intoxication of fanaticism, and perhaps of wine. Their devout kisses were imprinted on the walls and pavement of the sacred edifice; and their fervent prayers were directed, whatever might be the language of their Church, to the bones, the blood, or the ashes of the saint, which were usually concealed by a linen or silken veil from the eyes of the vulgar. The Christians frequented the tombs of the martyrs, in the hope of obtaining from their powerful intercession every sort of spiritual, but more especially of temporal, blessings. They implored the preservation of their health, or the cure of their infirmities; the fruitfulness of their barren wives, or the safety and happiness of their children. Whenever they undertook any distant or dangerous journey, they requested that

⁶⁶ D'Anbigné (see his own *Mémoires*, p. 156-160) frankly offered, with the consent of the Huguenot ministers, to allow the first 400 years as the rule of faith. The Cardinal du Perron haggled for forty years more, which were indiscreetly given. Yet neither party would have found their account in this foolish bargain.

⁶⁷ The worship practised and inculcated by Tertullian, Lactantius, Arnobius, etc., is so *extremely* pure and spiritual that their declamations against the pagan sometimes glance against the Jewish ceremonies.

⁶⁸ Faustus the Manichæan accuses the Catholics of idolatry. "*Vertitis idola in martyres . . . quos votis similibus colitis.*" M. de Beausobre (*Hist. Critique du Manichéisme*, tom. ii. p. 629-700), a Protestant, but a philosopher, has represented with candor and learning the introduction of *Christian idolatry* in the fourth and fifth centuries.

the holy martyrs would be their guides and protectors on the road; and if they returned without having experienced any misfortune, they again hastened to the tombs of the martyrs, to celebrate with grateful thanksgivings their obligations to the memory and relics of those heavenly patrons. The walls were hung round with symbols of the favors which they had received—eyes and hands and feet of gold and silver; and edifying pictures, which could not long escape the abuse of indiscreet or idolatrous devotion, represented the image, the attributes, and the miracles of the tutelar saint. The same uniform original spirit of superstition might suggest, in the most distant ages and countries, the same methods of deceiving the credulity and of affecting the senses of mankind;⁹⁹ but it must ingenuously be confessed that the ministers of the Catholic Church imitated the profane model which they were impatient to destroy. The most respectable bishops had persuaded themselves that the ignorant rustics would more cheerfully renounce the superstitions of paganism if they found some resemblance, some compensation, in the bosom of Christianity. The religion of Constantine achieved, in less than a century, the final conquest of the Roman empire; but the victors themselves were insensibly subdued by the arts of their vanquished rivals.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ The resemblance of superstition, which could not be imitated, might be traced from Japan to Mexico. Warburton has seized this idea, which he distorts by rendering it too general and absolute (*Divine Legation*, vol. iv. p. 126, etc.).

¹⁰⁰ The imitation of paganism is the subject of Dr. Middleton's agreeable letter from Rome. Warburton's animadversions obliged him to connect (vol. iii. p. 120-132) the history of the two religions, and to prove the antiquity of the Christian copy.

* But there was always this important difference between Christian and heathen polytheism: in paganism this was the whole religion; in the darkest ages of Christianity, some, however obscure and vague, Christian notions of future retribution, of the life after death, lurked at the bottom, and operated, to a certain extent, on the thoughts and feelings, sometimes on the actions.—M.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Final Division of the Roman Empire between the Sons of Theodosius.—Reign of Arcadius and Honorius.—Administration of Rufinus and Stalicho.—Revolt and Defeat of Gildo in Africa.

THE genius of Rome expired with Theodosius, the last of the successors of Augustus and Constantine who appeared in the field at the head of their armies, and whose authority was universally acknowledged throughout the whole extent of the empire. The memory of his virtues still continued, however, to protect the feeble and inexperienced youth of his two sons. After the death of their father, Arcadius and Honorius were saluted, by the unanimous consent of mankind, as the lawful emperors of the East and of the West; and the oath of fidelity was eagerly taken by every order of the State—the senates of old and new Rome, the clergy, the magistrates, the soldiers, and the people. Arcadius, who then was about eighteen years of age, was born in Spain, in the humble habitation of a private family. But he received a princely education in the palace of Constantinople; and his inglorious life was spent in that peaceful and splendid seat of royalty, from whence he appeared to reign over the provinces of Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, from the Lower Danube to the confines of Persia and Æthiopia. His younger brother, Honorius, assumed, in the eleventh year of his age, the nominal government of Italy, Africa, Gaul, Spain, and Britain; and the troops which guarded the frontiers of his kingdom were opposed on one side to the Caledonians, and on the other to the Moors. The great and martial præfecture of Illyricum was divided between the two princes. The defence and possession of the provinces of Noricum, Pannonia, and Dalmatia still belonged to the Western empire; but the two large dioceses of Dacia

Division of
the empire
between
Arcadius and
Honorius.
A.D. 395.
Jan. 17.

and Macedonia, which Gratian had intrusted to the valor of Theodosius, were forever united to the empire of the East. The boundary in Europe was not very different from the line which now separates the Germans and the Turks; and the respective advantages of territory, riches, populousness, and military strength were fairly balanced and compensated in this final and permanent division of the Roman empire. The hereditary sceptre of the sons of Theodosius appeared to be the gift of nature and of their father; the generals and ministers had been accustomed to adore the majesty of the royal infants; and the army and people were not admonished of their rights and of their power by the dangerous example of a recent election. The gradual discovery of the weakness of Arcadius and Honorius, and the repeated calamities of their reign, were not sufficient to obliterate the deep and early impressions of loyalty. The subjects of Rome, who still revered the persons, or rather the names, of their sovereigns, beheld with equal abhorrence the rebels who opposed, and the ministers who abused, the authority of the throne.

Theodosius had tarnished the glory of his reign by the elevation of Rufinus, an odious favorite, who in an age of civil and religious faction has deserved, from every party, the imputation of every crime. The strong impulse of ambition and avarice¹ had urged Rufinus to abandon his native country, ~~an~~ obscure corner of Gaul,* to advance his fortune in the capital of the East. The talent of bold and ready elocution² qualified him to succeed in the lucrative profession of the law; and his success in that profession was a regular step to the most honorable and impor-

Character
and adminis-
tration of
Rufinus.
A.D. 386-395.

¹ *Alecto*, envious of the public felicity, convenes an infernal synod; *Megara* recommends her pupil Rufinus, and excites him to deeds of mischief, etc. But there is as much difference between Claudian's fury and that of Virgil as between the characters of Turnus and Rufinus.

² It is evident (Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* tom v. p. 770), though De Marca is ashamed of his countryman. that Rufinus was born at Elusa, the metropolis of Novempopulania, now a small village of Gascony (D'Anville, *Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule*, p. 289).

³ *Philostorgius*, l. xi. c. 3, with Godefroy's Dissert. p. 440.

tant employments of the State. He was raised by just degrees to the station of master of the offices. In the exercise of his various functions, so essentially connected with the whole system of civil government, he acquired the confidence of a monarch who soon discovered his diligence and capacity in business, and who long remained ignorant of the pride, the malice, and the covetousness of his disposition. These vices were concealed beneath the mask of profound dissimulation; his passions were subservient only to the passions of his master; yet, in the horrid massacre of Thessalonica, the cruel Rufinus inflamed the fury, without imitating the repentance, of Theodosius. The minister, who viewed with proud indifference the rest of mankind, never forgave the appearance of an injury; and his personal enemies had forfeited, in his opinion, the merit of all public services. Promotus, the master-general of the infantry, had saved the empire from the invasion of the Ostrogoths; but he indignantly supported the pre-eminence of a rival whose character and profession he despised; and, in the midst of a public council, the impatient soldier was provoked to chastise with a blow the indecent pride of the favorite. This act of violence was represented to the emperor as an insult which it was incumbent on *his* dignity to resent. The disgrace and exile of Promotus were signified by a peremptory order to repair without delay to a military station on the banks of the Danube; and the death of that general (though he was slain in a skirmish with the barbarians) was imputed to the perfidious arts of Rufinus.* The sacrifice of a hero gratified his revenge; the honors of the consulship elated his vanity; but his power was still imperfect and precarious as long as the important posts of Præfect of the East and of Præfect of Constantinople were filled by Tatian* and his son Proculus, whose united authority bal-

* A passage of Suidas is expressive of his profound dissimulation: *βαθυγνώμων ἄνθρωπος καὶ κρυφίνους*.

* Zosimus, l. iv. [c. 51] p. 272, 273.

* Zosimus, who describes the fall of Tatian and his son (l. iv. [c. 52] p. 273, 274), asserts their innocence; and even *his* testimony may outweigh the charges of their enemies (Cod. Theod. tom. iv. p. 489), who accuse them of oppressing the

anced for some time the ambition and favor of the master of the offices. The two præfects were accused of rapine and corruption in the administration of the laws and finances. For the trial of these illustrious offenders the emperor constituted a special commission. Several judges were named to share the guilt and reproach of injustice; but the right of pronouncing sentence was reserved to the president alone, and that president was Rufinus himself. The father, stripped of the Præfecture of the East, was thrown into a dungeon; but the son, conscious that few ministers can be found innocent where an enemy is their judge, had secretly escaped; and Rufinus must have been satisfied with the least obnoxious victim, if despotism had not condescended to employ the basest and most ungenerous artifice. The prosecution was conducted with an appearance of equity and moderation which flattered Tatian with the hope of a favorable event. His confidence was fortified by the solemn assurances and perfidious oaths of the president, who presumed to interpose the sacred name of Theodosius himself; and the unhappy father was at last persuaded to recall, by a private letter, the fugitive Proculus. He was instantly seized, examined, condemned, and beheaded, in one of the suburbs of Constantinople, with a precipitation which disappointed the clemency of the emperor. Without respecting the misfortunes of a consular senator, the cruel judges of Tatian compelled him to behold the execution of his son. The fatal cord was fastened round his own neck; but in the moment when he expected, and perhaps desired, the relief of a speedy death, he was permitted to consume the miserable remnant of his old age in poverty and exile.* The punishment

Curia. The connection of Tatian with the Arians while he was Præfect of Egypt (A.D. 373) inclines Tillemont to believe that he was guilty of every crime (*Hist. des Emp.* tom. v. p. 360; *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vi. p. 589).

†

——— Juvenum rorantia colla
Ante patrum vultus strictâ cecidere securi.
Ibat grandævus nato moriente superstes
Post trabeas exsul.

In *Rufin.* i. 248.

The facts of Zosimus explain the *allusions* of Claudian; but his classic interpreters were ignorant of the fourth century. The *fatal cord* I found, with the help of Tillemont, in a sermon of St. Asterius of Amasea.

of the two præfects might perhaps be excused by the exceptionable parts of their own conduct; the enmity of Rufinus might be palliated by the jealous and unsociable nature of ambition. But he indulged a spirit of revenge, equally repugnant to prudence and to justice, when he degraded their native country of Lycia from the rank of Roman provinces, stigmatized a guiltless people with a mark of ignominy, and declared that the countrymen of Tatian and Proculus should forever remain incapable of holding any employment of honor or advantage under the imperial government.* The new Præfect of the East (for Rufinus instantly succeeded to the vacant honors of his adversary) was not diverted, however, by the most criminal pursuits from the performance of the religious duties which in that age were considered as the most essential to salvation. In the suburb of Chalcedon, surnamed the *Oak*, he had built a magnificent villa, to which he devoutly added a stately church consecrated to the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and continually sanctified by the prayers and penance of a regular society of monks. A numerous and almost general synod of the bishops of the Eastern empire was summoned to celebrate at the same time the dedication of the church and the baptism of the founder. This double ceremony was performed with extraordinary pomp; and when Rufinus was purified in the holy font from all the sins that he had hitherto committed, a venerable hermit of Egypt rashly proposed himself as the sponsor of a proud and ambitious statesman.†

* This odious law is recited and repealed by Arcadius (A.D. 396), in the Theodosian Code, l. ix. tit. xxxviii. leg. 9. The sense, as it is explained by Claudian (in *Rufin.* i. 282) and Godefroy (tom. iii. p. 279), is perfectly clear.

— Exscindere cives
Funditus, et nomen gentis delere laborat.

The scruples of Pagi and Tillemont can arise only from their zeal for the glory of Theodosius.

† “Ammonius . . . Rufinum propriis manibus suscepit sacro fonte mundatum.” See Rosweyde’s *Vitæ Patrum*, p. 947. [Heraclidis Paradisus in *Append. ad Vit. Patr.* p. 941 b.] Sozomen (l. viii. c. 17) mentions the church and monastery; and Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. ix. p. 598) records this synod, in which St. Gregory of Nyssa performed a conspicuous part.

The character of Theodosius imposed on his minister the task of hypocrisy, which disguised, and sometimes restrained, the abuse of power; and Rufinus was apprehensive of disturbing the indolent slumber of a prince still capable of exerting the abilities and the virtue which had raised him to the throne.¹⁰ But the absence, and soon afterwards the death, of the emperor confirmed the absolute authority of Rufinus over the person and dominions of Arcadius, a feeble youth, whom the imperious præfect considered as his pupil rather than his sovereign. Regardless of the public opinion, he indulged his passions without remorse and without resistance; and his malignant and rapacious spirit rejected every passion that might have contributed to his own glory or the happiness of the people. His avarice,¹¹ which seems to have prevailed in his corrupt mind over every other sentiment, attracted the wealth of the East by the various arts of partial and general extortion — oppressive taxes, scandalous bribery, immoderate fines, unjust confiscations, forced or fictitious testaments, by which the tyrant despoiled of their lawful inheritance the children of strangers or enemies; and the public sale of justice as well as of favor which he instituted in the palace of Constantinople. The ambitious candidate eagerly solicited, at the expense of the fairest part of his patrimony, the honors and emoluments of some provincial government; the lives and fortunes of the unhappy people were abandoned

¹⁰ Montesquieu (*Esprit des Loix*, l. xii. ch. 12) praises one of the laws of Theodosius, addressed to the præfect Rufinus (l. ix. tit. iv. leg. unic.), to discourage the prosecution of treasonable or sacrilegious words. A tyrannical statute always proves the existence of tyranny; but a laudable edict may only contain the specious professions or ineffectual wishes of the prince or his ministers. This, I am afraid, is a just though mortifying canon of criticism.

¹¹

—— fluctibus auri

Experi calor ille nequit ———

Congestæ cumulantur opes; orbisque rapinas
Accipit una domus.

This character (Claudian, in *Rufin.* i. 184–220) is confirmed by Jerome, a disinterested witness ("dedecus insatiabilis avaritiæ," tom. i. ad *Heliodor.* p. 26 [*Epist. ix.* tom. i. p. 342, edit. Vallars.]), by Zosimus (l. v. [c. 1] p. 286), and by Suidas, who copied the history of Eunapius.

to the most liberal purchaser; and the public discontent was sometimes appeased by the sacrifice of an unpopular criminal, whose punishment was profitable only to the Præfect of the East, his accomplice and his judge. If avarice were not the blindest of the human passions, the motives of Rufinus might excite our curiosity, and we might be tempted to inquire with what view he violated every principle of humanity and justice to accumulate those immense treasures which he could not spend without folly nor possess without danger. Perhaps he vainly imagined that he labored for the interest of an only daughter, on whom he intended to bestow his royal pupil and the august rank of Empress of the East. Perhaps he deceived himself by the opinion that his avarice was the instrument of his ambition. He aspired to place his fortune on a secure and independent basis, which should no longer depend on the caprice of the young emperor; yet he neglected to conciliate the hearts of the soldiers and people by the liberal distribution of those riches which he had acquired with so much toil and with so much guilt. The extreme parsimony of Rufinus left him only the reproach and envy of ill-gotten wealth; his dependents served him without attachment; the universal hatred of mankind was repressed only by the influence of servile fear. The fate of Lucian proclaimed to the East that the præfect, whose industry was much abated in the despatch of ordinary business, was active and indefatigable in the pursuit of revenge. Lucian, the son of the præfect Florentius, the oppressor of Gaul and the enemy of Julian, had employed a considerable part of his inheritance—the fruit of rapine and corruption—to purchase the friendship of Rufinus and the high office of Count of the East. But the new magistrate imprudently departed from the maxims of the court and of the times, disgraced his benefactor by the contrast of a virtuous and temperate administration, and presumed to refuse an act of injustice which might have tended to the profit of the emperor's uncle. Arcadius was easily persuaded to resent the supposed insult; and the Præfect of the East resolved to execute in person the cruel vengeance which he meditated against this ungrateful delegate of his power. He performed with

incessant speed the journey of seven or eight hundred miles from Constantinople to Antioch, entered the capital of Syria at the dead of night, and spread universal consternation among a people ignorant of his design, but not ignorant of his character. The count of the fifteen provinces of the East was dragged, like the vilest malefactor, before the arbitrary tribunal of Rufinus. Notwithstanding the clearest evidence of his integrity, which was not impeached even by the voice of an accuser, Lucian was condemned, almost without a trial, to suffer a cruel and ignominious punishment. The ministers of the tyrant, by the order and in the presence of their master, beat him on the neck with leather thongs armed at the extremities with lead; and when he fainted under the violence of the pain, he was removed in a close litter, to conceal his dying agonies from the eyes of the indignant city. No sooner had Rufinus perpetrated this inhuman act, the sole object of his expedition, than he returned, amidst the deep and silent curses of a trembling people, from Antioch to Constantinople; and his diligence was accelerated by the hope of accomplishing, without delay, the nuptials of his daughter with the Emperor of the East.¹³

But Rufinus soon experienced that a prudent minister should constantly secure his royal captive by the strong though invisible chain of habit; and that the merit, and much more easily the favor, of the absent are obliterated in a short time from the mind of a weak and capricious sovereign. While the præfect satiated his revenge at Antioch, a secret conspiracy of the favorite eunuchs, directed by the great chamberlain Eutropius, undermined his power in the palace of Constantinople. They discovered that Arcadius was not inclined to love the daughter of Rufinus, who had been chosen without his consent for his bride, and they contrived to substitute in her place the fair Endoxia, the

He is disappointed by the marriage of Arcadius.
A.D. 395.
April 27.

¹³

——— Cætera segnis;

Ad facinus velox; penitus regione remotas
Impiger ire vias.

This allusion of Claudian (in *Rufin.* i. 241) is again explained by the circumstantial narrative of Zosimus (l. v. [c. 2] p. 288, 289).

daughter of Bauto,¹³ a general of the Franks in the service of Rome, and who was educated, since the death of her father, in the family of the sons of Promotus. The young emperor, whose chastity had been strictly guarded by the pious care of his tutor Arsenius,¹⁴ eagerly listened to the artful and flattering descriptions of the charms of Eudoxia. He gazed with impatient ardor on her picture, and he understood the necessity of concealing his amorous designs from the knowledge of a minister who was so deeply interested to oppose the consummation of his happiness. Soon after the return of Rufinus, the approaching ceremony of the royal nuptials was announced to the people of Constantinople, who prepared to celebrate with false and hollow acclamations the fortune of his daughter. A splendid train of eunuchs and officers issued, in hymeneal pomp, from the gates of the palace, bearing aloft the diadem, the robes, and the inestimable ornaments of the future empress. The solemn procession passed through the streets of the city, which were adorned with garlands and filled with spectators; but when it reached the house of the sons of Promotus, the principal eunuch respectfully entered the mansion, invested the fair Eudoxia with the imperial robes, and conducted her in triumph to the palace and bed of Arcadius.¹⁵ The secrecy and success with which this conspiracy against Rufinus had been conducted imprinted a mark of indelible ridicule on the character of a minister who had suffered himself to be deceived in a post where the arts of deceit and dissimulation constitute the most distinguished merit. He con-

¹³ Zosimus (l. iv. [c. 33] p. 243) praises the valor, prudence, and integrity of Bauto the Frank. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 771.

¹⁴ Arsenius escaped from the palace of Constantinople, and passed fifty-five years in rigid penance in the monasteries of Egypt. See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. xiv. p. 676-702; and Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* tom. v. p. 1, etc.; but the latter, for want of authentic materials, has given too much credit to the legend of *Metaphrastes*.

¹⁵ This story (Zosimus, l. v. [c. 8] p. 290) proves that the hymeneal rites of antiquity were still practised, without idolatry, by the Christians of the East, and the bride was *forcibly* conducted from the house of her parents to that of her husband. Our form of marriage requires, with less delicacy, the express and public consent of a virgin.

sidered, with a mixture of indignation and fear, the victory of an aspiring eunuch who had secretly captivated the favor of his sovereign; and the disgrace of his daughter, whose interest was inseparably connected with his own, wounded the tenderness, or at least the pride, of Rufinus. At the moment when he flattered himself that he should become the father of a line of kings, a foreign maid, who had been educated in the house of his implacable enemies, was introduced into the imperial bed; and Eudoxia soon displayed a superiority of sense and spirit to improve the ascendant which her beauty must acquire over the mind of a fond and youthful husband. The emperor would soon be instructed to hate, to fear, and to destroy the powerful subject whom he had injured; and the consciousness of guilt deprived Rufinus of every hope, either of safety or comfort, in the retirement of a private life. But he still possessed the most effectual means of defending his dignity, and, perhaps, of oppressing his enemies. The præfect still exercised an uncontrolled authority over the civil and military government of the East; and his treasures, if he could resolve to use them, might be employed to procure proper instruments for the execution of the blackest designs that pride, ambition, and revenge could suggest to a desperate statesman. The character of Rufinus seemed to justify the accusations that he conspired against the person of his sovereign to seat himself on the vacant throne; and that he had secretly invited the Huns and the Goths to invade the provinces of the empire and to increase the public confusion. The subtle præfect, whose life had been spent in the intrigues of the palace, opposed with equal arms the artful measures of the eunuch Eutropius; but the timid soul of Rufinus was astonished by the hostile approach of a more formidable rival—of the great Stilicho—the general, or rather the master, of the empire of the West.¹⁸

The celestial gift, which Achilles obtained and Alexander

¹⁸ Zosimus (l. v. [c. 4] p. 290), Orosius (l. vii. c. 37), and the Chronicle of Marcellinus. Claudian (in *Rufin.* ii. 7-100) paints in lively colors the distress and guilt of the præfect.

envied, of a poet worthy to celebrate the actions of heroes has been enjoyed by Stilicho in a much higher degree than might have been expected from the declining state of genius and of art. The muse of Claudian,¹⁷ devoted to his service, was always prepared to stigmatize his adversaries, Rufinus or Eutropius, with eternal infamy; or to paint in the most splendid colors the victories and virtues of a powerful benefactor. In the review of a period indifferently supplied with authentic materials, we cannot refuse to illustrate the annals of Honorius from the invectives or the panegyrics of a contemporary writer; but as Claudian appears to have indulged the most ample privilege of a poet and a courtier, some criticism will be requisite to translate the language of fiction or exaggeration into the truth and simplicity of historic prose. His silence concerning the family of Stilicho may be admitted as a proof that his patron was neither able nor desirous to boast of a long series of illustrious progenitors; and the slight mention of his father, an officer of barbarian cavalry in the service of Valens, seems to countenance the assertion that the general who so long commanded the armies of Rome was descended from the savage and perfidious race of the Vandals.¹⁸ If Stilicho had not possessed the external advantages of strength and stature, the most flattering bard, in the presence of so many thousand spectators, would have hesitated to affirm that he surpassed the measure of the demi-gods of antiquity; and that whenever he moved with lofty steps through the streets of the capital, the astonished crowd made room for the stranger who displayed, in a private condition, the awful majesty of a hero. From his earliest youth he embraced the profession of arms. His prudence and valor were soon distinguished in the field; the horsemen and archers of the East admired his superior dexterity; and

¹⁷ Stilicho, directly or indirectly, is the perpetual theme of Claudian. The youth and private life of the hero are vaguely expressed in the poem on his first consulship, 35-140.

¹⁸ *Vandalorum imbellis, avaræ, perfidæ, et dolosæ gentis genere editus.*—Orosius, l. vii. c. 38. Jerome (tom. i. ad Gerontium, p. 98) calls him a semi-barbarian.

in each degree of his military promotions, the public judgment always prevented and approved the choice of the sovereign. He was named by Theodosius to ratify a solemn treaty with the monarch of Persia; he supported, during that important embassy, the dignity of the Roman name; and, after his return to Constantinople, his merit was rewarded by an intimate and honorable alliance with the imperial family. Theodosius had been prompted, by a pious motive of fraternal affection, to adopt for his own the daughter of his brother Honorius. The beauty and accomplishments of Serena¹⁹ were universally admired by the obsequious court; and Stilicho obtained the preference over a crowd of rivals who ambitiously disputed the hand of the princess and the favor of her adoptive father.²⁰ The assurance that the husband of Serena would be faithful to the throne which he was permitted to approach engaged the emperor to exalt the fortunes and to employ the abilities of the sagacious and intrepid Stilicho. He rose through the successive steps of master of the horse and count of the domestics to the supreme rank of master-general of all the cavalry and infantry of the Roman, or at least of the Western, empire;²¹ and his enemies confessed that he invariably disdained to barter for gold the rewards of merit, or to defraud the soldiers of the pay and gratifications which they deserved or claimed from the liberality of the State.²² The valor and conduct which he afterwards displayed in the defence of Italy against the arms of Alaric and Radagaisus

His military
command.
A.D. 385-408.

¹⁹ Claudian, in an imperfect poem, has drawn a fair, perhaps a flattering, portrait of Serena. That favorite niece of Theodosius was born, as well as her sister Thermantia, in Spain, from whence, in their earliest youth, they were honorably conducted to the palace of Constantinople.

²⁰ Some doubt may be entertained whether this adoption was legal or only metaphorical (see Ducange, *Fam. Byzant.* p. 75). An old inscription gives Stilicho the singular title of *Pro-gener Divi Theodosii*.

²¹ Claudian (*Laus Serenæ*, 190, 193) expresses, in poetic language, the “*dilectus equorum*,” and the “*gemino mox idem culmine duxit agmina*.” The inscription adds, “count of the domestics,” an important command, which Stilicho, in the height of his grandeur, might prudently retain.

²² The beautiful lines of Claudian (in *i. Cons. Stilich.* ii. 113) display his genius; but the integrity of Stilicho (in the military administration) is much more firmly established by the unwilling evidence of Zosimus (*l. v.* [c. 34] p. 347).

may justify the fame of his early achievements ; and in an age less attentive to the laws of honor or of pride, the Roman generals might yield the pre-eminence of rank to the ascendant of superior genius.²² He lamented and revenged the murder of Promotus, his rival and his friend ; and the massacre of many thousands of the flying Bastarnæ is represented by the poet as a bloody sacrifice which the Roman Achilles offered to the manes of another Patroclus. The virtues and victories of Stilicho deserved the hatred of Rufinus ; and the arts of calumny might have been successful if the tender and vigilant Serena had not protected her husband against his domestic foes, whilst he vanquished in the field the enemies of the empire.²⁴ Theodosius continued to support an unworthy minister, to whose diligence he delegated the government of the palace and of the East ; but when he marched against the tyrant Eugenius, he associated his faithful general to the labors and glories of the civil war ; and in the last moments of his life the dying monarch recommended to Stilicho the care of his sons and of the republic.²⁵ The ambition and the abilities of Stilicho were not unequal to the important trust, and he claimed the guardianship of the two empires during the minority of Arcadius and Honorius.²⁶ The first measure of his administration, or rather

22

——— Si bellica nubes
 Ingrueret, quamvis annis et jure minori,
 Cedere grandævus equitum peditumque magistros
 Adspiceres. Clandian, Laus. Seren. v. 196, etc.

A modern general would deem their submission either heroic patriotism or abject servility.

²⁴ Compare the poem on the first consulship (i 95-115) with the *Laus Serenæ* (227-237, where it unfortunately breaks off). We may perceive the deep, inveterate malice of Rufinus.

25

——— *Quem fratribus ipse*
 Discedens, clipeum defensoremque dedisti (iv. Cons. Hon 432).

Yet the nomination was private (iii. Cons. Hon. 142)—“*cunctos discedere . . . jubet*”—and may therefore be suspected. Zosimus and Suidas apply to Stilicho and Rufinus the same equal title of *ἐπίτροποι*, guardians, or procurators.

²⁶ The Roman law distinguishes two sorts of *minority*, which expired at the age of fourteen and of twenty-five. The one was subject to the *tutor*, or guardian of the person ; the other, to the *curator*, or trustee of the estate (Heineccius, *Antiquit. Rom. ad Jurisprudent. pertinent.* l i. tit xxii. xxiii. p 218-232). But these legal ideas were never accurately transferred into the constitution of an elective monarchy.

of his reign, displayed to the nations the vigor and activity of a spirit worthy to command. He passed the Alps in the depth of winter, descended the stream of the Rhine from the fortress of Basel to the marshes of Batavia, reviewed the state of the garrisons, repressed the enterprises of the Germans, and, after establishing along the banks a firm and honorable peace, returned with incredible speed to the palace of Milan.²⁷ The person and court of Honorius were subject to the master-general of the West; and the armies and provinces of Europe obeyed, without hesitation, a regular authority, which was exercised in the name of their young sovereign. Two rivals only remained to dispute the claims and to provoke the vengeance of Stilicho. Within the limits of Africa, Gildo, the Moor, maintained a proud and dangerous independence; and the minister of Constantinople asserted his equal reign over the emperor and the empire of the East.

The impartiality which Stilicho affected, as the common guardian of the royal brothers, engaged him to regulate the equal division of the arms, the jewels, and the magnificent wardrobe and furniture of the deceased emperor.²⁸ But the most important object of the inheritance consisted of the numerous legions, cohorts, and squadrons, of Romans or barbarians, whom the event of the civil war had united under the standard of Theodosius. The various multitudes of Europe and Asia, exasperated by recent animosities, were overawed by the authority of a single man; and the rigid discipline of Stilicho protected the lands of the citizen from the rapine of the licentious soldier.²⁹ Anxious, however, and impatient to relieve Italy from the pres-

The fall and
death of Ru-
finus.
A.D. 895.
Nov. 27.

²⁷ See Claudian (l. Cons. Stilich. i. 188-212); but he must allow more than fifteen days for the journey and return between Milan and Leyden.

²⁸ l. Cons. Stilich. ii. 88-94. Not only the robes and diadems of the deceased emperor, but even the helmets, sword-hilts, belts, cuirasses, etc., were enriched with pearls, emeralds, and diamonds.

²⁹

——— Tantoque remoto
Principe, mutatas orbis non sensit habenas.

This high commendation (l. Cons. Stilich. i. 149) may be justified by the fears of the dying emperor (de Bell. Gildon. 292-301), and the peace and good order which were enjoyed after his death (l. Cons. Stilich. i. 150-168).

ence of this formidable host, which could be useful only on the frontiers of the empire, he listened to the just requisition of the minister of Arcadius, declared his intention of reconducting in person the troops of the East, and dexterously employed the rumor of a Gothic tumult to conceal his private designs of ambition and revenge.* The guilty soul of Rufinus was alarmed by the approach of a warrior and a rival whose enmity he deserved; he computed, with increasing terror, the narrow space of his life and greatness; and, as the last hope of safety, he interposed the authority of the Emperor Arcadius. Stilicho, who appears to have directed his march along the sea-coast of the Adriatic, was not far distant from the city of Thessalonica when he received a peremptory message to recall the troops of the East, and to declare that *his* nearer approach would be considered by the Byzantine Court as an act of hostility.^a The prompt and unexpected obedience of the General of the West convinced the vulgar of his loyalty and moderation; and, as he had already engaged the affection of the Eastern troops, he recommended to their zeal the execution of his bloody design, which might be accomplished in his absence, with less danger, perhaps, and with less reproach. Stilicho left the command of the troops of the East to Gainas, the Goth, on whose fidelity he firmly relied, with an assurance at least that the hardy barbarian would never be diverted from his purpose by any consideration of fear or remorse. The soldiers were easily persuaded to punish the enemy of Stilicho and of Rome; and such was the general hatred which Rufinus had excited that the fatal secret, communicated to thousands, was faithfully preserved during the long march from Thessalonica to the gates of Constantinople. As soon as they had resolved his death, they condescended to flat-

* Stilicho's march and the death of Rufinus are described by Claudian (in *Rufin.* l. ii. 101-458), Zosimus (l. v. [c. 7] p. 296, 297), Sozomen (l. viii. c. 1), Socrates (l. vi. c. 1), Philostorgius (l. xi. c. 3, with Godefroy, p. 441), and the Chronicle of Marcellinus.

^a According to Claudian, Stilicho had crossed the Alps to encounter Alaric, and had advanced as far as Thessaly. ("Implet Thessalam ferri nitor," Claudian, in *Rufin.* l. ii. 179.) Here he was stopped by an order of the Byzantine court (*ibid.* 195), and then led his forces to Thessalonica. See note on p. 310.—S.

ter his pride ; the ambitious præfect was seduced to believe that those powerful auxiliaries might be tempted to place the diadem on his head ; and the treasures which he distributed with a tardy and reluctant hand were accepted by the indignant multitude as an insult rather than as a gift. At the distance of a mile from the capital, in the Field of Mars, before the palace of Hebdomon, the troops halted ; and the emperor, as well as his minister, advanced, according to ancient custom, respectfully to salute the power which supported their throne. As Rufinus passed along the ranks, and disguised, with studied courtesy, his innate haughtiness, the wings insensibly wheeled from the right and left, and enclosed the devoted victim within the circle of their arms. Before he could reflect on the danger of his situation, Gainas gave the signal of death ; a daring and forward soldier plunged his sword into the breast of the guilty præfect, and Rufinus fell, groaned, and expired at the feet of the affrighted emperor. If the agonies of a moment could expiate the crimes of a whole life, or if the outrages inflicted on a breathless corpse could be the object of pity, our humanity might perhaps be affected by the horrid circumstances which accompanied the murder of Rufinus. His mangled body was abandoned to the brutal fury of the populace of either sex, who hastened in crowds from every quarter of the city to trample on the remains of the haughty minister at whose frown they had so lately trembled. His right hand was cut off, and carried through the streets of Constantinople, in cruel mockery, to extort contributions for the avaricious tyrant, whose head was publicly exposed, borne aloft on the point of a long lance.²¹ According to the savage maxims of the Greek republics, his innocent family would have shared the punishment of his crimes. The wife and daughter of Rufinus were indebted for their safety to the influence of religion. *Her* sanctuary protected them from the raging madness of the people ; and they were permitted to spend the re-

²¹ The *dissection* of Rufinus, which Clandian performs with the savage coolness of an anatomist (in *Rufin.* ii. 405-415), is likewise specified by Zosimus [v. c. 7] and Jerome (tom. i. p. 26 [Epist. ix. tom. i. p. 342, edit. Vallars.]).

mainder of their lives in the exercises of Christian devotion in the peaceful retirement of Jerusalem.²²

The servile poet of Stilicho applauds with ferocious joy this horrid deed, which, in the execution, perhaps, of justice, violated every law of nature and society, profaned the majesty of the prince, and renewed the dangerous examples of military license. The contemplation of the universal order and harmony had satisfied Claudian of the existence of the Deity; but the prosperous impunity of vice appeared to contradict his moral attributes; and the fate of Rufinus was the only event which could dispel the religious doubts of the poet.²³ Such an act might vindicate the honor of Providence; but it did not much contribute to the happiness of the people. In less than three months they were informed of the maxims of the new administration by a singular edict, which established the exclusive right of the treasury over the spoils of Rufinus, and silenced, under heavy penalties, the presumptuous claims of the subjects of the Eastern empire who had been injured by his rapacious tyranny.²⁴ Even Stilicho did not derive from the murder of his rival the fruit which he had proposed; and, though he gratified his revenge, his ambition was disappointed. Under the name of a favorite, the weakness of Arcadius required a master, but he naturally preferred the obsequious arts of the eunuch Eutropius, who had obtained his domestic confidence; and the emperor contemplated with terror and aversion the stern genius of a foreign warrior. Till they were divided by the jealousy

²² The pagan Zosimus mentions their sanctuary and pilgrimage. The sister of Rufinus, Sylvania, who passed her life at Jerusalem, is famous in monastic history. 1. The studious virgin had diligently, and even repeatedly, perused the commentators on the Bible—Origen, Gregory, Basil, etc.—to the amount of five millions of lines. 2. At the age of threescore she could boast that she had never washed her hands, face, or any part of her whole body, except the tips of her fingers, to receive the communion. See the *Vita Patrum*, p. 779, 977.

²³ See the beautiful exordium of his invective against Rufinus, which is curiously discussed by the sceptic Bayle, *Dictionnaire Critique*, RUFIN. Not. E.

²⁴ See the Theodosian Code, l. ix. tit. xlii. leg. 14, 15. The new ministers attempted, with inconsistent avarice, to seize the spoils of their predecessor and to provide for their own future security.

of power, the sword of Gainas and the charms of Eudoxia supported the favor of the great chamberlain of the palace. The perfidious Goth, who was appointed master-general of the East, betrayed, without scruple, the interest of his benefactor: and the same troops who had so lately massacred the enemy of Stilicho were engaged to support, against him, the independence of the throne of Constantinople. The favorites of Arcadius fomented a secret and irreconcilable war against a formidable hero, who aspired to govern and to defend the two empires of Rome and the two sons of Theodosius. They incessantly labored, by dark and treacherous machinations, to deprive him of the esteem of the prince, the respect of the people, and the friendship of the barbarians. The life of Stilicho was repeatedly attempted by the dagger of hired assassins; and a decree was obtained from the senate of Constantinople to declare him an enemy of the republic, and to confiscate his ample possessions in the provinces of the East. At a time when the only hope of delaying the ruin of the Roman name depended on the firm union and reciprocal aid of all the nations to whom it had been gradually communicated, the subjects of Arcadius and Honorius were instructed, by their respective masters, to view each other in a foreign and even hostile light; to rejoice in their mutual calamities; and to embrace, as their faithful allies, the barbarians whom they excited to invade the territories of their countrymen.* The natives of Italy affected to despise the servile and effeminate Greeks of Byzantium who presumed to imitate the dress and to usurp the dignity of Roman senators;† and the Greeks had not yet forgotten the sentiments of hatred and contempt which their polished ancestors had so long entertained for the

* See Claudian (i. Cons. Stilich. l. i. 275, 292, 296, l. ii. 83), and Zosimus, l. v. [c. 11] p. 302.

† Claudian turns the consulship of the eunuch Eutropius into a national reflection (l. ii. 185):

——— Plaudentem cerne senatum,
Et Byzantinos proceres, *Graiosque* Quirites:
O patribus plebes, O digni consule patres.

It is curious to observe the first symptoms of jealousy and schism between old and new Rome, between the Greeks and Latins.

rude inhabitants of the West. The distinction of two governments, which soon produced the separation of two nations, will justify my design of suspending the series of the Byzantine history, to prosecute, without interruption, the disgraceful but memorable reign of Honorius.

The prudent Stilicho, instead of persisting to force the inclinations of a prince and people who rejected his government, wisely abandoned Arcadius to his unworthy favorites; and his reluctance to involve the two empires in a civil war displayed the moderation of a minister who had so often signalized his military spirit and abilities. But if Stilicho had any longer endured the revolt of Africa, he would have betrayed the security of the capital and the majesty of the Western emperor to the capricious insolence of a Moorish rebel. Gildo,⁷⁷ the brother of the tyrant Firmus, had preserved and obtained, as the reward of his apparent fidelity, the immense patrimony which was forfeited by treason; long and meritorious service in the armies of Rome raised him to the dignity of a military count; the narrow policy of the court of Theodosius had adopted the mischievous expedient of supporting a legal government by the interest of a powerful family; and the brother of Firmus was invested with the command of Africa. His ambition soon usurped the administration of justice and of the finances, without account and without control; and he maintained, during a reign of twelve years, the possession of an office from which it was impossible to remove him without the danger of a civil war. During those twelve years the provinces of Africa groaned under the dominion of a tyrant who seemed to unite the unfeeling temper of a stranger with the partial resentments of domestic faction. The forms of law were often superseded by the use of poison; and if the trembling guests who were invited to the table of Gildo presumed to express their fears, the insolent suspicion served only to ex-

⁷⁷ Claudian may have exaggerated the vices of Gildo; but his Moorish extraction, his notorious actions, and the complaints of St. Augustine may justify the poet's invectives. Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 398, No. 35-56) has treated the African rebellion with skill and learning.

Revolt of Gildo in Africa.
A.D. 356-398.

cite his fury, and he loudly summoned the ministers of death. Gildo alternately indulged the passions of avarice and lust;* and if his *days* were terrible to the rich, his *nights* were not less dreadful to husbands and parents. The fairest of their wives and daughters were prostituted to the embraces of the tyrant; and afterwards abandoned to a ferocious troop of barbarians and assassins, the black or swarthy natives of the desert, whom Gildo considered as the only guardians of his throne. In the civil war between Theodosius and Eugenius, the count, or rather the sovereign, of Africa maintained a haughty and suspicious neutrality; refused to assist either of the contending parties with troops or vessels, expected the declaration of fortune, and reserved for the conqueror the vain professions of his allegiance. Such professions would not have satisfied the master of the Roman world; but the death of Theodosius, and the weakness and discord of his sons, confirmed the power of the Moor, who condescended, as a proof of his moderation, to abstain from the use of the diadem, and to supply Rome with the customary tribute, or rather subsidy, of corn. In every division of the empire, the five provinces of Africa were invariably assigned to the West; and Gildo had consented to govern that extensive country in the name of Honorius; but his knowledge of the character and designs of Stilicho soon engaged him to address his homage to a more distant and feeble sovereign. The ministers of Arcadius embraced the cause of a perfidious rebel; and the delusive hope of adding the numerous cities of Africa to the empire of the East tempted them to assert a claim which they were incapable of supporting either by reason or by arms.**

**

*Instat terribilis vivis, morientibus hæres,
Virginibus raptor, thalamis obscenus adulter.
Nulla quies · oritur piædâ cessante libido,
Divitibusque dies, et nox metuenda maritis.*

——— *Mavis clarissima quæque
Fastidita datur.* De Bello Gildonico, 165, 189.

Baronius condemns still more severely the licentiousness of Gildo, as his wife, his daughter, and his sister were examples of perfect chastity. The adulteries of the African soldiers are checked by one of the imperial laws.

**

Inque tuam sortem numerosas transtulit urbes.

Claudian (De Bell. Gildonico, 280-324) has touched, with political delicacy, the in-

When Stilicho had given a firm and decisive answer to the pretensions of the Byzantine court, he solemnly accused the tyrant of Africa before the tribunal which had formerly judged the kings and nations of the earth; and the image of the republic was revived, after a long interval, under the reign of Honorius. The emperor transmitted an accurate and ample detail of the complaints of the provincials, and the crimes of Gildo, to the Roman senate; and the members of that venerable assembly were required to pronounce the condemnation of the rebel. Their unanimous suffrage declared him the enemy of the republic; and the decree of the senate added a sacred and legitimate sanction to the Roman arms.⁴⁰ A people who still remembered that their ancestors had been the masters of the world would have applauded, with conscious pride, the representation of ancient freedom, if they had not long since been accustomed to prefer the solid assurance of bread to the unsubstantial visions of liberty and greatness. The subsistence of Rome depended on the harvests of Africa; and it was evident that a declaration of war would be the signal of famine. The præfect Symmachus, who presided in the deliberations of the senate, admonished the minister of his just apprehension that, as soon as the revengeful Moor should prohibit the exportation of corn, the tranquillity, and perhaps the safety, of the capital would be threatened by the hungry rage of a turbulent multitude.⁴¹ The prudence of Stilicho conceived, and executed without delay, the most effectual measure for the relief of the Roman people. A large and seasonable supply of corn, collected in the inland provinces of Gaul, was embarked on the rapid stream of the Rhone, and transported by an easy navigation from the Rhone to the Tiber. During the whole term of the African war, the

He is condemned by the Roman senate. A.D. 397.

trigues of the Byzantine court, which are likewise mentioned by Zosimus (l. v. [c. 11] p. 302).

⁴⁰ Symmachus (l. iv. epist. 4) expresses the judicial forms of the senate; and Claudian (l. Cons. Stilich. l. l. 325, etc.) seems to feel the spirit of a Roman.

⁴¹ Claudian finely displays these complaints of Symmachus, in a speech of the goddess of Rome before the throne of Jupiter (De Bell. Gildon. 28-128).

granaries of Rome were continually filled, her dignity was vindicated from the humiliating dependence, and the minds of an immense people were quieted by the calm confidence of peace and plenty.⁴²

The cause of Rome and the conduct of the African war were intrusted by Stilicho to a general active and ardent to
The African war. A.D. 398. avenge his private injuries on the head of the tyrant. The spirit of discord which prevailed in the house of Nabal had excited a deadly quarrel between two of his sons, Gildo and Mascezel.⁴³ The usurper pursued with implacable rage the life of his younger brother, whose courage and abilities he feared; and Mascezel, oppressed by superior power, took refuge in the Court of Milan, where he soon received the cruel intelligence that his two innocent and helpless children had been murdered by their inhuman uncle. The affliction of the father was suspended only by the desire of revenge. The vigilant Stilicho already prepared to collect the naval and military forces of the Western empire; and he had resolved, if the tyrant should be able to wage an equal and doubtful war, to march against him in person. But as Italy required his presence, and as it might be dangerous to weaken the defence of the frontier, he judged it more advisable that Mascezel should attempt this arduous adventure at the head of a chosen body of Gallic veterans, who had lately served under the standard of Eugenius. These troops, who were exhorted to convince the world that they could subvert as well as defend the throne of a usurper, consisted of the *Jovian*, the *Herculian*, and the *Augustan* legions; of the *Nervian* auxiliaries; of the soldiers who displayed in their banners the symbol of a *lion*; and of the troops which were distinguished by the auspicious names of *Fortunate* and *Invincible*. Yet such was the smallness of their establishments, or the difficulty

⁴² See Claudian (in Eutrop. l. i. 401, etc.; i. Cons. Stilich. l. i. 306, etc.; ii. Cons. Stilich. 91, etc.).

⁴³ He was of a mature age, since he had formerly (A.D. 378) served against his brother Firmus (Ammian. xxix. 5). Claudian, who understood the court of Milan, dwells on the injuries, rather than the merits, of Mascezel (De Bell. Gildon. 389-414). The Moorish war was not worthy of Honorius or Stilicho, etc.

of recruiting, that these *seven* bands," of high dignity and reputation in the service of Rome, amounted to no more than five thousand effective men." The fleet of galleys and transports sailed in tempestuous weather from the port of Pisa, in Tuscany, and steered their course to the little island of Capraria, which had borrowed that name from the wild goats, its original inhabitants, whose place was now occupied by a new colony of a strange and savage appearance. "The whole island" (says an ingenious traveller of those times) "is filled, or rather defiled, by men who fly from the light. They call themselves *Monks*, or solitaries, because they choose to live alone, without any witnesses of their actions. They fear the gifts of fortune, from the apprehension of losing them; and, lest they should be miserable, they embrace a life of voluntary wretchedness. How absurd is their choice, how perverse their understanding, to dread the evils, without being able to support the blessings, of the human condition! Either this melancholy madness is the effect of disease, or else the consciousness of guilt urges these unhappy men to exercise on their own bodies the tortures which are inflicted on fugitive slaves by the hand of justice." "Such was the contempt of a profane magistrate for the monks of Capraria, who were revered by the pious Mascezel as the chosen servants of God." Some of them were persuaded by his entreaties to embark on board

⁴⁴ Claudian, *De Bell. Gildon.* 415-423. The change of discipline allowed him to use indifferently the names of *Legio*, *Cohors*, *Manipulus*. See the *Notitia Imperii*, s. 38, 40.

⁴⁵ Orosius (l. vii. c. 36, p. 565) qualifies this account with an expression of doubt ("ut aiant"), and it scarcely coincides with the *συνάμειος ἀνδράς* of Zosimus (l. v. [c. 11] p. 308). Yet Claudian, after some declamation about Cadmus's soldiers, frankly owns that Stilicho sent a small army, lest the rebel should fly, "ne timeares times" (l. Cons. Stilich. l. i. 314, etc.).

⁴⁶ Claud. Rutil. Numatian. *Itinerar.* l. i. 439-448. He afterwards (ib. 515-526) mentions a religious madman on the isle of Gorgona. For such profane remarks, Rutilius and his accomplices are styled, by his commentator Barthius, "*rabiosi canes diaboli*." Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. xii. p. 471) more calmly observes that the unbelieving poet praises where he means to censure.

⁴⁷ Orosius, l. vii. c. 36, p. 564. Augustine commends two of these savage saints of the Isle of Goats (*Epist.* lxxxvi. apud Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. xiii. p. 317, and Baronius, *Annal. Eccles.* a.d. 398, No. 51).

the fleet ; and it is observed, to the praise of the Roman general, that his days and nights were employed in prayer, fasting, and the occupation of singing psalms. The devout leader, who with such a reinforcement appeared confident of victory, avoided the dangerous rocks of Corsica, coasted along the eastern side of Sardinia, and secured his ships against the violence of the south wind by casting anchor in the safe and capacious harbor of Cagliari, at the distance of one hundred and forty miles from the African shores.⁴⁸

Gildo was prepared to resist the invasion with all the forces of Africa. By the liberality of his gifts and promises, he endeavored to secure the doubtful allegiance of the Roman soldiers, whilst he attracted to his standard the distant tribes of Gætulia and Æthiopia. He proudly reviewed an army of seventy thousand men, and boasted, with the rash presumption which is the forerunner of disgrace, that his numerous cavalry would trample under their horses' feet the troops of Mascezel, and involve in a cloud of burning sand the natives of the cold regions of Gaul and Germany.⁴⁹ But the Moor who commanded the legions of Honorius was too well acquainted with the manners of his countrymen to entertain any serious apprehension of a naked and disorderly host of barbarians, whose left arm, instead of a shield, was protected only by a mantle ; who were totally disarmed as soon as they had darted their javelin from their right hand ; and whose horses had never been taught to bear the control or to obey the guidance of the bridle. He fixed his camp of five thousand veterans in the face of a superior enemy, and, after the delay of three days, gave the signal of a general engagement.⁵⁰ As Mascezel advanced before the front

⁴⁸ Here the first book of the Gildonic War is terminated. The rest of Claudian's poem has been lost ; and we are ignorant *how* or *where* the army made good their landing in Africa.

⁴⁹ Orosius must be responsible for the account. The presumption of Gildo and his various train of barbarians is celebrated by Claudian (i. Cons. Stilich l. i. 345-355).

⁵⁰ St. Ambrose, who had been dead about a year, revealed in a vision the time and place of the victory. Mascezel afterwards related his dream to Paulinus, the original biographer of the saint, from whom it might easily pass to Orosius.

with fair offers of peace and pardon, he encountered one of the foremost standard-bearers of the Africans, and, on his refusal to yield, struck him on the arm with his sword. The arm and the standard sank under the weight of the blow, and the imaginary act of submission was hastily repeated by all the standards of the line. At this signal the disaffected cohorts proclaimed the name of their lawful sovereign; the barbarians, astonished by the defection of their Roman allies, dispersed, according to their custom, in tumultuary flight; and Mascezel obtained the honors of an easy and almost bloodless victory.⁸¹ The tyrant escaped from the field of battle to the sea-shore, and threw himself into a small vessel, with the hope of reaching in safety some friendly port of the empire of the East; but the obstinacy of the wind drove him back into the harbor of Tabraca,⁸² which had acknowledged, with the rest of the province, the dominion of Honorius and the authority of his lieutenant. The inhabitants, as a proof of their repentance and loyalty, seized and confined the person of Gildo in a dungeon; and his own despair saved him from the intolerable torture of supporting the presence of an injured and victorious brother.⁸³ The captives and the spoils of Africa were laid at the feet of the emperor; but Stilicho, whose moderation appeared more conspicuous and more sincere in the midst of prosperity, still affected to consult the laws of the republic, and referred to the senate and people of Rome the judgment of the most illustrious criminals.⁸⁴ Their trial was public and

⁸¹ Zosimus (l. v. [c. 11] p. 303) supposes an obstinate combat, but the narrative of Orosius appears to conceal a real fact under the disguise of a miracle.

⁸² Tabraca lay between the two Hippos (Cellarius, tom. ii. p. 112; D'Anville, tom. iii. p. 84). Orosius has distinctly named the field of battle, but our ignorance cannot define the precise situation.

⁸³ The death of Gildo is expressed by Claudian (i. Cons. Stilich. l. 357) and his best interpreters, Zosimus and Orosius.

⁸⁴ Claudian (iii. Cons. Stilich. 99-119) describes their trial ("tremuit quos Africa nuper, cernunt rostra reos"), and applauds the restoration of the ancient constitution. It is here that he introduces the famous sentence so familiar to the friends of despotism:

——— Nunquam libertas gratior exstat
Quam sub rege pio.

But the freedom which depends on royal piety scarcely deserves that appellation.

solemn; but the judges, in the exercise of this obsolete and precarious jurisdiction, were impatient to punish the African magistrates who had intercepted the subsistence of the Roman people. The rich and guilty province was oppressed by the imperial ministers, who had a visible interest to multiply the number of the accomplices of Gildo; and if an edict of Honorius seems to check the malicious industry of informers, a subsequent edict, at the distance of ten years, continues and renews the prosecution of the offences which had been committed in the time of the general rebellion." The adherents of the tyrant who escaped the first fury of the soldiers and the judges might derive some consolation from the tragic fate of his brother, who could never obtain his pardon for the extraordinary services which he had performed. After he had finished an important war in the space of a single winter, Mascezel was received at the Court of Milan with loud applause, affected gratitude, and secret jealousy;" and his death, which perhaps was the effect of accident, has been considered as the crime of Stilicho. In the passage of a bridge, the Moorish prince, who accompanied the Master-general of the West, was suddenly thrown from his horse into the river; the officious haste of the attendants was restrained by a cruel and perfidious smile which they observed on the countenance of Stilicho; and while they delayed the necessary assistance, the unfortunate Mascezel was irrecoverably drowned."

The joy of the African triumph was happily connected with the nuptials of the Emperor Honorius, and of his cousin Maria, the daughter of Stilicho; and this equal and honorable alliance seemed to invest the powerful minister with the authority of a parent over his submissive pupil. The muse of Claudian was not silent on this pro-

Marriage and
character of
Honorius.
A.D. 398

⁵⁵ See the Theodosian Code, l. ix. tit. xxxix. leg. 3, tit. xl. leg. 19.

⁵⁶ Stilicho, who claimed an equal share in all the victories of Theodosius and his son, particularly asserts that Africa was recovered by the wisdom of *his* counsels (see an inscription produced by Baronius).

⁵⁷ I have softened the narrative of Zosimus, which, in its crude simplicity, is almost incredible (l. v [c. 11] p. 308). Orosius damns the victorious general (p. 538 [l. vii. c. 36]) for violating the right of sanctuary.

pitious day ;⁵⁵ he sang, in various and lively strains, the happiness of the royal pair, and the glory of the hero who confirmed their union and supported their throne. The ancient fables of Greece, which had almost ceased to be the object of religious faith, were saved from oblivion by the genius of poetry. The picture of the Cyprian grove, the seat of harmony and love ; the triumphant progress of Venus over her native seas, and the mild influence which her presence diffused in the palace of Milan, express to every age the natural sentiments of the heart in the just and pleasing language of allegorical fiction. But the amorous impatience which Claudian attributes to the young prince⁵⁶ must excite the smiles of the court ; and his beauteous spouse (if she deserved the praise of beauty) had not much to fear or to hope from the passions of her lover. Honorius was only in the fourteenth year of his age ; Serena, the mother of his bride, deferred, by art or persuasion, the consummation of the royal nuptials ; Maria died a virgin, after she had been ten years a wife ; and the chastity of the emperor was secured by the coldness, or perhaps the debility, of his constitution.⁵⁷ His subjects, who attentively studied the character of their young sovereign, discovered that Honorius was without passions, and consequently without talents ; and that his feeble and languid disposition was alike incapable of discharging the duties of his rank or of enjoying the pleasures of his age. In his early youth he made some progress in the exercises of riding and drawing the bow ; but

⁵⁵ Claudian, as the poet-laureate, composed a serious and elaborate epithalamium of 840 lines ; besides some gay fescennines, which were sung in a more licentious tone on the wedding night.

⁵⁶

———— Calet obvisus ire

Jam princeps, tardumque cupit discedere solem.

Nobilis haud aliter sonipes—

(de Nuptiis Honor. et Mariæ, 287) and more freely in the fescennines 112–126 [iv. 14].

Dices, *O quoties*, hoc mihi dulcius
Quam flavos *decies* vincere Sarmatas.

Tum victor madido prosiliis toro
Nocturni referens vulnera proclii.

⁵⁷ See Zosimus, l. v. [c. 28] p. 383.



AT THE IMPERIAL COURT OF RAVENNA

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"And the amusement of feeding poultry became the serious and daily care of the Monarch (Honorius) of the West."
Painting by J. W. Waterhouse
Gibbon's Rome, Vol. III.

he soon relinquished these fatiguing occupations, and the amusement of feeding poultry became the serious and daily care of the monarch of the West,⁶¹ who resigned the reins of empire to the firm and skilful hand of his guardian, Stilicho. The experience of history will countenance the suspicion that a prince who was born in the purple received a worse education than the meanest peasant of his dominions, and that the ambitious minister suffered him to attain the age of manhood without attempting to excite his courage or to enlighten his understanding.⁶² The predecessors of Honorius were accustomed to animate by their example, or at least by their presence, the valor of the legions; and the dates of their laws attest the perpetual activity of their motions through the provinces of the Roman world. But the son of Theodosius passed the slumber of his life a captive in his palace, a stranger in his country, and the patient, almost the indifferent, spectator of the ruin of the Western empire, which was repeatedly attacked, and finally subverted, by the arms of the barbarians. In the eventful history of a reign of twenty-eight years, it will seldom be necessary to mention the name of the Emperor Honorius.

⁶¹ Procopius de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 2 [tom. i. p. 316, edit. Bonn.]. I have borrowed the general practice of Honorius, without adopting the singular, and indeed improbable, tale which is related by the Greek historian.

⁶² The lessons of Theodosius, or rather Claudian (iv. Cons. Honor. 214-418) might compose a fine institution for the future prince of a great and free nation. It was far above Honorius and his degenerate subjects.

CHAPTER XXX.

Revolt of the Goths.—They Plunder Greece.—Two Great Invasions of Italy by Alaric and Radagaisus.—They are Repulsed by Stilicho.—The Germans Over-run Gaul.—Usurpation of Constantine in the West.—Disgrace and Death of Stilicho.

IF the subjects of Rome could be ignorant of their obligations to the great Theodosius, they were too soon convinced how painfully the spirit and abilities of their deceased emperor had supported the frail and mouldering edifice of the republic. He died in the month of January; and before the end of the winter of the same year the Gothic nation was in arms.¹ The barbarian auxiliaries erected their independent standard, and boldly avowed the hostile designs which they had long cherished in their ferocious minds. Their countrymen, who had been condemned by the conditions of the last treaty to a life of tranquillity and labor, deserted their farms at the first sound of the trumpet, and eagerly resumed the weapons which they had reluctantly laid down. The barriers of the Danube were thrown open; the savage warriors of Scythia issued from their forests; and the uncommon severity of the winter allowed the poet to remark "that they rolled their ponderous wagons over the broad and icy back of the indignant river."² The unhappy natives of the provinces to the south of the Danube sub-

Revolt of the
Goths.
A.D. 396.

¹ The revolt of the Goths and the blockade of Constantinople are distinctly mentioned by Claudian (in Rufin. li. 7-100), Zosimus (l. v. [c. 5] p. 292), and Jornandes (De Rebus Geticis, c. 29)

— Alii per teiga ferocis
Danubii solidata ruunt; expertaque remos
Frangunt stagna rotis. [Claud. ib. v. 24.]

Claudian and Ovid often amuse their fancy by interchanging the metaphors and properties of *liquid* water and *solid* ice. Much false wit has been expended in this easy exercise.

mitted to the calamities which, in the course of twenty years, were almost grown familiar to their imagination; and the various troops of barbarians who gloried in the Gothic name were irregularly spread from the woody shores of Dalmatia to the walls of Constantinople.* The interruption, or at least the diminution, of the subsidy which the Goths had received from the prudent liberality of Theodosius was the specious pretence of their revolt. The affront was embittered by their contempt for the unwarlike sons of Theodosius; and their resentment was inflamed by the weakness or treachery of the minister of Arcadius. The frequent visits of Rufinus to the camp of the barbarians, whose arms and apparel he affected to imitate, were considered as a sufficient evidence of his guilty correspondence; and the public enemy, from a motive either of gratitude or of policy, was attentive amidst the general devastation to spare the private estates of the unpopular præfect. The Goths, instead of being impelled by the blind and headstrong passions of their chiefs, were now directed by the bold and artful genius of Alaric. That renowned leader was descended from the noble race of the Balti,[†] which yielded only to the royal dignity of the Amali. He had solicited the command of the Roman armies; and the imperial court provoked him to demonstrate the folly of their refusal and the impor-

* Jerome, tom. i. p. 26 [Epist. lx. tom. i. p. 342, edit. Vallars.]. He endeavors to comfort his friend Heliodorus, Bishop of Altinum, for the loss of his nephew Nepotian by a curious recapitulation of all the public and private misfortunes of the times. See Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. xii. p. 200, etc.

[†] *Baltha*, or *bold*: “origo mirifica,” says Jornandes (c. 29).^a This illustrious race long continued to flourish in France in the Gothic province of Septimania, or Languedoc, under the corrupted appellation of *Baux*; and a branch of that family afterwards settled in the kingdom of Naples (Grotius in Prolegom. ad Hist. Gothic. p. 58). The Lords of Baux, near Arles, and of seventy-nine subordinate places, were independent of the Counts of Provence (Longuerue, Description de la France, tom. i. p. 357).

^a The words of Jornandes are: “(Alaricho) erat post Amalos secunda nobilitas, Baltharumque ex genere origo mirifica, qui dudum ob audaciam virtutis Baltha, id est, audax, nomen inter suos acceperat.” The construction is strange; but the passage means that the noble race of the Balthæ were so called from the surname of *Baltha*, given to Alaric on account of his bravery. See Aschbach, Geschichte der Westgothen, p. 66.—S.

tance of their loss. Whatever hopes might be entertained of the conquest of Constantinople, the judicious general soon abandoned an impracticable enterprise. In the midst of a divided court and a discontented people, the Emperor Arcadius was terrified by the aspect of the Gothic arms; but the want of wisdom and valor was supplied by the strength of the city; and the fortifications, both of the sea and land, might securely brave the impotent and random darts of the barbarians. Alaric disdained to trample any longer on the prostrate and ruined countries of Thrace and Dacia, and he resolved to seek a plentiful harvest of fame and riches in a province which had hitherto escaped the ravages of war.*

The character of the civil and military officers on whom Rufinus had devolved the government of Greece confirmed the public suspicion that he had betrayed the ancient seat of freedom and learning to the Gothic invader. The proconsul Antiochus was the unworthy son of a respectable father; and Gerontius, who commanded the provincial troops, was much better qualified to execute the oppressive orders of a tyrant than to defend with courage and ability a country most remarkably fortified by the hand of Nature. Alaric had traversed without resistance the plains of Macedonia and Thessaly as far as the foot of Mount Ceta, a steep and woody range of hills almost impervious to his cavalry. They stretched from east to west to the edge of the sea-shore, and left between the precipice and the Malian Gulf an interval of three hundred feet, which in some places was contracted to a road capable of admitting only a single carriage.* In this narrow pass of Thermopylæ, where Leonidas and the three hundred Spartans had gloriously devoted their lives, the Goths might have been stopped or destroyed by a skilful general; and perhaps the view of that sacred spot might have kindled some sparks of military ardor in the breasts of the degenerate Greeks. The troops which

Alaric
marches into
Greece.
A.D. 396.
[A.D. 395.—S]

* Zosimus (l. v. [c. 5] p. 293-295) is our best guide for the conquest of Greece; but the hints and allusion of Claudian are so many rays of historic light.

* Compare Herodotus (l. vii c. 176) and Livy (xxxvi. 15). The narrow entrance of Greece was probably enlarged by each successive ravisher.

had been posted to defend the straits of Thermopyæ retired, as they were directed, without attempting to disturb the secure and rapid passage of Alaric; and the fertile fields of Phocis and Bœotia were instantly covered by a deluge of barbarians, who massacred the males of an age to bear arms, and drove away the beautiful females with the spoil and cattle of the flaming villages. The travellers who visited Greece several years afterwards could easily discover the deep and bloody traces of the march of the Goths; and Thebes was less indebted for her preservation to the strength of her seven gates than to the eager haste of Alaric, who advanced to occupy the city of Athens and the important harbor of the Piræus. The same impatience urged him to prevent the delay and danger of a siege by the offer of a capitulation; and as soon as the Athenians heard the voice of the Gothic herald, they were easily persuaded to deliver the greatest part of their wealth as the ransom of the city of Minerva and its inhabitants. The treaty was ratified by solemn oaths, and observed with mutual fidelity. The Gothic prince, with a small and select train, was admitted within the walls; he indulged himself in the refreshment of the bath, accepted a splendid banquet which was provided by the magistrate, and affected to show that he was not ignorant of the manners of civilized nations.* But the whole territory of Attica, from the promontory of Sunium to the town of Megara, was blasted by his baleful presence; and, if we may use the comparison of a contemporary philosopher, Athens itself resembled the bleeding and empty skin of a slaughtered victim. The distance between Megara and Corinth could not much exceed thirty miles; but the *bad road*—

* He passed, says Eunapius (in Vit. Philosoph. p. 93, edit. Commelin, 1596), through the straits, *διὰ τῶν πυλῶν* (of Thermopylæ) *παρήλαθεν, ὥσπερ διὰ σταδίου, καὶ ἡπιοκρότου πεδίου τρέχων.*

* In obedience to Jerome and Claudian (in Rufin. l. ii. 191), I have mixed some darker colors in the mild representation of Zosimus, who wished to soften the calamities of Athens.

Nec fera Cecropias traxissent vincula matres.

Synesius [Epist. cxxxv. p. 272, edit. Petav.] observes that Athens, whose sufferings he imputes to the proconsul's avarice, was at that time less famous for her schools of philosophy than for her trade of honey.

an expressive name which it still bears among the Greeks—was, or might easily have been made, impassable for the march of an enemy. The thick and gloomy woods of Mount Cithæron covered the inland country; the Scironian rocks approached the water's edge and hung over the narrow and winding path, which was confined above six miles along the sea-shore.* The passage of those rocks, so infamous in every age, was terminated by the Isthmus of Corinth; and a small body of firm and intrepid soldiers might have successfully defended a temporary intrenchment of five or six miles, from the Ionian to the Ægean Sea. The confidence of the cities of Poloponnesus in their natural rampart had tempted them to neglect the care of their antique walls; and the avarice of the Roman governors had exhausted and betrayed the unhappy province.¹⁰ Corinth, Argos, Sparta, yielded without resistance to the arms of the Goths; and the most fortunate of the inhabitants were saved by death from beholding the slavery of their families and the conflagration of their cities.¹¹ The vases and statues were distributed among the barbarians with more regard to the value of the materials than to the elegance of the workmanship. The female captives submitted to the laws of war; the enjoyment of beauty was the reward of valor; and the Greeks could not reasonably complain of an abuse which was justified by the example of the heroic times.¹² The

——— Vallata mari Scironia rupes,
Et duo continuo connectens æquora muro
Isthmos. Claudian de Bell. Getico, 188.

The Scironian rocks are described by Pausanias (l. i. c. 44, p. 107, edit. Kuhn) and our modern travellers, Wheeler (p. 436) and Chandler (p. 298). Hadrian made the road passable for two carriages [Pausan. l. i. c. 44, § 6, edit. Bekker].

¹⁰ Claudian (in Rufin l. ii. 186, and De Bello Getico, 611, etc.) vaguely, though forcibly, delineates the scene of rapine and destruction.

¹¹ *Τῆς μάκαρος Δαναοὶ καὶ περὶ πάντας*, etc. These generous lines of Homer (Odys. l. v. 306) were transcribed by one of the captive youths of Corinth; and the tears of Mummius may prove that the rude conqueror, though he was ignorant of the value of an original picture, possessed the purest source of good taste, a benevolent heart (Plutarch, Symposiac. l. ix. tom. ii. p. 737, edit. Wechel. [tom. riii. p. 939, edit. Reiske]).

¹² Homer perpetually describes the exemplary patience of these female captives, who gave their charms, and even their hearts, to the murderers of their fathers,

descendants of that extraordinary people who had considered valor and discipline as the walls of Sparta no longer remembered the generous reply of their ancestors to an invader more formidable than Alaric: "If thou art a god, thou wilt not hurt those who have never injured thee; if thou art a man, advance, and thou wilt find men equal to thyself."¹³ From Thermopylæ to Sparta the leader of the Goths pursued his victorious march without encountering any mortal antagonists; but one of the advocates of expiring paganism has confidently asserted that the walls of Athens were guarded by the goddess Minerva, with her formidable Ægis, and by the angry phantom of Achilles,¹⁴ and that the conqueror was dismayed by the presence of the hostile deities of Greece. In an age of miracles it would perhaps be unjust to dispute the claim of the historian Zosimus to the common benefit, yet it cannot be dissembled that the mind of Alaric was ill prepared to receive, either in sleeping or waking visions, the impressions of Greek superstition. The songs of Homer and the fame of Achilles had probably never reached the ear of the illiterate *barbarian*; and the *Christian* faith, which he had devoutly embraced, taught him to despise the imaginary deities of Rome and Athens. The invasion of the Goths, instead of vindicating the honor, contributed, at least accidentally, to extirpate the last remains of paganism; and the mysteries of Ceres, which had subsisted eighteen hundred years, did not survive the destruction of Eleusis and the calamities of Greece.¹⁵

The last hope of a people who could no longer depend on

brothers, etc. Such a passion (of Eriphyle for Achilles) is touched with admirable delicacy by Racine.

¹³ Plutarch (in Pyrrho [c. 26], tom. ii. p. 471, edit. Brian) gives the genuine answer in the Laconic dialect. Pyrrhus attacked Sparta with 25,000 foot, 2000 horse, and 24 elephants, and the defence of that open town is a fine comment on the laws of Lycurgus, even in the last stage of decay.

¹⁴ Such, perhaps, as Homer (Iliad, xx. 164) has so nobly painted him.

¹⁵ Eunapius (in Vit. Philosoph. p. 90-93) intimates that a troop of monks betrayed Greece and followed the Gothic camp.^a

^a The expression is curious: *Τοιαύτας αὐτῷ τὰς πόλεις ἀπέδειξε τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἥτι τῶν τὰ φαῖδ' ἰμάτια ἔχόντων, ἀκωλύτως προσπαρευσελθόντων ἀσίβεια.*—Vit. Max. t. i. p. 53, edit. Boissonade.—M.

He is at-
tacked by
Stilicho.
A.D. 397.
[A.D. 396.]

their arms, their gods, or their sovereign was placed in the powerful assistance of the General of the West; and Stilicho, who had not been permitted to repulse, advanced to chastise, the invaders of Greece.¹⁶ A numerous fleet was equipped in the ports of Italy; and the troops, after a short and prosperous navigation over the Ionian Sea, were safely disembarked on the isthmus, near the ruins of Corinth. The woody and mountainous country of Arcadia, the fabulous residence of Pan and the Dryads, became the scene of a long and doubtful conflict between two generals not unworthy of each other. The skill and perseverance of the Roman at length prevailed; and the Goths, after sustaining a considerable loss from disease and desertion, gradually retreated to the lofty mountain of Pholoe, near the sources of the Peneus and on the frontiers of Elis—a sacred country, which had formerly been exempted from the calamities of war.¹⁷ The camp of the barbarians was immediately besieged; the waters of the river¹⁸ were diverted into another

¹⁶ For Stilicho's Greek war compare the honest narrative of Zosimus (l. v. [c. 7] p. 295, 296) with the curious circumstantial flattery of Claudian (i. Cons. Stilich. l. i. 172-186; iv. Cons. Hon. 459-487). As the event was not glorious, it is awfully thrown into the shade.

¹⁷ The troops who marched through Elis delivered up their arms. This security enriched the Eleans, who were lovers of a rural life. Riches begat pride; they disdained their privilege, and they suffered. Polybius advises them to retire once more within their magic circle. See a learned and judicious discourse on the Olympic games, which Mr. West has prefixed to his translation of Pindar.

¹⁸ Claudian (in iv. Cons. Hon. 480) alludes to the fact without naming the river, perhaps the Alpheus (i. Cons. Stil. l. i. 185).

— Et Alpheus Geticis angustus acervis
Tardior ad Siculos etiamnum pergit amores.

Yet I should prefer the Peneus, a shallow stream in a wide and deep bed, which runs through Elis and falls into the sea below Cyllene. It had been joined with the Alpheus to cleanse the Angean stable (Cellarius, tom. i. p. 760. Chandler's Travels, p. 286).

* The invasion of Alaric began in 395 and was continued in 396, not in 396 and 397, as Gibbon states. There were two expeditions of Stilicho into Greece, which are confounded by Zosimus. In A.D. 395 Stilicho crossed the Alps in order to encounter Alaric, and reached Thessaly, which had been already plundered, but before Alaric had penetrated into Southern Greece. In Thessaly he was stopped by an order of the Byzantine Court (Claudian in Rufin. l. ii. 124, 179-195). In the second expedition (396), Stilicho met Alaric in Peloponnesus, as Gibbon relates. See Clinton, Fast. Rom. vol. i. p. 584, 586, 587.—S.

channel; and while they labored under the intolerable pressure of thirst and hunger, a strong line of circumvallation was formed to prevent their escape. After these precautions, Stilicho, too confident of victory, retired to enjoy his triumph in the theatrical games and lascivious dances of the Greeks; his soldiers, deserting their standards, spread themselves over the country of their allies, which they stripped of all that had been saved from the rapacious hands of the enemy. Alaric appears to have seized the favorable moment to execute one of those hardy enterprises in which the abilities of a general are displayed with more genuine lustre than in the tumult of a day of battle. To extricate himself from the prison of Peloponnesus, it was necessary that he should pierce the intrenchments which surrounded his camp; that he should perform a difficult and dangerous march of thirty miles, as far as the Gulf of Corinth; and that he should transport his troops, his captives, and his spoil over an arm of the sea which, in the narrow interval between Rhium and the opposite shore, is at least half a mile in breadth.¹⁹ The operations of Alaric must have been secret, prudent, and rapid, since the Roman general was confounded by the intelligence that the Goths, who had eluded his efforts, were in full possession of the important province of Epirus. This unfortunate delay allowed Alaric sufficient time to conclude the treaty which he secretly negotiated with the ministers of Constantinople. The ap-

Escapes to
Epirus.

¹⁹ Strabo, l. viii. p. 517 [p. 335, edit Casaub.]. Plin. Hist. Natur. iv. 8. Wheel, p. 308. Chandler, p. 275. They measured from different points the distance between the two lands.

* Gibbon follows Zosimus; but, according to Claudian, Alaric did not owe his escape to the negligence of Stilicho, but to his intrigues with the Court of Constantinople, which he was aware was jealous and distrustful of Stilicho's presence in Greece. Stilicho was ordered to return to Italy, and Alaric was permitted to withdraw from his dangerous position.

Extinctusque fores, ni te sub nomine legum
Proditio, regnique favor tegisset Eoi.

De Bell. Get. 517.

The authority of Claudian is followed by Aschbach (Gesch. der Westgothen, p. 70); and his statement might be received without hesitation in opposition to so careless a writer as Zosimus were he not the professed panegyrist of Stilicho. Gibbon seeks to reconcile the two authorities by making the treaty with the Byzantine court subsequent to the escape of Alaric into Epirus.—S.

prehension of a civil war compelled Stilicho to retire, at the haughty mandate of his rivals, from the dominions of Arcadius; and he respected in the enemy of Rome the honorable character of the ally and servant of the Emperor of the East.

A Grecian philosopher* who visited Constantinople soon after the death of Theodosius published his liberal opinions concerning the duties of kings and the state of the Roman republic. Synesius observes and deploras the fatal abuse which the imprudent bounty of the late emperor had introduced into the military service. The citizens and subjects had purchased an exemption from the indispensable duty of defending their country, which was supported by the arms of barbarian mercenaries. The fugitives of Scythia were permitted to disgrace the illustrious dignities of the empire; their ferocious youth, who disdained the salutary restraint of laws, were more anxious to acquire the riches than to imitate the arts of a people the object of their contempt and hatred; and the power of the Goths was the stone of Tantalus, perpetually suspended over the peace and safety of the devoted State. The measures which Synesius recommends are the dictates of a bold and generous patriot. He exhorts the emperor to revive the courage of his subjects by the example of manly virtue; to banish luxury from the court and from the camp; to substitute in the place of the barbarian mercenaries an army of men interested in the defence of their laws and of their property; to force, in such a moment of public danger, the mechanic from his shop and the philosopher from his school; to rouse the indolent citizen from his dream of pleasure; and to arm, for the protection of agriculture, the hands of the laborious husbandman. At the head of such troops, who might deserve the name and would display the spirit of Romans, he animates the son of

Alaric is declared master-general of the Eastern Illyricum, A.D. 398;

* Synesius passed three years (A.D. 397-400) at Constantinople as deputy from Cyrene to the Emperor Arcadius. He presented him with a crown of gold, and pronounced before him the instructive oration *De Regno* (p. 1-32, edit. Petav. Paris, 1612). The philosopher was made Bishop of Ptolemais, A.D. 410, and died about 430. See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclési.* tom. xii. p. 499, 554, 683-685.

Theodosius to encounter a race of barbarians who were destitute of any real courage; and never to lay down his arms till he had chased them far away into the solitudes of Scythia, or had reduced them to the state of ignominious servitude which the Lacedæmonians formerly imposed on the captive Helots.²¹ The Court of Arcadius indulged the zeal, applauded the eloquence, and neglected the advice of Synesius. Perhaps the philosopher, who addresses the Emperor of the East in the language of reason and virtue which he might have used to a Spartan king, had not condescended to form a practicable scheme, consistent with the temper and circumstances of a degenerate age. Perhaps the pride of the ministers, whose business was seldom interrupted by reflection, might reject, as wild and visionary, every proposal which exceeded the measure of their capacity and deviated from the forms and precedents of office. While the oration of Synesius and the downfall of the barbarians were the topics of popular conversation, an edict was published at Constantinople which declared the promotion of Alaric to the rank of Master-general of the Eastern Illyricum. The Roman provincials, and the allies who had respected the faith of treaties, were justly indignant that the ruin of Greece and Epirus should be so liberally rewarded. The Gothic conqueror was received as a lawful magistrate in the cities which he had so lately besieged. The fathers whose sons he had massacred, the husbands whose wives he had violated, were subject to his authority; and the success of his rebellion encouraged the ambition of every leader of the foreign mercenaries. The use to which Alaric applied his new command distinguishes the firm and judicious character of his policy. He issued his orders to the four magazines and manufactures of offensive and defensive arms—Margus, Ratiaria, Naisus, and Thessalonica—to provide his troops with an extraordinary supply of shields, helmets, swords, and spears; the unhappy provincials were compelled to forge the instruments of their own destruction; and the barbarians removed the only defect which had sometimes disappointed the efforts of their

²¹ Synesius de Regno, p. 21-26.

courage.²² The birth of Alaric, the glory of his past exploits, and the confidence in his future designs insensibly united the body of the nation under his victorious standard; and, with the unanimous consent of the barbarian chieftains, the Master-general of Illyricum was elevated, according to ancient custom, on a shield, and solemnly proclaimed king of the Visigoths.²³ Armed with this double power, seated on the verge of the two empires, he alternately sold his deceitful promises to the courts of Arcadius and Honorius,²⁴ till he declared and executed his resolution of invading the dominions of the West. The provinces of Europe which belonged to the Eastern emperor were already exhausted, those of Asia were inaccessible, and the strength of Constantinople had resisted his attack. But he was tempted by the fame, the beauty, the wealth of Italy, which he had twice visited; and he secretly aspired to plant the Gothic standard on the walls of Rome, and to enrich his army with the accumulated spoils of three hundred triumphs.²⁵

The scarcity of facts²⁶ and the uncertainty of dates²⁷ oppose

²²

— qui fœdera rumpit
Ditatur: qui servat, eget: vastator Achivæ
Gentis, et Epirum nuper populatus inultam
Præsides Illyrico: jam, quos obsedit, amicos
Ingreditur muros; illis responsa daturus
Quorum conjugibus potitur, natosque peremit.

Claudian in Eutrop. l. ii. 212. Alaric applauds his own policy (De Bell. Getico, 538–543) in the use which he had made of this Illyrian jurisdiction.

²³ Jornandes, c. 29, p. 651 [edit. Grot 1655; p. 81, edit. Lugd. B. 1597]. The Gothic historian adds, with unusual spirit, “Cum suis deliberans suavit suavit labore quæreret regna, quam alienis per otium subjaceret.”

²⁴

— Discors odiisque anceps civilibus orbis
Non sua vis tutata diu, dum fœdera fallax
Ludit, et alternæ perjuria venditat aulæ.—Claud. de Bell. Get. 565.

²⁵

Alpibus Italæ ruptis penetrabis ad Urbem.

This authentic prediction was announced by Alaric, or at least by Claudian (De Bell. Getico, 547), seven years before the event. But as it was not accomplished within the term which has been rashly fixed, the interpreters escaped through an ambiguous meaning

²⁶ Our best materials are 970 verses of Claudian, in the poem on the Getic war, and the beginning of that which celebrates the sixth consulship of Honorius. Zonaras is totally silent; and we are reduced to such scraps, or rather crumbs, as we can pick from Orosius and the Chronicles.

²⁷ Notwithstanding the gross errors of Jornandes, who confounds the Italian

our attempts to describe the circumstances of the first invasion of Italy by the arms of Alaric. His march, perhaps from Thessalonica, through the warlike and hostile country of Pannonia, as far as the foot of the Julian Alps; his passage of those mountains, which were strongly guarded by troops and intrenchments; the siege of Aquileia, and the conquest of the provinces of Istria and Venetia appear to have employed a considerable time. Unless his operations were extremely cautious and slow, the length of the interval would suggest a probable suspicion that the Gothic king retreated towards the banks of the Danube, and reinforced his army with fresh swarms of barbarians, before he again attempted to penetrate into the heart of Italy.* Since the public and important events escape the diligence of the historian, he may amuse himself with contemplating for a moment the influence of the arms of Alaric on the fortunes of two obscure individuals, a presbyter of Aquileia and a husbandman of Verona. The learned Rufinus, who was summoned by his enemies to appear before a Roman synod,²⁸ wisely preferred the dangers of a besieged city; and the barbarians, who furiously shook the walls of Aquileia, might save him from the cruel sentence of another heretic, who, at the request of the same bishops, was severely whipped and condemned to perpetual exile on a desert island.²⁹ The *old man*,³⁰ who had passed his simple and

wars of Alaric (c. 29), his date of the consulship of Stilicho and Aurelian (A.D. 400) is firm and respectable. It is certain from Claudian (Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* tom. v. p. 804) that the battle of Pollentia was fought A.D. 403; but we cannot easily fill the interval.

²⁸ *Tantum Romanæ urbis judicium fugis, ut magis obsidionem barbaricam, quam pacatæ urbis judicium velis sustinere.*—Jerome, tom. ii. p. 239. Rufinus understood his own danger; the *peaceful* city was inflamed by the beldam Marcella and the rest of Jerome's faction.

²⁹ Jovinian, the enemy of fasts and of celibacy, who was persecuted and insulted by the furious Jerome (Jortin's *Remarks*, vol. iv. p. 104, etc.). See the original edict of banishment in the Theodosian Code, l. xvi. tit. v. leg. 53.

³⁰ This epigram (*De Sene Veronensi qui suburbium nusquam egressus est*) is one

* The events which Gibbon supposes to have taken place in 400-402 are uncertain. We only know that Alaric crossed the Alps in the winter of 402 (Claudian, vi. *Cons. Honor.* 440, *Bell. Get.* 471), entered Italy towards the close of this year, and fought the battle of Pollentia on Easter Day, 403. See Clinton, *Fast. Rom.* vol. i. p. 550.—S.

innocent life in the neighborhood of Verona, was a stranger to the quarrels both of kings and of bishops. *His* pleasures, his desires, his knowledge, were confined within the little circle of his paternal farm; and a staff supported his aged steps on the same ground where he had sported in his infancy. Yet even this humble and rustic felicity (which Claudian describes with so much truth and feeling) was still exposed to the undistinguishing rage of war. His trees, his old *contemporary* trees," must blaze in the conflagration of the whole country; a detachment of Gothic cavalry might sweep away his cottage and his family; and the power of Alaric could destroy this happiness which he was not able either to taste or to bestow. "Fame," says the poet, "encircling with terror her gloomy wings, proclaimed the march of the barbarian army, and filled Italy with consternation." The apprehensions of each individual were increased in just proportion to the measure of his fortune; and the most timid, who had already embarked their valuable effects, meditated their escape to the island of Sicily or the African coast. The public distress was aggravated by the fears and reproaches of superstition." Every hour produced some horrid tale of strange and portentous accidents. The pagans deplored the neglect of omens and the interruption of sacrifices; but the Christians still derived some comfort from the powerful intercession of the saints and martyrs."

The Emperor Honorius was distinguished above his subjects by the pre-eminence of fear as well as of rank. The

of the earliest and most pleasing compositions of Claudian. Cowley's imitation (Hurd's edition, vol. II. p. 241) has some natural and happy strokes; but it is much inferior to the original portrait, which is evidently drawn from the life.

²¹

Ingentem meminit parvo qui germine quercum
Æquævumque videt consenuisse nemus.

A neighboring wood born with himself he sees,
And loves his old contemporary trees

In this passage Cowley is perhaps superior to his original; and the English poet, who was a good botanist, has concealed the *oaks* under a more general expression.

²² Claudian de Bell. Get. 199-266. He may seem prolix; but fear and superstition occupied as large a space in the minds of the Italians.

²³ From the passages of Paulinus which Baronius has produced (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 403. No. 51) it is manifest that the general alarm had pervaded all Italy, as far as Nola, in Campania, where that famous penitent had fixed his abode.

pride and luxury in which he was educated had not allowed him to suspect that there existed on the earth any power presumptuous enough to invade the repose of the successor of Augustus. The arts of flattery concealed the impending danger till Alaric approached the palace of Milan. But when the sound of war had awakened the young emperor, instead of flying to arms with the spirit, or even the rashness, of his age, he eagerly listened to those timid counsellors who proposed to convey his sacred person and his faithful attendants to some secure and distant station in the provinces of Gaul. Stilicho alone⁴⁴ had courage and authority to resist this disgraceful measure, which would have abandoned Rome and Italy to the barbarians; but as the troops of the palace had been lately detached to the Rhætian frontier, and as the resource of new levies was slow and precarious, the General of the West could only promise that, if the Court of Milan would maintain their ground during his absence, he would soon return with an army equal to the encounter of the Gothic king. Without losing a moment (while each moment was so important to the public safety), Stilicho hastily embarked on the Larian lake, ascended the mountains of ice and snow amidst the severity of an Alpine winter, and suddenly repressed, by his unexpected presence, the enemy who had disturbed the tranquillity of Rhætia.⁴⁵ The barbarians, perhaps some tribes of the Alemanni, respected the firmness of a chief who still assumed the language of command; and the choice which he condescended to make of a select number of their bravest youth was considered as a mark of his esteem and favor. The cohorts, who were delivered from the neighboring foe, diligently repaired to the imperial standard: and Stilicho issued his orders to the most remote troops of the West, to advance, by rapid marches, to the defence of Honorius and of Italy. The fortresses of the Rhine were

⁴⁴ "Solut erat Stilicho," etc., is the exclusive commendation which Claudian bestows (De Bell. Get. 267), without condescending to except the emperor. How insignificant must Honorius have appeared in his own court!

⁴⁵ The face of the country and the hardness of Stilicho are finely described (De Bell. Get. 340-363).

joyed the proud satisfaction of seeing the Emperor of the Romans fly before him. Honorius, accompanied by a feeble train of statesmen and eunuchs, hastily retreated towards the Alps, with the design of securing his person in the city of Arles, which had often been the royal residence of his predecessors. But Honorius³⁸ had scarcely passed the Po before he was overtaken by the speed of the Gothic cavalry;³⁹ since the urgency of the danger compelled him to seek a temporary shelter within the fortification of Asta, a town of Liguria or Piemont, situate on the banks of the Tanarus.⁴⁰ The siege of an obscure place, which contained so rich a prize, and seemed incapable of a long resistance, was instantly formed and indefatigably pressed by the King of the Goths; and the bold declaration, which the emperor might afterwards make, that his breast had never been susceptible of fear, did not probably obtain much credit even in his own court.⁴¹ In the last and almost hopeless extremity, after the barbarians had already proposed the indignity of a capitulation, the imperial

³⁸ Claudian does not clearly answer our question, Where was Honorius himself? Yet the flight is marked by the pursuit; and my idea of the Gothic war is justified by the Italian critics, Sigonius (tom. i. p. ii. p. 369, de Imp. Occident. l. x.) and Muratori (Annali d' Italia, tom. iv. p. 45).

³⁹ One of the roads may be traced in the Itineraries (p. 98, 288, 294, with Wesseling's Notes). Asta lay some miles on the right hand.

⁴⁰ Asta, or Asti, a Roman colony, is now the capital of a pleasant county, which in the sixteenth century devolved to the Dukes of Savoy (Leandro Alberti, Descrizione d' Italia, p. 382).

⁴¹ "Nec me timor impulit ullus." He might hold this proud language the next year at Rome, five hundred miles from the scene of danger (vi. Cons. Hon. 449).

* There is no authority for Gibbon's statement that Honorius, on his way to Arles, took refuge in Asta. It is simply an hypothesis to account for the presence of Alaric in Liguria, and rests only upon Claudian's mention of Asta in conjunction with Pollentia:

— nec plus Pollentia rebus
Contulit Ausonius, aut mœnia vindicis Astæ.

vi Cons. Hon. 208.

We have decisive evidence from the dates of laws in the Codex Theodosianus that Honorius was in Ravenna in December, 402, and in February, 403; and there can therefore be no reasonable doubt that Honorius fled straight from Milan to Ravenna, where he was at the time of the battle of Pollentia. After this battle Claudian (vi. Cons. Hon. 493) represents him as setting out from Ravenna on his journey towards Rome. See Aschbach, Gesch. der Westgothen, p. 72, and note 62.—S.

captive was suddenly relieved by the fame, the approach, and at length the presence of the hero whom he had so long expected. At the head of a chosen and intrepid vanguard, Stilicho swam the stream of the Addua, to gain the time which he must have lost in the attack of the bridge. The passage of the Po was an enterprise of much less hazard and difficulty; and the successful action in which he cut his way through the Gothic camp under the walls of Asta revived the hopes and vindicated the honor of Rome. Instead of grasping the fruit of his victory, the barbarian was gradually invested on every side by the troops of the West, who successively issued through all the passes of the Alps; his quarters were straitened; his convoys were intercepted; and the vigilance of the Romans prepared to form a chain of fortifications, and to besiege the lines of the besiegers. A military council was assembled of the long-haired chiefs of the Gothic nation; of aged warriors, whose bodies were wrapped in furs, and whose stern countenances were marked with honorable wounds. They weighed the glory of persisting in their attempt against the advantage of securing their plunder; and they recommended the prudent measure of a seasonable retreat. In this important debate, Alaric displayed the spirit of the conqueror of Rome; and after he had reminded his countrymen of their achievements and of their designs, he concluded his animating speech by the solemn and positive assurance that he was resolved to find in Italy either a kingdom or a grave.⁴²

The loose discipline of the barbarians always exposed them to the danger of a surprise; but, instead of choosing the dissolute hours of riot and intemperance, Stilicho resolved to attack the *Christian* Goths whilst they were devoutly employed in celebrating the festival of Easter.⁴³ The execution of the stratagem, or, as it was

Battle of
Pollentia.
A.D. 408.
March 29.

⁴² Hanc ego vel victor regno, vel morte tenebo
Victus, humum.

The speeches (De Bell. Get. 479-549) of the Gothic Nestor and Achilles are strong, characteristic, adapted to the circumstances, and possibly not less genuine than those of Livy.

⁴³ Orosius (l. vii. c. 37) is shocked at the impiety of the Romans, who attacked

termed by the clergy, of the sacrilege, was intrusted to Saul, a barbarian and a pagan, who had served, however, with distinguished reputation among the veteran generals of Theodosius. The camp of the Goths, which Alaric had pitched in the neighborhood of Pollentia,⁴⁴ was thrown into confusion by the sudden and impetuous charge of the imperial cavalry; but, in a few moments, the undaunted genius of their leader gave them an order and a field of battle; and, as soon as they had recovered from their astonishment, the pious confidence that the God of the Christians would assert their cause added new strength to their native valor. In this engagement, which was long maintained with equal courage and success, the chief of the Alani, whose diminutive and savage form concealed a magnanimous soul, approved his suspected loyalty by the zeal with which he fought and fell in the service of the republic; and the fame of this gallant barbarian has been imperfectly preserved in the verses of Claudian, since the poet, who celebrates his virtue, has omitted the mention of his name. His death was followed by the flight and dismay of the squadrons which he commanded; and the defeat of the wing of cavalry might have decided the victory of Alaric, if Stilicho had not immediately led the Roman and barbarian infantry to the attack. The skill of the general and the bravery of the soldiers surmounted every obstacle. In the evening of the bloody day, the Goths retreated from the field of battle; the intrenchments of their camp were forced, and the scene of rapine and slaughter made some atonement for the calamities which they had inflicted on the subjects of the empire.⁴⁵ The magnificent

on Easter-Sunday such pious Christians. Yet, at the same time, public prayers were offered at the shrine of St. Thomas of Edessa for the destruction of the Arian robber. See Tillemont (*Hist. des. Emp.* tom. v. p. 529), who quotes a homily which has been erroneously ascribed to St. Chrysostom.

⁴⁴ The vestiges of Pollentia are twenty-five miles to the southeast of Turin. *Urbs*, in the same neighborhood, was a royal chase of the kings of Lombardy, and a small river, which excused the prediction, "*penetrabis ad urbem*." (Cluver. *Ital. Antiq.* tom. i. p. 88-85.)

⁴⁵ Orosius wishes, in doubtful words, to insinuate the defeat of the Romans. "*Pugnantes vicimus, victores victi sumus*." Prosper (in *Chron.*) makes it an equal and bloody battle; but the Gothic writers Cassiodorus (in *Chron.*) and Jordanes (*De Reb. Get.* c. 30) claim a decisive victory.

spoils of Corinth and Argos enriched the veterans of the West; the captive wife of Alaric, who had impatiently claimed his promise of Roman jewels and Patrician handmaids," was reduced to implore the mercy of the insulting foe; and many thousand prisoners, released from the Gothic chains, dispersed through the provinces of Italy the praises of their heroic deliverer. The triumph of Stilicho" was compared by the poet, and perhaps by the public, to that of Marius; who, in the same part of Italy, had encountered and destroyed another army of Northern barbarians. The huge bones and the empty helmets of the Cimbri and of the Goths would easily be confounded by succeeding generations; and posterity might erect a common trophy to the memory of the two most illustrious generals, who had vanquished, on the same memorable ground, the two most formidable enemies of Rome."

The eloquence of Claudian" has celebrated, with lavish applause, the victory of Pollentia, one of the most glorious days in the life of his patron; but his reluctant and partial muse bestows more genuine praise on the character of the Gothic king. His name is, indeed, branded with the reproachful epithets of pirate and robber, to which the conquerors of every age are so justly entitled; but the poet of Stilicho is compelled to acknowledge that Alaric possessed the invincible temper of mind which rises superior to every misfortune, and derives new resources from adversity.

Boldness and
retreat of
Alaric.

46

*Demens Ausonidum gemmata monilia matrum,
Romanasque altâ famulas cervice petebat.*

De Bell. Get. 627.

47 Claudian (*De Bell. Get.* 580-647) and Prudentius (in *Symmach.* l. ii. 694-719) celebrate, without ambiguity, the Roman victory of Pollentia. They are poetical and party writers; yet some credit is due to the most suspicious witnesses who are checked by the recent notoriety of facts.

48 Claudian's peroration is strong and elegant; but the identity of the Cimbric and Gothic fields must be understood (like Virgil's *Philippi*, *Georgic* i. 490) according to the loose geography of a poet. *Vercellæ* and *Pollentia* are sixty miles from each other; and the latitude is still greater if the Cimbri were defeated in the wide and barren plain of Verona (*Maffei, Verona Illustrata*, p. i. p. 54-62).

49 Claudian and Prudentius must be strictly examined, to reduce the figures and extort the historic sense of those poets.

After the total defeat of his infantry, he escaped, or rather withdrew, from the field of battle with the greatest part of his cavalry entire and unbroken. Without wasting a moment to lament the irreparable loss of so many brave companions, he left his victorious enemy to bind in chains the captive images of a Gothic king;⁸⁰ and boldly resolved to break through the unguarded passes of the Apennine, to spread desolation over the fruitful face of Tuscany, and to conquer or die before the gates of Rome. The capital was saved by the active and incessant diligence of Stilicho; but he respected the despair of his enemy; and, instead of committing the fate of the republic to the chance of another battle, he proposed to purchase the absence of the barbarians. The spirit of Alaric would have rejected such terms—the permission of a retreat and the offer of a pension—with contempt and indignation; but he exercised a limited and precarious authority over the independent chieftains who had raised him, for *their* service, above the rank of his equals; they were still less disposed to follow an unsuccessful general, and many of them were tempted to consult their interest by a private negotiation with the minister of Honorius. The king submitted to the voice of his people, ratified the treaty with the empire of the West, and re-passed the Po with the remains of the flourishing army which he had led into Italy. A considerable part of the Roman forces still continued to attend his motions; and Stilicho, who maintained a secret correspondence with some of the barbarian chiefs, was punctually apprised of the designs that were formed in the camp and council of Alaric. The King of the Goths, ambitious to signalize his retreat by some splendid achievement, had resolved to occupy the important city of Verona, which commands the principal passage of the Rhætian Alps; and, directing his march through the territories of those German tribes whose alliance would restore his exhaust-

⁸⁰ Et gravant en airain ses frères avantages
De mes états conquis enchaîner les images.

The practice of exposing in triumph the images of kings and provinces was familiar to the Romans. The bust of Mithridates himself was twelve feet high, of massy gold (Freinshem. Supplement. Livian. ciii. 47).

ed strength, to invade, on the side of the Rhine, the wealthy and unsuspecting provinces of Gaul. Ignorant of the treason which had already betrayed his bold and judicious enterprise, he advanced towards the passes of the mountains, already possessed by the imperial troops; where he was exposed, almost at the same instant, to a general attack in the front, on his flanks, and in the rear. In this bloody action, at a small distance from the walls of Verona,^a the loss of the Goths was not less heavy than that which they had sustained in the defeat of Pollentia; and their valiant king, who escaped by the swiftness of his horse, must either have been slain or made prisoner if the hasty rashness of the Alani had not disappointed the measures of the Roman general. Alaric secured the remains of his army on the adjacent rocks; and prepared himself, with undaunted resolution, to maintain a siege against the superior numbers of the enemy, who invested him on all sides. But he could not oppose the destructive progress of hunger and disease; nor was it possible for him to check the continual desertion of his impatient and capricious barbarians. In this extremity he still found resources in his own courage, or in the moderation of his adversary; and the retreat of the Gothic king was considered as the deliverance of Italy.¹ Yet the people, and even the clergy, incapable of forming any rational judgment of the business of peace and war, presumed to arraign the policy of Stilicho, who so often vanquished, so often surrounded, and so often dismissed the implacable enemy of the republic. The first moment of the public safety is devoted to gratitude and joy; but the second is diligently occupied by envy and calumny.²

The citizens of Rome had been astonished by the approach of Alaric; and the diligence with which they labored to re-

¹ The Getic war and the sixth consulship of Honorius obscurely connect the events of Alaric's retreat and losses.

² *Taceo de Alarico . . . sæpe victo, sæpe concluso, semperque dimisso.*—Orosius, l. vii. c. 37, p. 567. Claudian (vi. Cons. Hon. 320) drops the curtain with a fine image.

^a This defeat, and even the battle itself, rests solely upon the authority of Claudian, and ought perhaps to be rejected. See Aschbach, *Gesch. der Westgothen*, p. 76.—S.

store the walls of the capital* confessed their own fears and the decline of the empire. After the retreat of the barbarians, Honorius was directed to accept the dutiful invitation of the senate, and to celebrate in the imperial city the auspicious era of the Gothic victory and of his sixth consulship.³³ The suburbs and the streets, from the Milvian bridge to the Palatine mount, were filled by the Roman people, who, in the space of a hundred years, had only thrice been honored with the presence of their sovereigns. While their eyes were fixed on the chariot where Stilicho was deservedly seated by the side of his royal pupil, they applauded the pomp of a triumph which was not stained, like that of Constantine or of Theodosius, with civil blood. The procession passed under a lofty arch, which had been purposely erected; but in less than seven years the Gothic conquerors of Rome might read, if they were able to read, the superb inscription of that monument, which attested the total defeat and destruction of their nation.³⁴ The emperor resided several months in the capital, and every part of his behavior was regulated with care to conciliate the affection of the clergy, the senate, and the people of Rome. The clergy was edified by his frequent visits and liberal gifts to the shrines of the apostles. The senate, who, in the triumphal procession, had been excused from the humiliating ceremony of preceding on foot the imperial chariot, was treated with the decent reverence which Stilicho always affected for that assembly. The people were repeatedly gratified by the attention and courtesy of Honorius in the public games, which were celebrated on that occasion with a magnificence not unworthy of the spectator. As soon as the appointed number of chariot-races was concluded, the decoration of the circus was suddenly

³³ The remainder of Claudian's poem on the sixth consulship of Honorius describes the journey, the triumph, and the games (380-660).

³⁴ See the inscription in Mascon's *History of the Ancient Germans*, viii. 12. The words are positive and indiscreet: "*Getarum nationem in omne ævum domitam,*" etc.

* Respecting the restoration of the walls of Rome in the time of Honorius, see note, vol. i. p. 592.—S.

changed ; the hunting of wild beasts afforded a various and splendid entertainment ; and the chase was succeeded by a military dance, which seems, in the lively description of Claudian, to present the image of a modern tournament.

In these games of Honorius, the inhuman combats of gladiators⁶⁶ polluted for the last time the amphitheatre of Rome.

The first Christian emperor may claim the honor of the first edict which condemned the art and amusement of shedding human blood ;⁶⁷ but this benevolent law expressed the wishes of the prince, without reforming an inveterate abuse which degraded a civilized nation below the condition of savage cannibals. Several hundred, perhaps several thousand, victims were annually slaughtered in the great cities of the empire ; and the month of December, more peculiarly devoted to the combats of gladiators, still exhibited to the eyes of the Roman people a grateful spectacle of blood and cruelty. Amidst the general joy of the victory of Pollentia, a Christian poet exhorted the emperor to extirpate, by his authority, the horrid custom which had so long resisted the voice of humanity and religion.⁶⁸ The pathetic representations of Prudentius were less effectual than the generous boldness of Telemachus, an Asiatic monk, whose death was more useful to mankind than his life.⁶⁹ The Romans were provoked by the interruption of their pleasures ; and the rash monk, who had descended into the arena to separate the gladiators, was overwhelmed under a shower of stones. But the madness of the people soon subsided : they respected the

The gladiators abolished.

⁶⁶ On the curious though horrid subject of the gladiators, consult the two books of the *Saturnalia* of Lipsius, who, as an *antiquarian*, is inclined to excuse the practice of *antiquity* (tom. iii. p. 483-545).

⁶⁷ Cod. Theodos. l. xv. tit. xii. leg. 1. The Commentary of Godefroy affords large materials (tom. v. p. 896) for the history of gladiators.

⁶⁸ See the peroration of Prudentius (in Symmach. l. ii. 1121-1131), who had doubtless read the eloquent invective of Lactantius (*Divin. Institut.* l. vi. c. 20). The Christian apologists have not spared these bloody games, which were introduced in the religious festivals of paganism.

⁶⁹ Theodoret, l. v. c. 26. I wish to believe the story of St. Telemachus. Yet no church has been dedicated, no altar has been erected, to the only monk who died a martyr in the cause of humanity.

memory of Telemachus, who had deserved the honors of martyrdom; and they submitted, without a murmur, to the laws of Honorius, which abolished forever the human sacrifices of the amphitheatre.* The citizens, who adhered to the manners of their ancestors, might perhaps insinuate that the last remains of a martial spirit were preserved in this school of fortitude, which accustomed the Romans to the sight of blood and to the contempt of death—a vain and cruel prejudice, so nobly confuted by the valor of ancient Greece and of modern Europe!†

The recent danger to which the person of the emperor had been exposed in the defenceless palace of Milan urged him to seek a retreat in some inaccessible fortress of Italy, where he might securely remain, while the open country was covered by a deluge of barbarians. On the coast of the Adriatic, about ten or twelve miles from the most southern of the seven mouths of the Po, the Thessalians had founded the ancient colony of RAVENNA,‡ which they afterwards resigned to the natives of Umbria. Augustus, who had observed the opportunity of the place, prepared, at the distance of three miles from the old town, a capacious harbor for the reception of two hundred and fifty ships of war. This naval establishment, which included the arsenals and magazines, the barracks of the troops, and the

Honorius
fixes his resi-
dence at Ra-
venna.
A.D. 404.

* Crudele gladiatorum spectaculum et inhumanum nonnullis videri solet; et haud scio an ita sit, ut nunc fit.—Cicero, Tusculan. ii. 17. He faintly censures the abuse, and warmly defends the use, of these sports: “oculis nulla poterat esse fortior contra dolorem et mortem disciplina.” Seneca (Epist. vii.) shows the feelings of a man.

† This account of Ravenna is drawn from Strabo (l. v. p. 327 [p. 213, edit. Casaub.]), Pliny (iii. 20), Stephen of Byzantium (sub voce *Ράβερνα*, p. 651, edit. Berkel.), Claudian (in vi. Cons. Honor. 494, etc.), Sidonius Apollinaris (l. i. Epist. 5, 8), Jornandes (De Reb. Get. c. 29), Procopius (De Bell. Goth. l. i. c. i. p. 309, edit. Louvre [tom. ii. p. 8, edit. Bonn]), and Cluverius (Ital. Antiq. tom. i. p. 301-307). Yet I still want a local antiquarian and a good topographical map.

‡ The gladiatorial shows continued even at a later period. Augustine (Confess. vi. 8) and Salvianus (De Gubern. Dei, vi. 2, written after the year 455) complain of the continuance of these games, “ubi summum deliciarum genus est mori homines.” See Lasaulx, Der Untergang des Hellenismus, p. 30.—S.

houses of the artificers, derived its origin and name from the permanent station of the Roman fleet. The intermediate space was soon filled with buildings and inhabitants, and the three extensive and populous quarters of Ravenna gradually contributed to form one of the most important cities of Italy. The principal canal of Augustus poured a copious stream of the waters of the Po through the midst of the city, to the entrance of the harbor. The same waters were introduced into the profound ditches that encompassed the walls; they were distributed by a thousand subordinate canals into every part of the city, which they divided into a variety of small islands; the communication was maintained only by the use of boats and bridges; and the houses of Ravenna, whose appearance may be compared to that of Venice, were raised on the foundation of wooden piles. The adjacent country, to the distance of many miles, was a deep and impassable morass; and the artificial causeway which connected Ravenna with the continent might be easily guarded or destroyed on the approach of a hostile army. These morasses were interspersed, however, with vineyards; and though the soil was exhausted by four or five crops, the town enjoyed a more plentiful supply of wine than of fresh water.⁴¹ The air, instead of receiving the sickly and almost pestilential exhalations of low and marshy grounds, was distinguished, like the neighborhood of Alexandria, as uncommonly pure and salubrious; and this singular advantage was ascribed to the regular tides of the Adriatic, which swept the canals, interrupted the unwholesome stagnation of the waters, and floated, every day, the vessels of the adjacent country into the heart of Ravenna. The gradual retreat of the sea has left the modern city at the distance of four miles from the Adriatic; and as early as the fifth or sixth century of the Christian era the port of Augustus was converted into pleasant orchards, and a lonely grove of pines covered the

⁴¹ Martial (Epigram iii. 56. 57) plays on the trick of the knave who had sold him wine instead of water; but he seriously declares that a cistern at Ravenna is more valuable than a vineyard. Sidonius complains that the town is destitute of fountains and aqueducts, and ranks the want of fresh water among the local evils, such as the croaking of frogs, the stinging of gnats, etc.

ground where the Roman fleet once rode at anchor." Even this alteration contributed to increase the natural strength of the place, and the shallowness of the water was a sufficient barrier against the large ships of the enemy. This advantageous situation was fortified by art and labor; and in the twentieth year of his age the Emperor of the West, anxious only for his personal safety, retired to the perpetual confinement of the walls and morasses of Ravenna. The example of Honorius was imitated by his feeble successors, the Gothic kings, and afterwards the exarchs, who occupied the throne and palace of the emperors; and till the middle of the eighth century Ravenna was considered as the seat of government and the capital of Italy."

The fears of Honorius were not without foundation, nor were his precautions without effect. While Italy rejoiced in her deliverance from the Goths, a furious tempest was excited among the nations of Germany, who yielded to the irresistible impulse that appears to have been gradually communicated from the eastern extremity of the continent of Asia. The Chinese annals, as they have been interpreted by the learned industry of the present age, may be usefully applied to reveal the secret and remote causes of the fall of the Roman empire. The extensive territory to the north of the great wall was possessed after the flight of the Huns by the victorious Sienpi, who were sometimes broken into independent tribes and sometimes reunited under a supreme chief; till at length, styling themselves *Topa*, or masters of the earth, they acquired a more solid consistence and a more formidable power. The *Topa* soon compelled the pastoral nations of the eastern desert to acknowledge the superiority of their arms. They invaded China in a period of weak-

The revolutions of Scythia.
A.D. 400.

"The fable of Theodore and Honoria, which Dryden has so admirably transplanted from Boccaccio (*Giornata* iii. novell. viii.) was acted in the wood of *Chiassi*, a corrupt word from *Classis*, the naval station, which, with the intermediate road or suburb, the *Via Casaris*, constituted the triple city of Ravenna.

"From the year 404 the dates of the Theodosian Code become sedentary at Constantinople and Ravenna. See Godefroy's *Chronology of the Laws*, tom. i. p. cxlviii., etc.

ness and intestine discord; and these fortunate Tartars, adopting the laws and manners of the vanquished people, founded an imperial dynasty, which reigned near one hundred and sixty years over the northern provinces of the monarchy. Some generations before they ascended the throne of China, one of the Topa princes had enlisted in his cavalry a slave of the name of Moko, renowned for his valor, but who was tempted by the fear of punishment to desert his standard, and to range the desert at the head of a hundred followers. This gang of robbers and outlaws swelled into a camp, a tribe, a numerous people, distinguished by the appellation of *Geourgen*; and their hereditary chieftains, the posterity of Moko the slave, assumed their rank among the Scythian monarchs. The youth of Toulun, the greatest of his descendants, was exercised by those misfortunes which are the school of heroes. He bravely struggled with adversity, broke the imperious yoke of the Topa, and became the legislator of his nation and the conqueror of Tartary. His troops were distributed into regular bands of a hundred and of a thousand men; cowards were stoned to death; the most splendid honors were proposed as the reward of valor; and Toulun, who had knowledge enough to despise the learning of China, adopted only such arts and institutions as were favorable to the military spirit of his government. His tents, which he removed in the winter season to a more southern latitude, were pitched during the summer on the fruitful banks of the Selinga. His conquests stretched from Corea far beyond the river Irtysh. He vanquished, in the country to the north of the Caspian Sea, the nation of the *Huns*; and the new title of *Khan*, or *Cagan*, expressed the fame and power which he derived from this memorable victory."

The chain of events is interrupted, or rather is concealed, as it passes from the Volga to the Vistula, through the dark interval which separates the extreme limits of the Chinese and of the Roman geography. Yet the temper of the barbarians and the experience of successive

Emigration
of the north-
ern Germans.
A.D. 406.

" See M. de Guignes. Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 179-189, tom. ii. p. 295, 384-388.

emigrations sufficiently declare that the Huns, who were oppressed by the arms of the Geougen, soon withdrew from the presence of an insulting victor. The countries towards the Euxine were already occupied by their kindred tribes; and their hasty flight, which they soon converted into a bold attack, would more naturally be directed towards the rich and level plains through which the Vistula gently flows into the Baltic Sea. The North must again have been alarmed and agitated by the invasion of the Huns;^a and the nations who retreated before them must have pressed with incumbent weight on the confines of Germany.⁶⁶ The inhabitants of those regions which the ancients have assigned to the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Burgundians might embrace the resolution of abandoning to the fugitives of Sarmatia their woods and morasses, or at least of discharging their superfluous numbers on the provinces of the Roman empire.⁶⁶ About four years after the victorious Toulun had assumed the title of Khan of the Geougen, another barbarian, the haughty Rhodogast, or Radagaisus,⁶⁷ marched from the northern extremities of Germany

⁶⁶ Procopius (*De Bell. Vandal.* l. i. c. iii. p. 182 [edit. Paris; tom. i. p. 319, edit. Bonn.]) has observed an emigration from the Palus Mæotis to the north of Germany which he ascribes to famine. But his views of ancient history are strangely darkened by ignorance and error.

⁶⁶ Zosimus (*L. v.* [c. 26] p. 331) uses the general description of the nations beyond the Danube and the Rhine. Their situation, and consequently their names, are manifestly shown, even in the various epithets which each ancient writer may have casually added.

⁶⁷ The name of Rhadagast was that of a local deity of the Obotrites (in Mecklenburg). A hero might naturally assume the appellation of his tutelary god; but it is not probable that the barbarians should worship an unsuccessful hero. See Mascon, *Hist. of the Germans*, viii. 14.^b

^a There is no authority which connects this inroad of the Teutonic tribes with the movements of the Huns. The Huns can hardly have reached the shores of the Baltic; and probably the greater part of the forces of Radagaisus, particularly the Vandals, had long occupied a more southern position.—M.

^b The god of war and of hospitality, with the Vends and all the Slavonian races of Germany, bore the name of Radegast, apparently the same with Radagaisus. His principal temple was at Rhetra, in Mecklenburg. It was adorned with great magnificence. The statue of the god was of gold. St. Martin, vol. v. p. 255. A statue of Radegast, of much coarser materials and of the rudest workmanship, was discovered between 1760 and 1770, with those of other Wendish deities, on the supposed site of Rhetra. The names of the gods were cut upon them in Runic

almost to the gates of Rome, and left the remains of his army to achieve the destruction of the West. The Vandals, the Suevi, and the Burgundians formed the strength of this mighty host; but the Alani, who had found a hospitable reception in their new seats, added their active cavalry to the heavy infantry of the Germans; and the Gothic adventurers crowded so eagerly to the standard of Radagaisus that by some historians he has been styled the King of the Goths.* Twelve thousand warriors, distinguished above the vulgar by their noble birth or their valiant deeds, glittered in the van;" and the whole multitude, which was not less than two hundred thousand fighting-men, might be increased, by the accession of women, of children, and of slaves, to the amount of four hundred thousand persons. This formidable emigration issued from the same coast of the Baltic which had poured forth the myriads of the Cimbri and Teutons to assault Rome and Italy in the vigor of the republic. After the departure of those barbarians, their native country, which was marked by the vestiges of their greatness—long ramparts and gigantic moles"—remained, during some ages, a vast and dreary solitude; till the human species was renewed by the powers of generation, and

* Olympiodorus (apud Photium, p. 180 [p. 57, edit. Bekker]) uses the Latin word *Ὀρτιμάροι*, which does not convey any precise idea^b I suspect that they were the princes and nobles with their faithful companions—the knights with their squires, as they would have been styled some centuries afterwards.

^b Tacit. de Moribus Germanorum, c. 37.

characters. See the very curious volume on these antiquities, *Die gottesdienstlichen Alterthümer der Obotriten*, by Masch and Wogen, Berlin, 1771.—M See also Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 382.—S.

* There can be little doubt that Radagaisus was a Slavonian, and the leader of a great Slavonian migration. This is evident, first from his name—for Radegast was the name of one of the chief Slavonic deities (see preceding note), and a Radagost is also mentioned in A.D. 592 as one of the great Slavonian leaders (*Schafarik, Slawische Alterthümer*, vol. ii. p. 157)—and, secondly, from the districts from which Radagaisus led his forces, for they have from the earliest times been inhabited by the Slavonic race. It is perfectly true that Radagaisus may have been joined by Goths and other German auxiliaries; but it is quite erroneous to regard him as a German leader or a Gothic king. The great body of the Goths remained faithful to their own king, Alaric, and probably regarded Radagaisus and his hosts with aversion both as pagans and Slavonians.—S.

^b *Ὀρτιμάροι* is merely the Latin translation of the word *κεφαλαιῶται*. It is not quite clear whether Gibbon derived his expression "glittered in the van" from translating the word "leaders."—M.

the vacancy was filled by the influx of new inhabitants. The nations who now usurp an extent of land which they are unable to cultivate would soon be assisted by the industrious poverty of their neighbors if the government of Europe did not protect the claims of dominion and property.

The correspondence of nations was in that age so imperfect and precarious that the revolutions of the North might escape the knowledge of the court of Ravenna till the dark cloud which was collected along the coast of the Baltic burst in thunder upon the banks of the Upper Danube. The Emperor of the West, if his ministers disturbed his amusements by the news of the impending danger, was satisfied with being the occasion and the spectator of the war.⁷⁰ The safety of Rome was intrusted to the counsels and the sword of Stilicho; but such was the feeble and exhausted state of the empire that it was impossible to restore the fortifications of the Danube, or to prevent by a vigorous effort the invasion of the Germans.⁷¹ The hopes of the vigilant minister of Honorius were confined to the defence of Italy. He once more abandoned the provinces, recalled the troops, pressed the new levies, which were rigorously exacted and pusillanimously eluded; employed the most efficacious means to arrest or allure the deserters; and offered the gift of freedom and of two pieces of gold to all the slaves who would enlist.⁷² By these

Radagaisus
invades Italy.
A.D. 406.*

Cujus agendi
Spectator vel causa fui

(Claudian, vi. Cons. Hon. 439)

is the modest language of Honorius in speaking of the Gothic war, which he had seen somewhat nearer.

⁷⁰ Zosimus (l. v. [c. 26] p. 331) transports the war and the victory of Stilicho beyond the Danube. A strange error, which is awkwardly and imperfectly cured by reading *Ἀρνον* for *Ἰστρον* (Tillemont, Hist. des Emp. tom. v. p. 807). In good policy, we must use the service of Zosimus without esteeming or trusting him.

⁷² Codex Theodos. l. vii. tit. xiii. leg. 16 The date of this law (A.D. 406, May 18) satisfies me, as it had done Godefroy (tom. ii. p. 387), of the true year of the invasion of Radagaisus. Tillemont, Pagi, and Muratori prefer the preceding year; but they are bound by certain obligations of civility and respect to St. Paulinus of Nola.

* The invasion of Radagaisus was more probably in 405. See Clinton, Fast Rom. vol. i. p. 562.—S.

efforts he painfully collected from the subjects of a great empire an army of thirty or forty thousand men, which in the days of Scipio or Camillus would have been instantly furnished by the free citizens of the territory of Rome." The thirty legions of Stilicho were reinforced by a large body of barbarian auxiliaries; the faithful Alani were personally attached to his service; and the troops of Huns and of Goths, who marched under the banners of their native princes, Huldin and Sarus, were animated by interest and resentment to oppose the ambition of Radagaisus. The king of the confederate Germans passed, without resistance, the Alps, the Po, and the Apennine; leaving on one hand the inaccessible palace of Honorius, securely buried among the marshes of Ravenna, and on the other the camp of Stilicho, who had fixed his headquarters at Ticinum, or Pavia, but who seems to have avoided a decisive battle till he had assembled his distant forces. Many

Besieges
Florence, cities of Italy were pillaged or destroyed; and the siege of Florence⁷³ by Radagaisus is one of the earliest events in the history of that celebrated republic whose firmness checked and delayed the unskilful fury of the barbarians. The senate and people trembled at their approach within a hundred and eighty miles of Rome, and anxiously compared the danger which they had escaped with the new perils to which they were exposed. Alaric was a Christian and a soldier, the leader of a disciplined army; who understood the laws of war, who respected the sanctity of treaties, and who had familiarly conversed with the subjects of the empire in the same camps and the same churches. The savage Radagaisus was a stranger to the manners, the religion, and even the

⁷³ Soon after Rome had been taken by the Gauls, the senate, on a sudden emergency, armed ten legions—3000 horse and 42,000 foot—a force which the city could not have sent forth under Augustus (Livy, vii. 25). This declaration may puzzle an antiquary, but it is clearly explained by Montesquieu.

⁷⁴ Machiavel has explained, at least as a philosopher, the origin of Florence, which insensibly descended, for the benefit of trade, from the rock of Fiesolæ to the banks of the Arno (Istoria Fiorentina, tom. i. l. ii. p. 86, Londra, 1747). The triumphs sent a colony to Florence, which, under Tiberius (Tacit. Annal. i. 79), deserved the reputation and name of a *flourishing* city. See Cluver. Ital. Antiq. tom. i. p. 507, etc.

language of the civilized nations of the South. The fierceness of his temper was exasperated by cruel superstition; and and threatens Rome. it was universally believed that he had bound himself by a solemn vow to reduce the city into a heap of stones and ashes, and to sacrifice the most illustrious of the Roman senators on the altars of those gods who were appeased by human blood. The public danger, which should have reconciled all domestic animosities, displayed the incurable madness of religious faction. The oppressed votaries of Jupiter and Mercury respected in the implacable enemy of Rome the character of a devout pagan; loudly declared that they were more apprehensive of the sacrifices than of the arms of Radagaisus; and secretly rejoiced in the calamities of their country, which condemned the faith of their Christian adversaries."^a

Florence was reduced to the last extremity; and the fainting courage of the citizens was supported only by the authority of St. Ambrose, who had communicated in a dream the promise of a speedy deliverance." On a sudden they beheld from their walls the banners of Stilicho, who advanced with his united force to the relief of the faithful city, and who soon marked that fatal spot for the grave of the barbarian host. The apparent contradictions of those writers who variously relate the defeat of Radagaisus may be reconciled without offering much violence to their respective testimonies. Orosius and Augustine, who were intimately connected by friendship and religion, ascribe this miraculous victory to the providence of God rather than

Defeat and
destruction of
his army by
Stilicho.
A.D. 406.
[A.D. 406.]

^a Yet the Jupiter of Radagaisus, who worshipped Thor and Woden, was very different from the Olympic or Capitoline Jove. The accommodating temper of polytheism might unite those various and remote deities; but the genuine Romans abhorred the human sacrifices of Gaul and Germany.

^b Paulinus (in Vit Ambros. c. 50) relates this story, which he received from the mouth of Pansophia herself, a religious matron of Florence. Yet the archbishop soon ceased to take an active part in the business of the world, and never became a popular saint.

^c Gibbon has rather softened the language of Augustine as to this threatened insurrection of the pagans, in order to restore the prohibited rites and ceremonies of paganism, and their treasonable hopes that the success of Radagaisus would be the triumph of idolatry. Compare Beugnot, ii. 25.—M.

to the valor of man." They strictly exclude every idea of chance, or even of bloodshed, and positively affirm that the Romans, whose camp was the scene of plenty and idleness, enjoyed the distress of the barbarians slowly expiring on the sharp and barren ridge of the hills of Fæsulæ which rise above the city of Florence. Their extravagant assertion that not a single soldier of the Christian army was killed, or even wounded, may be dismissed with silent contempt; but the rest of the narrative of Augustine and Orosius is consistent with the state of the war and the character of Stilicho. Conscious that he commanded the *last* army of the republic, his prudence would not expose it in the open field to the headstrong fury of the Germans. The method of surrounding the enemy with strong lines of circumvallation, which he had twice employed against the Gothic king, was repeated on a larger scale and with more considerable effect. The examples of Cæsar must have been familiar to the most illiterate of the Roman warriors; and the fortifications of Dyrrachium, which connected twenty-four castles by a perpetual ditch and rampart of fifteen miles, afforded the model of an intrenchment which might confine and starve the most numerous host of barbarians." The Roman troops had less degenerated from the industry than from the valor of their ancestors; and if the servile and laborious work offended the pride of the soldiers, Tuscany could supply many thousand peasants who would labor, though perhaps they would not fight, for the salvation of their native country. The imprisoned multitude of horses and men" was gradually de-

" Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, v. 28. Orosius, l. vii. c. 87, p. 567-571. The two friends wrote in Africa ten or twelve years after the victory, and their authority is implicitly followed by Isidore of Seville (in *Chron.* p. 718, edit. Grot.). How many interesting facts might Orosius have inserted in the vacant space which is devoted to pious nonsense!

"

Franguntur montes, planumque per ardua Cæsar
Ducit opus: pandit fossas, turritaque summis
Disponit castella jugis, magnoque recessu
Amplexus fines, saltus, nemorosaque tesqua
Et silvas, vastaque feias indagine claudit.

Yet the simplicity of truth (Cæsar, *De Bell. Civ.* iii. 44) is far greater than the amplifications of Lucan (*Pharsal.* l. vi. 29-63).

" The rhetorical expressions of Orosius, "in arido et aspero montis jugo," "in

stroyed by famine rather than by the sword; but the Romans were exposed during the progress of such an extensive work to the frequent attacks of an impatient enemy. The despair of the hungry barbarians would precipitate them against the fortifications of Stilicho. The general might sometimes indulge the ardor of his brave auxiliaries, who eagerly pressed to assault the camp of the Germans; and these various incidents might produce the sharp and bloody conflicts which dignify the narrative of Zosimus and the Chronicles of Prosper and Marcellinus.⁸⁰ A seasonable supply of men and provisions had been introduced into the walls of Florence, and the famished host of Radagaisus was in its turn besieged. The proud monarch of so many warlike nations, after the loss of his bravest warriors, was reduced to confide either in the faith of a capitulation or in the clemency of Stilicho.⁸¹ But the death of the royal captive, who was ignominiously beheaded, disgraced the triumph of Rome and of Christianity; and the short delay of his execution was sufficient to brand the conqueror with the guilt of cool and deliberate cruelty.⁸² The

unum ac parvum verticem," are not very suitable to the encampment of a great army. But Fiesulæ, only three miles from Florence, might afford space for the headquarters of Radagaisus, and would be comprehended within the circuit of the Roman lines.

⁸⁰ See Zosimus, l. v. [c. 26] p. 331, and the Chronicles of Prosper and Marcellinus.

⁸¹ Olympiodorus (apud Photium, p. 180 [p. 57, edit. Bekk.]) uses an expression (*προσηραπίσaro*) which would denote a strict and friendly alliance, and render Stilicho still more criminal. The "*paulisper retentus, deinde interfectus*," of Orosius [p. 570] is sufficiently odious.^a

⁸² Orosius, piously inhuman, sacrifices the king and people—Agag and the Amalekites—without a symptom of compassion. The bloody actor is less detestable than the cool, unfeeling historian.^b

^a Gibbon, by translating this passage of Olympiodorus as if it had been good Greek, has probably fallen into an error: οὗς καταπολέμησας Στελίων Ροδογαίων προσηραπίσaro. The natural order of the words is as Gibbon translates it; but προσηραπίσaro, it is almost clear, refers to the Gothic chiefs, "whom Stilicho, after he had defeated Radagaisus, attached to his army." So in the version corrected by Classen for Niebühr's edition of the Byzantines, p. 450.—M.

^b Considering the vow which he was universally believed to have made to destroy Rome, and to sacrifice the senators on the altars, and that he is said to have immolated his prisoners to his gods, the execution of Radagaisus, if, as it appears, he was taken in arms, cannot deserve Gibbon's severe condemnation. Mr. Her-

famished Germans who escaped the fury of the auxiliaries were sold as slaves at the contemptible price of as many single pieces of gold; but the difference of food and climate swept away great numbers of those unhappy strangers; and it was observed that the inhuman purchasers, instead of reaping the fruits of their labor, were soon obliged to provide the expense of their interment. Stilicho informed the emperor and the senate of his success, and deserved a second time the glorious title of Deliverer of Italy.³³

The fame of the victory, and more especially of the miracle, has encouraged a vain persuasion that the whole army, or rather nation, of Germans who migrated from the shores of the Baltic miserably perished under the walls of Florence. Such indeed was the fate of Radagaisus himself, of his brave and faithful companions, and of more than one third of the various multitude of Sueves and Vandals, of Alani and Burgundians, who adhered to the standard of their general.³⁴ The union of such an army might excite our surprise, but the causes of separation are obvious and forcible—the pride of birth, the insolence of valor, the jealousy of command, the impatience of subordination, and the obstinate conflict of opinions, of interests, and of passions, among so many kings and warriors, who were untaught to yield or to obey. After the defeat of Radagaisus, two parts of the German host, which must have exceeded the number of one hundred thousand men, still remained in arms between the Apennine and the Alps, or between the Alps and the Danube. It is uncertain whether they

The remainder of the Germans invaded Gaul.
A.D. 406.
[A.D. 405.]
Dec. 81.

³³ And Claudian's muse, was she asleep? had she been ill-paid? Methinks the seventh consulship of Honorius (A.D. 407) would have furnished the subject of a noble poem. Before it was discovered that the State could no longer be saved, Stilicho (after Romulus, Camillus, and Marius) might have been worthily surnamed the fourth founder of Rome.

³⁴ A luminous passage of Prosper's Chronicle, "*In tres partes, per diversos principes, divisus exercitus*," reduces the miracle of Florence, and connects the history of Italy, Gaul, and Germany.

bert (notes to his poem of Attila, p. 317) justly observes that "Stilicho had probably authority for hanging him on the first tree." Marcellinus, adds Mr. Herbert, attributes the execution to the Gothic chiefs Huldin and Sarnus.—M.

attempted to revenge the death of their general; but their irregular fury was soon diverted by the prudence and firmness of Stilicho, who opposed their march and facilitated their retreat, who considered the safety of Rome and Italy as the great object of his care, and who sacrificed with too much indifference the wealth and tranquillity of the distant provinces.⁸⁵ The barbarians acquired, from the junction of some Pannonian deserters, the knowledge of the country and of the roads, and the invasion of Gaul, which Alaric had designed, was executed by the remains of the great army of Radagaisus.⁸⁶

Yet if they expected to derive any assistance from the tribes of Germany who inhabited the banks of the Rhine, their hopes were disappointed. The Alemanni preserved a state of inactive neutrality, and the Franks distinguished their zeal and courage in the defence of the empire. In the rapid progress down the Rhine which was the first act of the administration of Stilicho, he had applied himself with peculiar attention to secure the alliance of the warlike Franks, and to remove the irreconcilable enemies of peace and of the republic. Marcomir, one of their kings, was publicly convicted before the tribunal of the Roman magistrate of violating the faith of treaties. He was sentenced to a mild but distant exile in the province of Tuscany; and this degradation of the regal dignity was so far from exciting the resentment of his subjects that they punished with death the turbulent Sunno, who attempted to revenge his brother, and maintained a dutiful allegiance to the princes who were established on the throne by the choice of

⁸⁵ Orosius and Jerome positively charge him with instigating the invasion. "*Excitatus a Stilichone gentes,*" etc. They must mean *indirectly*. He saved Italy at the expense of Gaul.

⁸⁶ The Count de Buat is satisfied that the Germans who invaded Gaul were the *two thirds* that yet remained of the army of Radagaisus. See the *Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Europe* (tom. vii. p. 87, 121, Paris, 1772), an elaborate work, which I had not the advantage of perusing till the year 1777. As early as 1771, I find the same idea expressed in a rough draught of the present History. I have since observed a similar intimation in Mascou (viii. 15). Such agreement, without mutual communication, may add some weight to our common sentiment.

Stilicho." When the limits of Gaul and Germany were shaken by the northern emigration, the Franks bravely encountered the single force of the Vandals, who, regardless of the lessons of adversity, had again separated their troops from the standard of their barbarian allies. They paid the penalty of their rashness; and twenty thousand Vandals, with their king, Godigisclus, were slain in the field of battle. The whole people must have been extirpated if the squadrons of the Alani, advancing to their relief, had not trampled down the infantry of the Franks, who, after an honorable resistance, were compelled to relinquish the unequal contest. The victorious confederates pursued their march, and on the last day of the year, in a season when the waters of the Rhine were most probably frozen, they entered without opposition the defenceless provinces of Gaul. This memorable passage of the Suevi, the Vandals, the Alani, and the Burgundians, who never afterwards retreated, may be considered as the fall of the Roman empire in the countries beyond the Alps; and the barriers which had so long separated the savage and the civilized nations of the earth were from that fatal moment levelled with the ground.⁸⁷

While the peace of Germany was secured by the attachment of the Franks and the neutrality of the Alemanni, the subjects of Rome, unconscious of their approaching calamities, enjoyed the state of quiet and prosperity which had seldom blessed the frontiers of Gaul. Their flocks and herds were permitted to graze in the pastures of the barbarians; their huntsmen penetrated, without fear or

Desolation
of Gaul.
A.D. 407, etc.
[A.D. 406, etc.]

——— Provincia missos
Expellet citius fasces, quam Francia reges
Quos dederis.

Claudian (i. Cons. Stil. l. i 235, etc.) is clear and satisfactory. These kings of France are unknown to Gregory of Tours, but the author of the *Gesta Francorum* mentions both Sunno and Marcomir, and names the latter as the father of Pharamond (in tom. ii p. 543). He seems to write from good materials, which he did not understand.

⁸⁷ See Zosimus (l. vi. [c. 3] p. 373), Orosius (l. vii. c. 40, p. 576), and the *Chronicles*. Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 9, p. 165, in the second volume of the *Historians of France*) has preserved a valuable fragment of Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus, whose three names denote a Christian, a Roman subject, and a semi-barbarian.

danger, into the darkest recesses of the Hercynian wood." The banks of the Rhine were crowned, like those of the Tiber, with elegant houses and well-cultivated farms; and if a poet descended the river, he might express his doubt on which side was situated the territory of the Romans." This scene of peace and plenty was suddenly changed into a desert; and the prospect of the smoking ruins could alone distinguish the solitude of nature from the desolation of man. The flourishing city of Mentz was surprised and destroyed, and many thousand Christians were inhumanly massacred in the church. Worms perished after a long and obstinate siege; Strasburg, Spire, Rheims, Tournay, Arras, Amiens, experienced the cruel oppression of the German yoke; and the consuming flames of war spread from the banks of the Rhine over the greatest part of the seventeen provinces of Gaul. That rich and extensive country, as far as the ocean, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, was delivered to the barbarians, who drove before them in a promiscuous crowd the bishop, the senator, and the virgin, laden with the spoils of their houses and altars." The ecclesiastics, to whom we are indebted for this vague description of the public calamities, embraced the opportunity of exhorting the Christians to repent of the sins which had provoked the Divine Justice, and to renounce the perishable goods of a wretched and deceitful world. But as the Pelagian controversy," which

⁸⁰ Claudian (l. Cons. Stil. l. i. 221, etc.; l. ii. 186) describes the peace and prosperity of the Gallic frontier. The Abbé Dubos (Hist. Critique, etc., tom. i. p. 174) would read *Alba* (a nameless rivulet of the Ardennes) instead of *Albis*; and expatiates on the danger of the Gallic cattle grazing beyond the *Elbe*. Foolish enough! In poetical geography, the Elbe and the Hercynian signify any river or any wood in Germany. Claudian is not prepared for the strict examination of our antiquaries.

⁸¹

———— Germinasque viator

Cum videat ripas, quæ sit Romana requirat.

⁸¹ Jerome, tom. i. p. 93 [Epist. cxxiii. c. 16, tom. i. p. 908, edit. Vallars.]. See, in the first volume of the Historians of France, p. 777, 782, the proper extracts from the *Carmen de Providentiâ Divinâ*, and *Salvian*. The anonymous poet was himself a captive, with his bishop and fellow-citizens.

⁸² The Pelagian doctrine, which was first agitated A.D. 405, was condemned, in the space of ten years, at Rome and Carthage. St. Augustine fought and conquered; but the Greek Church was favorable to his adversaries; and (what is

attempts to sound the abyss of grace and predestination, soon became the serious employment of the Latin clergy, the Providence which had decreed, or foreseen, or permitted such a train of moral and natural evils was rashly weighed in the imperfect and fallacious balance of reason. The crimes and the misfortunes of the suffering people were presumptuously compared with those of their ancestors, and they arraigned the Divine Justice, which did not exempt from the common destruction the feeble, the guiltless, the infant portion of the human species. These idle disputants overlooked the invariable laws of nature, which have connected peace with innocence, plenty with industry, and safety with valor. The timid and selfish policy of the Court of Ravenna might recall the Palatine legions for the protection of Italy; the remains of the stationary troops might be unequal to the arduous task; and the barbarian auxiliaries might prefer the unbounded license of spoil to the benefits of a moderate and regular stipend. But the provinces of Gaul were filled with a numerous race of hardy and robust youth, who, in the defence of their houses, their families, and their altars, if they had dared to die, would have deserved to vanquish. The knowledge of their native country would have enabled them to oppose continual and insuperable obstacles to the progress of an invader; and the deficiency of the barbarians in arms as well as in discipline removed the only pretence which excuses the submission of a populous country to the inferior numbers of a veteran army. When France was invaded by Charles the Fifth, he inquired of a prisoner how many *days* Paris might be distant from the frontier; "Perhaps *twelve*, but they will be days of battle:" such was the gallant answer which checked the arrogance of that ambitious prince. The subjects of Honorius and those of Francis the First were animated by a very different spirit; and in less than two years the divided troops of the savages of the

singular enough) the people did not take any part in a dispute which they could not understand.

" See the Mémoires de Guillaume du Bellay, l. vi. In French, the original reproof is less obvious and more pointed, from the double sense of the word *journée*, which alike signifies a day's travel or a battle.

Baltic, whose numbers, were they fairly stated, would appear contemptible, advanced without a combat to the foot of the Pyrenean Mountains.

In the early part of the reign of Honorius, the vigilance of Stilicho had successfully guarded the remote island of Britain

Revolt of the
British army.
A.D. 407.

from her incessant enemies of the ocean, the mountains, and the Irish coast.⁴⁴ But those restless bar-

barians could not neglect the fair opportunity of the Gothic war, when the walls and stations of the province were stripped of the Roman troops. If any of the legionaries were permitted to return from the Italian expedition, their faithful report of the court and character of Honorius must have tended to dissolve the bonds of allegiance, and to exasperate the seditious temper of the British army. The spirit of revolt which had formerly disturbed the age of Gallienus was revived by the capricious violence of the soldiers; and the unfortunate, perhaps the ambitious, candidates who were the objects of their choice were the instruments, and at length the victims, of their passion.⁴⁵ Marcus was the first whom they placed on the throne, as the lawful Emperor of Britain and of the West. They violated, by the hasty murder of Marcus, the oath of fidelity which they had imposed on themselves; and *their* disapprobation of his manners may seem to inscribe an honorable epitaph on his tomb. Gratian was the next whom they adorned with the diadem and the purple; and, at the end of four months, Gratian experienced the fate of his predecessor. The memory of the great Constantine, whom the British legions had given to the

⁴⁴ Claudian (i Cons. Stil. l. ii. 250). It is supposed that the Scots of Ireland invaded by sea the whole western coast of Britain; and some slight credit may be given even to Nennius and the Irish traditions (Carte's Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 169). Whitaker's Genuine History of the Britons, p. 199. The sixty-six Lives of St. Patrick, which were extant in the ninth century, must have contained as many thousand lies; yet we may believe that, in one of these Irish inroads, the future apostle was led away captive (Usher, Antiquit. Eccles. Britann. p. 481; and Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. xvi. p. 456, 782, etc.).

⁴⁵ The British usurpers are taken from Zosimus (l. vi. [c. 2] p. 371-375), Orosius (l. vii. c. 40, p. 576, 577), Olympiodorus (apud Photium, p. 180, 181 [p. 57, edit. Bekker]), the ecclesiastical historians, and the Chronicles. The Latins are ignorant of Marcus.

Church and to the Empire, suggested the singular motive of their third choice. They discovered in the ranks a private soldier of the name of Constantine, and their impetuous levity had already seated him on the throne before they perceived his incapacity to sustain the weight of that glorious appellation.* Yet the authority of Constantine was less precarious and his government was more successful than the transient reigns of Marcus and of Gratian. The danger of leaving his inactive troops in those camps which had been twice polluted with blood and sedition urged him to attempt the reduction of the Western provinces. He landed at Boulogne with an inconsiderable force; and after he had reposed himself some days, he summoned the cities of Gaul, which had escaped the yoke of the barbarians, to acknowledge their lawful sovereign. They obeyed the summons without reluctance. The neglect of the Court of Ravenna had absolved a deserted people from the duty of allegiance. Their actual distress encouraged them to accept any circumstances of change without apprehension, and perhaps with some degree of hope; and they might flatter themselves that the troops, the authority, and even the name of a Roman emperor who fixed his residence in Gaul would protect the unhappy country from the rage of the barbarians. The first successes of Constantine against the detached parties of the Germans were magnified by the voice of adulation into splendid and decisive victories, which the reunion and insolence of the enemy soon reduced to their just value. His negotiations procured a short and precarious truce; and if some tribes of the barbarians were engaged, by the liberality of his gifts and promises, to undertake the defence of the Rhine, these expensive and uncertain treaties, instead of restoring the pristine vigor of the Gallic frontier, served only to disgrace the majesty of the prince, and to exhaust what yet remained of the treasures of the republic. Elated, however, with this imagi-

Constantine
is acknowl-
edged in
Britain and
Gaul.
A D 407.

* "Cum in Constantino *inconstantiam* . . . execrarentur" (Sidonius Apollinaris, l. v. Epist. 9, p. 139, edit. secund. Sirmond.) Yet Sidonius might be tempted by so fair a pun to stigmatize a prince who had disgraced his grandfather.

nary triumph, the vain deliverer of Gaul advanced into the provinces of the South, to encounter a more pressing and personal danger. Sarus, the Goth, was ordered to lay the head of the rebel at the feet of the Emperor Honorius; and the forces of Britain and Italy were unworthily consumed in this domestic quarrel. After the loss of his two bravest generals, Justinian and Nevigastes, the former of whom was slain in the field of battle, the latter in a peaceful but treacherous interview, Constantine fortified himself within the walls of Vienna. The place was ineffectually attacked seven days; and the imperial army supported in a precipitate retreat the ignominy of purchasing a secure passage from the freebooters and outlaws of the Alps.⁹⁷ Those mountains now separated the dominions of two rival monarchs; and the fortifications of the double frontier were guarded by the troops of the empire, whose arms would have been more usefully employed to maintain the Roman limits against the barbarians of Germany and Scythia.

On the side of the Pyrenees, the ambition of Constantine might be justified by the proximity of danger; but his throne was soon established by the conquest, or rather submission, of Spain, which yielded to the influence of regular and habitual subordination, and received the laws and magistrates of the Gallic præfecture. The only opposition which was made to the authority of Constantine proceeded not so much from the powers of government or the spirit of the people as from the private zeal and interest of the family of Theodosius. Four brothers⁹⁸ had obtained, by the favor of their kinsman, the deceased emperor, an honorable rank and ample possessions in their native country; and the grateful youths resolved to risk those advantages in the service of his son. After an unsuccessful effort to

He reduces
Spain.
A.D. 408.

⁹⁷ *Bagaudæ* is the name which Zosimus applies to them; perhaps they deserved a less odious character (see Dubos, *Hist. Critique*, tom. i. p. 208, and this *History*, vol. i. p. 639). We shall hear of them again.

⁹⁸ Verinianns, Didymus, Theodosius, and Lagodius, who in modern courts would be styled princes of the blood, were not distinguished by any rank or privileges above the rest of their fellow-subjects.

maintain their ground at the head of the stationary troop of Lusitania, they retired to their estates, where they armed and levied, at their own expense, a considerable body of slaves and dependents, and boldly marched to occupy the strong posts of the Pyrenean Mountains. This domestic insurrection alarmed and perplexed the sovereign of Gaul and Britain and he was compelled to negotiate with some troops of barbarian auxiliaries for the service of the Spanish war. They were distinguished by the title of *Honorians*,²² a name which might have reminded them of their fidelity to their lawful sovereign; and if it should candidly be allowed that the *Scots* were influenced by any partial affection for a British prince the *Moors* and the *Marcomanni* could be tempted only by the profuse liberality of the usurper, who distributed among the barbarians the military and even the civil honors of Spain. The nine bands of *Honorians*, which may be easily traced on the establishment of the Western empire, could not exceed the number of five thousand men; yet this inconsiderable force was sufficient to terminate a war which had threatened the power and safety of Constantine. The rustic army of the Theodosian family was surrounded and destroyed in the Pyrenees. Two of the brothers had the good fortune to escape by sea to Italy or the East; the other two, after an interval of suspense, were executed at Arles; and if Honorius could remain insensible of the public disgrace, he might perhaps be affected by the personal misfortunes of his generous kinsmen. Such were the feeble arms which decided the possession of the Western provinces of Europe, from the Wall of Antoninus to the Columns of Hercules. The events of peace and war have undoubtedly been diminished by the narrow and imperfect view of the historians of the times, who were equally ignorant of the causes and of the effects of the most important revolutions. But the total decay of the national strength had annihilated even the

²² These *Honoriani* or *Honoriaci* consisted of two bands of Scots or Attacotti, two of Moors, two of Marcomanni, the Victores, the Ascarii, and the Gallicani (*Notitia Imperii*, sect. xxxviii. edit. Lab.). They were part of the sixty-five *Auxilium Palatinum*, and are properly styled ἐν τῇ ἀβλῇ τάξει by Zosimus (l. vi. [c. 4] p. 374).

last resource of a despotic government; and the revenue of exhausted provinces could no longer purchase the military service of a discontented and pusillanimous people.

The poet, whose flattery has ascribed to the Roman eagle the victories of Pollentia and Verona, pursues the hasty retreat of Alaric from the confines of Italy with a horrid train of imaginary spectres, such as might hover over an army of barbarians which was almost exterminated by war, famine, and disease.¹⁰⁰ In the course of this unfortunate expedition, the King of the Goths must indeed have sustained a considerable loss; and his harassed forces required an interval of repose to recruit their numbers and revive their confidence. Adversity had exercised and displayed the genius of Alaric; and the fame of his valor invited to the Gothic standard the bravest of the barbarian warriors, who, from the Euxine to the Rhine, were agitated by the desire of rapine and conquest. He had deserved the esteem, and he soon accepted the friendship, of Stilicho himself. Renouncing the service of the Emperor of the East, Alaric concluded with the Court of Ravenna a treaty of peace and alliance, by which he was declared master-general of the Roman armies throughout the præfecture of Illyricum; as it was claimed, according to the true and ancient limits, by the minister of Honorius.¹⁰¹ The execution of the ambitious design, which was either stipulated or implied in the articles of the treaty, appears to have been suspended by the formidable irruption of Radagaisus; and the neutrality of the Gothic king may perhaps be compared to the indifference of Cæsar, who, in the conspiracy of Catiline, refused either to assist or to oppose the enemy of the republic. After the defeat of the Vandals, Stilicho resumed his pretensions to the provinces of the East, appointed civil

100

——— Comitantur euntem

Pallor, et atra Fames; et saucia lvidus ora

Luctus; et inferno stridentes agmine Morbi.

Claudian in vi. Cons. Hon. 321, etc.

¹⁰¹ These dark transactions are investigated by the Count de Buat (*Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. vii. c. iii.—viii. p. 69–206), whose laborious accuracy may sometimes fatigue a superficial reader.

magistrates for the administration of justice and of the finances, and declared his impatience to lead to the gates of Constantinople the united armies of the Romans and of the Goths. The prudence, however, of Stilicho, his aversion to civil war, and his perfect knowledge of the weakness of the State may countenance the suspicion that domestic peace rather than foreign conquest, was the object of his policy and that his principal care was to employ the forces of Alaric at a distance from Italy. This design could not long escape the penetration of the Gothic king, who continued to hold doubtful, and perhaps a treacherous, correspondence with the rival courts, who protracted, like a dissatisfied mercenary, his languid operations in Thessaly and Epirus, and who soon returned to claim the extravagant reward of his ineffectual services. From his camp near Æmona,¹⁰² on the confines of Italy he transmitted to the Emperor of the West a long account of promises, of expenses, and of demands; called for immediate satisfaction, and clearly intimated the consequences of a refusal. Yet if his conduct was hostile, his language was decent and dutiful. He humbly professed himself the friend of Stilicho and the soldier of Honorius; offered his person and his troops to march without delay against the usurper in Gaul; and solicited, as a permanent retreat for the Gothic nation, the possession of some vacant province of the Western empire.

The political and secret transactions of two statesmen who labored to deceive each other and the world must forever have been concealed in the impenetrable darkness of the cabinet if the debates of a popular assembly had not thrown some rays of light on the correspondence of Alaric and Stilicho. The necessity of finding some artificial support for a government which, from a principle not of moderation, but of weakness, was reduced to ne-

Debates of
the Roman
senate
A.D. 408.

¹⁰² See Zosimus, l. v. [c. 29] p. 384, 385. He interrupts his scanty narrative to relate the fable of Æmona, and of the ship Argo, which was drawn overland from that place to the Adriatic. Sozomen (l. viii. c. 25; l. ix. c. 4) and Socrates (l. vi. c. 10) cast a pale and doubtful light, and Orosius (l. vii. c. 38, p. 571) is abominably partial.

gotiate with its own subjects had insensibly revived the authority of the Roman senate; and the minister of Honorius respectfully consulted the legislative council of the republic. Stilicho assembled the senate in the palace of the Cæsars; represented, in a studied oration, the actual state of affairs; proposed the demands of the Gothic king; and submitted to their consideration the choice of peace or war. The senators, as if they had been suddenly awakened from a dream of four hundred years, appeared on this important occasion to be inspired by the courage rather than by the wisdom of their predecessors. They loudly declared, in regular speeches or in tumultuary acclamations, that it was unworthy of the majesty of Rome to purchase a precarious and disgraceful truce from a barbarian king; and that, in the judgment of a magnanimous people, the chance of ruin was always preferable to the certainty of dishonor. The minister, whose pacific intentions were seconded only by the voices of a few servile and venal followers, attempted to allay the general ferment by an apology for his own conduct, and even for the demands of the Gothic prince. "The payment of a subsidy, which had excited the indignation of the Romans, ought not" (such was the language of Stilicho) "to be considered in the odious light either of a tribute or of a ransom extorted by the menaces of a barbarian enemy. Alaric had faithfully asserted the just pretensions of the republic to the provinces which were usurped by the Greeks of Constantinople; he modestly required the fair and stipulated recompense of his services; and if he had desisted from the prosecution of his enterprise, he had obeyed, in his retreat, the peremptory though private letters of the emperor himself. These contradictory orders (he would not dissemble the errors of his own family) had been procured by the intercession of Serena. The tender piety of his wife had been too deeply affected by the discord of the royal brothers, the sons of her adopted father; and the sentiments of nature had too easily prevailed over the stern dictates of the public welfare." These ostensible reasons, which faintly disguise the obscure intrigues of the palace of Ravenna, were supported by the authority of Stilicho, and obtained, after a warm debate,

the reluctant approbation of the senate. The tumult of virt and freedom subsided; and the sum of four thousand pound of gold was granted, under the name of a subsidy, to secure the peace of Italy and to conciliate the friendship of the King of the Goths. Lampadius alone, one of the most illustrious members of the assembly, still persisted in his dissent; and exclaimed with a loud voice, "This is not a treaty of peace, but of servitude;"¹⁰³ and escaped the danger of such bold opposition by immediately retiring to the sanctuary of a Christian church.

But the reign of Stilicho drew towards its end; and the proud minister might perceive the symptoms of his approaching disgrace. The generous boldness of Lampadius had been applauded; and the senate, so patient resigned to a long servitude, rejected with disdain the offer of invidious and imaginary freedom. The troops who still assumed the name and prerogatives of the Roman legions, were exasperated by the partial affection of Stilicho for the barbarians; and the people imputed to the mischievous policy of the minister the public misfortunes, which were the natural consequence of their own degeneracy. Yet Stilicho might have continued to brave the clamors of the people, and even of the soldiers, if he could have maintained his dominion over the feeble mind of his pupil. But the respectful attachment of Honorius was converted into fear, suspicion, and hatred. The crafty Olympius,¹⁰⁴ who concealed his vices under the mask of Christian piety, had secretly undermined the benefactor by whose favor he was promoted to the honorable c

Intrigues of
the palace.
A.D. 408.
May.

¹⁰³ Zosimus, l. v. [c. 29] p. 338, 339. He repeats the words of Lampadius they were spoken in Latin, "Non est ista pax, sed pactio servitutis,"^a and then translates them into Greek for the benefit of his readers.

¹⁰⁴ He came from the coast of the Euxine, and exercised a splendid office *λαμπρᾶς δὲ στρατείας ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἡξιωμένος*. His actions justify his character, which Zosimus (l. v. [c. 32] p. 340) exposes with visible satisfaction. Augustus revered the piety of Olympius, whom he styles a true son of the Church (Baronius Annal. Eccles. A.D. 408, No. 19, etc.; Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. xiii. p. 446). But these praises, which the African saint so unworthily bestows, might proceed as well from ignorance as from adulation.

^a From Cicero's 12th Philippic, c. 14.—M.

fices of the imperial palace. Olympius revealed to the unsuspecting emperor, who had attained the twenty-fifth year of his age, that he was without weight or authority in his own government; and artfully alarmed his timid and indolent disposition by a lively picture of the designs of Stilicho, who already meditated the death of his sovereign, with the ambitious hope of placing the diadem on the head of his son Eucherius. The emperor was instigated by his new favorite to assume the tone of independent dignity; and the minister was astonished to find that secret resolutions were formed in the court and council which were repugnant to his interest or to his intentions. Instead of residing in the palace of Rome, Honorius declared that it was his pleasure to return to the secure fortress of Ravenna. On the first intelligence of the death of his brother Arcadius, he prepared to visit Constantinople, and to regulate, with the authority of a guardian, the provinces of the infant Theodosius.¹⁰⁸ The representation of the difficulty and expense of such a distant expedition checked this strange and sudden sally of active diligence; but the dangerous project of showing the emperor to the camp of Pavia, which was composed of the Roman troops, the enemies of Stilicho and his barbarian auxiliaries, remained fixed and unalterable. The minister was pressed, by the advice of his confidant Justinian, a Roman advocate, of a lively and penetrating genius, to oppose a journey so prejudicial to his reputation and safety. His strenuous but ineffectual efforts confirmed the triumph of Olympius; and the prudent lawyer withdrew himself from the impending ruin of his patron.

In the passage of the emperor through Bologna, a mutiny of the guards was excited and appeased by the secret policy of Stilicho, who announced his instructions to decimate the guilty, and ascribed to his own intercession the merit of their pardon. After this tumult, Honorius embraced for the last time the minister whom he

Disgrace and
death of
Stilicho.
A.D. 408.
August 28.

¹⁰⁸ Zosimus, l. v. [c. 81] p. 388, 389. Sozomen, l. ix, c. 4. Stilicho offered to undertake the journey to Constantinople, that he might divert Honorius from the vain attempt. The Eastern empire would not have obeyed, and could not have been conquered.

now considered as a tyrant, and proceeded on his way to the camp of Pavia, where he was received by the loyal acclamations of the troops who were assembled for the service of the Gallic war. On the morning of the fourth day he pronounced as he had been taught, a military oration in the presence of the soldiers, whom the charitable visits and artful discourse of Olympius had prepared to execute a dark and bloody conspiracy. At the first signal they massacred the friends of Stilicho, the most illustrious officers of the empire; two Prætorian præfects, of Gaul and of Italy; two masters-general, of the cavalry and infantry; the master of the offices, the quæstor, the treasurer, and the count of the domestics. Many lives were lost, many houses were plundered; the furious seditious continued to rage till the close of the evening; and the trembling emperor, who was seen in the streets of Pavia without his robes or diadem, yielded to the persuasions of his favorite, condemned the memory of the slain, and solemnly approved the innocence and fidelity of their assassins. The intelligence of the massacre of Pavia filled the mind of Stilicho with just and gloomy apprehensions, and he instantly summoned, in the camp of Bologna, a council of the confederate leaders who were attached to his service and would be involved in his ruin. The impetuous voice of the assembly called aloud for arms and for revenge, to march, without a moment's delay under the banners of a hero whom they had so often followed to victory; to surprise, to oppress, to extirpate the guilty Olympius and his degenerate Romans, and perhaps to fix the diadem on the head of their injured general. Instead of executing a resolution which might have been justified by success, Stilicho hesitated till he was irrecoverably lost. He was still ignorant of the fate of the emperor; he distrusted the fidelity of his own party; and he viewed with horror the fatal consequences of arming a crowd of licentious barbarians against the soldiers and people of Italy. The confederates, impatient of his timorous and doubtful delay, hastily retired with fear and indignation. At the hour of midnight Sarus, a Gothic warrior, renowned among the barbarians themselves for his strength and valor, suddenly invaded the camp of his benefac-

tor, plundered the baggage, cut in pieces the faithful Huns who guarded his person, and penetrated to the tent where the minister, pensive and sleepless, meditated on the dangers of his situation. Stilicho escaped with difficulty from the sword of the Goths, and, after issuing a last and generous admonition to the cities of Italy to shut their gates against the barbarians, his confidence or his despair urged him to throw himself into Ravenna, which was already in the absolute possession of his enemies. Olympius, who had assumed the dominion of Honorius, was speedily informed that his rival had embraced as a suppliant the altar of the Christian Church. The base and cruel disposition of the hypocrite was incapable of pity or remorse; but he piously affected to elude, rather than to violate, the privilege of the sanctuary. Count Heraclian, with a troop of soldiers, appeared at the dawn of day before the gates of the Church of Ravenna. The bishop was satisfied by a solemn oath that the imperial mandate only directed them to secure the person of Stilicho; but as soon as the unfortunate minister had been tempted beyond the holy threshold, he produced the warrant for his instant execution. Stilicho supported with calm resignation the injurious names of traitor and parricide; repressed the unseasonable zeal of his followers, who were ready to attempt an ineffectual rescue; and, with a firmness not unworthy of the last of the Roman generals, submitted his neck to the sword of Heraclian.¹⁰⁶

The servile crowd of the palace, who had so long adored the fortune of Stilicho, affected to insult his fall; and the most distant connection with the Master-general of the West, which had so lately been a title to wealth and honors, was studiously denied and rigorously punished. His family, united by a triple alliance with the family of Theodosius, might envy the condition of the meanest peasant. The flight of his son Eucherius was intercepted; and the death of that innocent youth soon followed the divorce of Thermantia,

His memory
persecuted.

¹⁰⁶ Zosimus (l. v. [c. 30 seq.] p. 336-345) has copiously, though not clearly, related the disgrace and death of Stilicho. Olympiodorus (apud Phot. p. 177 [p. 56, edit. Bekker]), Orosius (l. vii. c. 38, p. 571, 572), Sozomen (l. ix. c. 4), and Philostorgius (l. xi. c. 8, l. xii. c. 2) afford supplemental hints.

who filled the place of her sister Maria, and who, like Maria had remained a virgin in the imperial bed.¹⁰⁷ The friends of Stilicho who had escaped the massacre of Pavia were persecuted by the implacable revenge of Olympius, and the most exquisite cruelty was employed to extort the confession of treasonable and sacrilegious conspiracy. They died in silence their firmness justified the choice,¹⁰⁸ and perhaps absolved the innocence, of their patron; and the despotic power which could take his life without a trial and stigmatize his memory, without a proof has no jurisdiction over the impartial suffrage of posterity.¹⁰⁹ The services of Stilicho are great and manifest; his crimes, as they are vaguely stated in the language of flattery and hatred, are obscure, at least, and improbable. About four months after his death an edict was published, in the name of Honorius, to restore the free communication of the two empires, which had been so long interrupted by the *public enemy*.¹¹⁰ The minister, whose fame and fortune depended on the prosperity of the State, was accused of betraying Italy to the barbarians, whom he repeatedly vanquished at Pollentia, at Verona, and before the walls of Florence. His pretended design of placing the diadem on the head of his son Eucherius could not have been conducted without preparations or accomplices; and the ambitious father would no surely have left the future emperor, till the twentieth year of his age, in the humble station of tribune of the notaries. Even the religion of Stilicho was arraigned by the malice of his rival. The seasonable and almost miraculous deliverance was

¹⁰⁷ Zosimus, l. v. [c. 28] p. 338. The marriage of a Christian with two sisters scandalizes Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 557), who expects in vain that Pope Innocent I. should have done something in the way either of censure or of dispensation.

¹⁰⁸ Two of his friends are honorably mentioned (Zosimus, l. v. [c. 35] p. 346)—Peter, chief of the school of notaries, and the great chamberlain Dexterus. Stilicho had secured the bedchamber; and it is surprising that, under a feeble prince the bedchamber was not able to secure him.

¹⁰⁹ Orosius (l. vii. c. 38, p. 571, 572) seems to copy the false and furious manifestoes which were dispersed through the provinces by the new administration.

¹¹⁰ See the Theodosian Code, l. vii. tit. xvi. leg. 1; l. ix. tit. xlii. leg. 22. Stilicho is branded with the name of *prædo publicus*, who employed his wealth "*ad omnem ditandam, inquietandamque Barbariem.*"

devoutly celebrated by the applause of the clergy, who asserted that the restoration of idols and the persecution of the Church would have been the first measure of the reign of Eucherius. The son of Stilicho, however, was educated in the bosom of Christianity, which his father had uniformly professed and zealously supported.¹¹¹ Serena had borrowed her magnificent necklace from the statue of Vesta;¹¹² and the pagans execrated the memory of the sacrilegious minister by whose order the Sibylline books, the oracles of Rome, had been committed to the flames.¹¹³ The pride and power of Stilicho constituted his real guilt. An honorable reluctance to shed the blood of his countrymen appears to have contributed to the success of his unworthy rival; and it is the last humiliation of the character of Honorius that posterity has not condescended to reproach him with his base ingratitude to the guardian of his youth and the support of his empire.

Among the train of dependents whose wealth and dignity attracted the notice of their own times, *our* curiosity is excited by the celebrated name of the poet Claudian, who enjoyed the favor of Stilicho, and was overwhelmed in the ruin of his patron. The titular offices of tribune and

The poet
Claudian.

¹¹¹ Augustine himself is satisfied with the effectual laws which Stilicho had enacted against heretics and idolaters, and which are still extant in the Code. He only applies to Olympius for their confirmation (Baronius, *Annal. Eccles.* A.D. 408, No. 19).

¹¹² Zosimus, l. v. [c. 38] p. 351. We may observe the bad taste of the age in dressing their statues with such awkward finery.

¹¹³ See Rutilius Numatianus (*Itinerar.* l. ii. 41-60), to whom religious enthusiasm has dictated some elegant and forcible lines. Stilicho likewise stripped the gold plates from the doors of the Capitol, and read a prophetic sentence which was engraven under them (Zosimus, l. v. [c. 38] p. 352). These are foolish stories; yet the charge of *impiety* adds weight and credit to the praise, which Zosimus reluctantly bestows, of his virtues.

* Hence, perhaps, the accusation of treachery is countenanced by Rutilius:

Quo magis est facinus divi Stilichonis iniquum
Proditor alicui quod fuit imperii.
Romano generi dum nititur esse superstes,
Crudelis summis miscuit ima furor.
Dumque timet, quicquid se fecerat ipse timeri,
Immisit Latæ barbara tela neci.

Rutil. *Itin.* ii. 41.—M.

notary fixed his rank in the imperial court. He was indebted to the powerful intercession of Serena for his marriage with a rich heiress of the province of Africa;¹¹⁴ and the statue of Claudian, erected in the Forum of Trajan, was a monument of the taste and liberality of the Roman senate.¹¹⁵ After the praises of Stilicho became offensive and criminal, Claudian was exposed to the enmity of a powerful and unforgiving courtier whom he had provoked by the insolence of wit. He had compared, in a lively epigram, the opposite characters of two Prætorian præfects of Italy; he contrasts the innocent repose of a philosopher, who sometimes resigned the hours of business to slumber, perhaps to study, with the interested diligence of a rapacious minister, indefatigable in the pursuit of unjust or sacrilegious gain. "How happy," continues Claudian—"how happy might it be for the people of Italy if Mallius could be constantly awake, and if Hadrian would always sleep!"¹¹⁶ The repose of Mallius was not disturbed by this friendly and gentle admonition; but the cruel vigilance of Hadrian watched the opportunity of revenge, and easily obtained from the enemies of Stilicho the trifling sacrifice of an obnoxious poet. The poet concealed himself, however, during the tumult of the revolution, and, consulting the dictates of

¹¹⁴ At the nuptials of Orpheus (a modest comparison!) all the parts of animated nature contributed their various gifts, and the gods themselves enriched their favourite. Claudian had neither flocks nor herds nor vines nor olives. His wealthy bride was heiress to them all. But he carried to Africa a recommendatory letter from Serena, his Juno, and was made happy (Epist. ii. ad Serenam).

¹¹⁵ Claudian feels the honor like a man who deserved it (in præfat. Bell. Get.). The original inscription, on marble, was found at Rome, in the fifteenth century, in the house of Pomponius Lætus. The statue of a poet far superior to Claudian should have been erected during his lifetime by the men of letters, his countrymen and contemporaries. It was a noble design.

¹¹⁶ See Epigram xxx. :

Mallius indulget somno noctesque diesque :
 Insomnis Pharius sacra, profana, rapit.
 Omnibus, hoc, Italæ gentes, exposcite votis,
 Mallus ut vigilet, dormiat ut Pharius.

Hadrian was a Pharian (of Alexandria). See his public life in Godefroy, Cod. Theodos. tom. vi. p. 364. Mallus did not always sleep. He composed some elegant dialogues on the Greek systems of natural philosophy (Claud. in Mall. Theodor. Cons. 61-112).

prudence rather than of honor, he addressed, in the form of an epistle, a suppliant and humble recantation to the offended præfect. He deploras, in mournful strains, the fatal indiscretion into which he had been hurried by passion and folly; submits to the imitation of his adversary the generous examples of the clemency of gods, of heroes, and of lions; and expresses his hope that the magnanimity of Hadrian will not trample on a defenceless and contemptible foe, already humbled by disgrace and poverty, and deeply wounded by the exile, the tortures, and the death of his dearest friends.¹¹⁷ What-

¹¹⁷ See Claudian's first Epistle. Yet in some places an air of irony and indignation betrays his secret reluctance.*

* M. Beugnot has pointed out one remarkable characteristic of Claudian's poetry, and of the times—his extraordinary religious indifference. Here is a poet writing at the actual crisis of the complete triumph of the new religion, the visible extinction of the old; if we may so speak, a strictly historical poet, whose works, excepting his mythological poem on the rape of Proserpine, are confined to temporary subjects, and to the politics of his own eventful day; yet, excepting in one or two small and indifferent pieces, manifestly written by a Christian, and interpolated among his poems, there is no allusion whatever to the great religious strife. No one would know the existence of Christianity at that period of the world by reading the works of Claudian. His panegyric and his satire preserve the same religious impartiality—award their most lavish praise or their bitterest invective on Christian or pagan; he insults the fall of Eugenius, and glories in the victories of Theodosius. Under the child—and Honorius never became more than a child—Christianity continued to inflict wounds more and more deadly on expiring paganism. Are the gods of Olympus agitated with apprehension at the birth of this new enemy? They are introduced as rejoicing at his appearance, and promising long years of glory. The whole prophetic choir of paganism, all the oracles throughout the world, are summoned to predict the felicity of his reign. His birth is compared to that of Apollo, but the narrow limits of an island must not confine the new *duty*—

Non littora nostro
Sufficerent angusta Deo.

Augury and divination, the shrines of Ammon and of Delphi, the Persian Magi and the Etruscan seers, the Chaldean astrologers, the Sibyl herself, are described as still discharging their prophetic functions, and celebrating the natal day of this Christian prince. They are noble lines, as well as curious illustrations of the times:

— Quæ tunc documenta futuri?
Quæ voces avium? quanti per inane volatus?
Quis vatum discursus erat? Tibi corniger Ammon,
Et dudum tacti rupiæ silentia Delphi.
Te Persæ cecinere Magi, te sensit Etruscus
Augur, et inspectis Babylonius horruit astris;
Chaldæi stupuere senes, Cumanæque rursus
Intonuît rupes, rabidæ delubra Sibyllæ.

Claud. iv. Cons. Hon. 141.

From the Quarterly Review of Beugnot, *Hist. de la Destruction du Paganisme en Occident*, Q. R. vol. lvii. p. 61.—M.

ever might be the success of his prayer or the accidents of his future life, the period of a few years levelled in the grave the minister and the poet; but the name of Hadrian is almost sunk in oblivion, while Claudian is read with pleasure in every country which has retained or acquired the knowledge of the Latin language. If we fairly balance his merits and his defects, we shall acknowledge that Claudian does not either satisfy or silence our reason. It would not be easy to produce a passage that deserves the epithet of sublime or pathetic; to select a verse that melts the heart or enlarges the imagination. We should vainly seek in the poems of Claudian the happy invention and artificial conduct of an interesting fable, or the just and lively representation of the characters and situations of real life. For the service of his patron he published occasional panegyrics and invectives, and the design of these slavish compositions encouraged his propensity to exceed the limits of truth and nature. These imperfections, however, are compensated in some degree by the poetical virtues of Claudian. He was endowed with the rare and precious talent of raising the meanest, of adorning the most barren, and of diversifying the most similar topics; his coloring, more especially in descriptive poetry, is soft and splendid; and he seldom fails to display, and even to abuse, the advantages of a cultivated understanding, a copious fancy, an easy and sometimes forcible expression, and a perpetual flow of harmonious versification. To these commendations, independent of any accidents of time and place, we must add the peculiar merit which Claudian derived from the unfavorable circumstances of his birth. In the decline of arts and of empire, a native of Egypt,¹¹⁸ who had received the education of a Greek, assumed in a mature age the familiar use and absolute command of the Latin language,¹¹⁹ soared above the heads of his feeble con-

¹¹⁸ National vanity has made him a Florentine or a Spaniard. But the first Epistle of Claudian proves him a native of Alexandria (Fabricius, *Biblioth. Latin.* tom. iii. p. 191–202, edit. Ernest.).

¹¹⁹ His first Latin verses were composed during the consulship of Probinus, A.D. 395 :

Romanos bibimus primum, te consule, fontes,
Et Latine cessit Graia Thalia toga.

temporaries, and placed himself, after an interval of three hundred years, among the poets of ancient Rome.¹²⁰

Besides some Greek epigrams, which are still extant, the Latin poet had composed, in Greek, the Antiquities of Tarsus, Anazarbus, Berytus, Nice, etc. It is more easy to supply the loss of good poetry than of authentic history.

¹²⁰ Strada (Prolusion v. vi.) allows him to contend with the five heroic poets, Lucretius, Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, and Statius. His patron is the accomplished courtier Balthazar Castiglione. His admirers are numerous and passionate. Yet the rigid critics reproach the exotic weeds or flowers which spring too luxuriantly in his Latian soil.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Invasion of Italy by Alaric.—Manners of the Roman Senate and People.—Rome is thrice Besieged, and at length Pillaged, by the Goths.—Death of Alaric.—The Goths Evacuate Italy.—Fall of Constantine.—Gaul and Spain are Occupied by the Barbarians.—Independence of Britain.

THE incapacity of a weak and distracted government may often assume the appearance and produce the effects of a treasonable correspondence with the public enemy. If Alaric himself had been introduced into the Council of Ravenna, he would probably have advised the same measures which were actually pursued by the ministers of Honorius.¹ The King of the Goths would have conspired, perhaps with some reluctance, to destroy the formidable adversary by whose arms, in Italy as well as in Greece, he had been twice overthrown. *Their* active and interested hatred laboriously accomplished the disgrace and ruin of the great Stilicho. The valor of Sarus, his fame in arms, and his personal or hereditary influence over the confederate barbarians could recommend him only to the friends of their country who despised or detested the worthless characters of Turpilio, Varanes, and Vigilantius. By the pressing instances of the new favorites, these generals, unworthy as they had shown themselves of the name of soldiers,² were promoted to the command of the cavalry, of the infantry, and of the domestic troops. The Gothic prince would have subscribed with pleasure the edict which the fanaticism of Olympius dictated to the simple and devout emperor. Honorius excluded all persons who were adverse to the Catholic Church from holding any office in the State; obstinately rejected the service of all those who dis-

¹ The series of events from the death of Stilicho to the arrival of Alaric before Rome can only be found in Zosimus, l. v. [c. 35–37] p. 347–350.

² The expression of Zosimus is strong and lively, *καταφρόνησιν ἱμποιῆσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀρκούντας*, sufficient to excite the contempt of the enemy.

sented from his religion; and rashly disqualified many of his bravest and most skilful officers who adhered to the pagan worship or who had imbibed the opinions of Arianism.* These measures, so advantageous to an enemy, Alaric would have approved, and might perhaps have suggested; but it may seem doubtful whether the barbarian would have promoted his interest at the expense of the inhuman and absurd cruelty which was perpetrated by the direction, or at least with the connivance, of the imperial ministers. The foreign auxiliaries who had been attached to the person of Stilicho lamented his death; but the desire of revenge was checked by a natural apprehension for the safety of their wives and children, who were detained as hostages in the strong cities of Italy, where they had likewise deposited their most valuable effects. At the same hour, and as if by a common signal, the cities of Italy were polluted by the same horrid scenes of universal massacre and pillage which involved in promiscuous destruction the families and fortunes of the barbarians. Exasperated by such an injury, which might have awakened the tamest and most servile spirit, they cast a look of indignation and hope towards the camp of Alaric, and unanimously swore to pursue with just and implacable war the perfidious nation that had so basely violated the laws of hospitality. By the imprudent conduct of the ministers of Honorius, the republic lost the assistance, and deserved the enmity, of thirty thousand of her bravest soldiers; and the weight of that formidable army, which alone might have determined the event of the war, was transferred from the scale of the Romans into that of the Goths.

In the arts of negotiation, as well as in those of war, the Gothic king maintained his superior ascendant over an enemy whose seeming changes proceeded from the total want of counsel and design. From his camp, on the confines of Italy, Alaric attentively

Alaric
marches to
Rome.
A.D. 408.
October, etc.

* *Eos qui Catholicæ sectæ sunt inimici, intra palatium militare prohibemus. Nullus nobis sit aliquâ ratione conjunctus, qui a nobis fide et religione discordat.*—Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. v. leg. 42, and Godefroy's Commentary, tom. vi. p. 164. This law was applied in the utmost latitude and rigorously executed. Zosimus, l. v. [c. 46] p. 364.

observed the revolutions of the palace, watched the progress of faction and discontent, disguised the hostile aspect of a barbarian invader, and assumed the more popular appearance of the friend and ally of the great Stilicho, to whose virtues, when they were no longer formidable, he could pay a just tribute of sincere praise and regret. The pressing invitation of the malcontents, who urged the King of the Goths to invade Italy, was enforced by a lively sense of his personal injuries; and he might speciously complain that the imperial ministers still delayed and eluded the payment of the four thousand pounds of gold which had been granted by the Roman senate either to reward his services or to appease his fury. His decent firmness was supported by an artful moderation, which contributed to the success of his designs. He required a fair and reasonable satisfaction; but he gave the strongest assurances that, as soon as he had obtained it, he would immediately retire. He refused to trust the faith of the Romans, unless Aetius and Jason, the sons of two great officers of state, were sent as hostages to his camp; but he offered to deliver in exchange several of the noblest youths of the Gothic nation. The modesty of Alaric was interpreted by the ministers of Ravenna as a sure evidence of his weakness and fear. They disdained either to negotiate a treaty or to assemble an army; and with a rash confidence, derived only from their ignorance of the extreme danger, irretrievably wasted the decisive moments of peace and war. While they expected, in sullen silence, that the barbarians should evacuate the confines of Italy, Alaric, with bold and rapid marches, passed the Alps and the Po; hastily pillaged the cities of Aquileia, Altinum, Concordia, and Cremona, which yielded to his arms; increased his forces by the accession of thirty thousand auxiliaries; and, without meeting a single enemy in the field, advanced as far as the edge of the morass which protected the impregnable residence of the Emperor of the West. Instead of attempting the hopeless siege of Ravenna, the prudent leader of the Goths proceeded to Rimini, stretched his ravages along the sea-coast of the Adriatic, and meditated the conquest of the ancient mistress of the world. An Italian hermit, whose zeal and sanctity

were respected by the barbarians themselves, encountered the victorious monarch, and boldly denounced the indignation of Heaven against the oppressors of the earth; but the saint himself was confounded by the solemn asseveration of Alaric that he felt a secret and preternatural impulse, which directed, and even compelled, his march to the gates of Rome. He felt that his genius and his fortune were equal to the most arduous enterprises; and the enthusiasm which he communicated to the Goths insensibly removed the popular and almost superstitious reverence of the nations for the majesty of the Roman name. His troops, animated by the hopes of spoil, followed the course of the Flaminian Way, occupied the unguarded passes of the Apennine,* descended into the rich plains of Umbria; and, as they lay encamped on the banks of the Clitumnus, might wantonly slaughter and devour the milk-white oxen which had been so long reserved for the use of Roman triumphs.* A lofty situation and a seasonable tempest of thunder and lightning preserved the little city of Narni; but the King of the Goths, despising the ignoble prey, still advanced with unabated vigor; and after he had passed through the stately arches, adorned with the spoils of barbaric victories, he pitched his camp under the walls of Rome.*

During a period of six hundred and nineteen years the seat of empire had never been violated by the presence of a for-

* Addison (see his Works, vol. ii. p. 54, edit. Baskerville) has given a very picturesque description of the road through the Apennine. The Goths were not at leisure to observe the beauties of the prospect; but they were pleased to find that the Saxa Intercisa, a narrow passage which Vespasian had cut through the rock (Cluver. Italia Antiq. tom. i. p. 618), was totally neglected.

Hinc albi, Clitumne, greges, et maxima taurus
Victima sæpe, tuo perfusi flumine sacro,
Romanos ad templâ Deum duxere triumphos.

Georg. ii. 147.

Besides Virgil, most of the Latin poets—Propertius, Lucan, Silius Italicus, Claudian, etc., whose passages may be found in Cluverius and Addison—have celebrated the triumphal victims of the Clitumnus.

* Some ideas of the march of Alaric are borrowed from the journey of Honorius over the same ground (see Claudian in vi. Cons. Hon. 494–522). The measured distance between Ravenna and Rome was 254 Roman miles. Itinerar. Wesseling, p. 126.

eign enemy. The unsuccessful expedition of Hannibal served only to display the character of the senate and people; of a senate degraded, rather than ennobled, by the comparison of an assembly of kings; and of a people to whom the ambassador of Pyrrhus ascribed the inexhaustible resources of the Hydra.* Each of the senators in the time of the Punic war had accomplished his term of military service, either in a subordinate or a superior station; and the decree which invested with temporary command all those who had been consuls or censors or dictators gave the republic the immediate assistance of many brave and experienced generals. In the beginning of the war the Roman people consisted of two hundred and fifty thousand citizens of an age to bear arms.[†] Fifty thousand had already died in the defence of their country; and the twenty-three legions which were employed in the different camps of Italy, Greece, Sardinia, Sicily, and Spain required about one hundred thousand men. But there still remained an equal number in Rome and the adjacent territory who were animated by the same intrepid courage; and every citizen was trained from his earliest youth in the discipline and exercises of a soldier. Hannibal was astonished by the constancy of the senate, who, without raising the siege of Capua or recalling their scattered forces, expected

Hannibal at
the gates of
Rome.

* The march and retreat of Hannibal are described by Livy, l. xxvi. c. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11; and the reader is made a spectator of the interesting scene.

† These comparisons were used by Cineas, the counsellor of Pyrrhus, after his return from his embassy, in which he had diligently studied the discipline and manners of Rome. See Plutarch in Pyrrho [c. 19], tom. ii. p. 459.

‡ In the three *census* which were made of the Roman people about the time of the second Punic war, the numbers stand as follows (see Livy, Epitom. l. xx. Hist. l. xxvii. 36, xxix. 37), 270,213; 137,108; 214,000. The fall of the second and the rise of the third appear so enormous that several critics, notwithstanding the unanimity of the MSS., have suspected some corruption of the text of Livy. (See Drakenborch ad xxvii. 36, and Beauport, République Romaine, tom. i. p. 325.) They did not consider that the second *census* was taken only at Rome, and that the numbers were diminished, not only by the death, but likewise by the *absence*, of many soldiers. In the third *census*, Livy expressly affirms that the legions were mustered by the care of particular commissaries. From the numbers on the list we must always deduct one twelfth above threescore and incapable of bearing arms. See Population de la France, p. 72.

his approach. He encamped on the banks of the Anio, at the distance of three miles from the city; and he was soon informed that the ground on which he had pitched his tent was sold for an adequate price at a public auction,* and that a body of troops was dismissed by an opposite road to reinforce the legions of Spain.¹⁰ He led his Africans to the gates of Rome, where he found three armies in order of battle prepared to receive him; but Hannibal dreaded the event of a combat from which he could not hope to escape unless he destroyed the last of his enemies: and his speedy retreat confessed the invincible courage of the Romans.

From the time of the Punic war, the uninterrupted succession of senators had preserved the name and image of the republic; and the degenerate subjects of Honorius ambitiously derived their descent from the heroes who had repulsed the arms of Hannibal and subdued the nations of the earth. The temporal honors which the devout Paula¹¹ inherited and despised are carefully recapitulated by Jerome—the guide of her conscience and the historian of her life. The genealogy of her father, Rogatus, which ascended as high as Agamemnon, might seem to betray a Grecian origin; but her mother, Blæsilla, numbered the Scipios, Æmilius Paulus, and the Gracchi in the list of her ancestors, and Toxotius, the husband of Paula, deduced his royal lineage from Æneas, the father of the Julian line. The vanity of the rich, who desired to be noble, was gratified by these lofty pretensions. Encouraged by the applause of their parasites, they

¹⁰ Livy considers these two incidents as the effects only of chance and courage. I suspect that they were both managed by the admirable policy of the senate.

¹¹ See Jerome, tom. i. p. 169, 170, ad Eustochium [Epist. cviii. tom. i. p. 684, edit. Vallars]. He bestows on Paula the splendid titles of "Gracchorum stirps, soboles Scipionum, Pauli hæres, cujus vocabulum trahit, Martiæ Papyriæ Matris Africani vera et germana propago." This particular description supposes a more solid title than the surname of Julius, which Toxotius shared with a thousand families of the Western provinces. See the Index of Tacitus, of Gruter's Inscriptions, etc.

* Compare the remarkable transaction in Jeremiah, xxxii. 6 to 44, where the prophet purchases his uncle's estate at the approach of the Babylonian captivity, in his undoubting confidence in the future restoration of the people. In the one case it is the triumph of religious faith, in the other of national pride.—M.

easily imposed on the credulity of the vulgar, and were countenanced in some measure by the custom of adopting the name of their patron, which had always prevailed among the freedmen and clients of illustrious families. Most of those families, however, attacked by so many causes of external violence or internal decay, were gradually extirpated; and it would be more reasonable to seek for a lineal descent of twenty generations among the mountains of the Alps or in the peaceful solitude of Apulia than on the theatre of Rome, the seat of fortune, of danger, and of perpetual revolutions. Under each successive reign, and from every province of the empire, a crowd of hardy adventurers, rising to eminence by their talents or their vices, usurped the wealth, the honors, and the palaces of Rome, and oppressed or protected the poor and humble remains of consular families, who were ignorant, perhaps, of the glory of their ancestors.¹³

In the time of Jerome and Claudian, the senators unanimously yielded the pre-eminence to the Anician line, and a slight view of *their* history will serve to appreciate the rank and antiquity of the noble families which contended only for the second place.¹⁴ During the five first ages of the city, the name of the Anicians was unknown. They appear to have derived their origin from Præneste; and the ambition of those new citizens was long satisfied with the plebeian honors of tribunes of the people.¹⁵ One hundred and

The Anician family.

¹³ Tacitus (Annal. iii. 55) affirms that, between the battle of Actium and the reign of Vespasian, the senate was gradually filled with *new* families from the Municipia and colonies of Italy.

¹⁴

Nec quisquam Procerum tentet (licet ære vetusto
Floreat, et claro cingatur Roma senatû)
Se jactare parem; sed primâ sede relicta
Auchenis, de jure licet cedere secundo.

Claud. in Prob. et Olybrii Coss. 18.

Such a compliment paid to the obscure name of the Auchenii has amazed the critics; but they all agree that, whatever may be the true reading, the sense of Claudian can be applied only to the Anician family

¹⁵ The earliest date in the annals of Pighius is that of M. Anicius Gallus, Trib. Pl. A.U.C. 506. Another tribune, Q. Anicius, A.U.C. 508, is distinguished by the epithet of Prænestinus.^a Livy (xlv. 43) places the Anicii below the great families of Rome.

^a There is an earlier instance of a member of the family obtaining one of the

sixty-eight years before the Christian era, the family was ennobled by the prætorship of Anicius, who gloriously terminated the Illyrian war by the conquest of the nation and the captivity of their king.¹⁴ From the triumph of that general three consulships in distant periods mark the succession of the Anician name.¹⁵ From the reign of Diocletian to the final extinction of the Western empire, that name shone with a lustre which was not eclipsed in the public estimation by the majesty of the imperial purple.¹⁷ The several branches to whom it was communicated united, by marriage or inheritance, the wealth and titles of the Annian, the Petronian, and the Olybrian houses; and in each generation the number of consulships was multiplied by an hereditary claim.¹⁸ The Anician family excelled in faith and in riches. They were the first of the Roman senate who embraced Christianity; and it is probable that Anicius Julian, who was afterwards consul and præfect of the city, atoned for his attachment to the party of Maxentius by the readiness with which he accepted the religion of Constantine.¹⁹ Their ample patrimony was increased by the

¹⁴ Livy, xlv. 30, 31, xlv. 3, 26, 48. He fairly appreciates the merit of Anicius, and justly observes that his fame was clouded by the superior lustre of the Macedonian, which preceded the Illyrian, triumph.

¹⁵ The dates of the three consulships are, A.U.C. 593, 818, 967—the two last under the reigns of Nero and Caracalla. The second of these consuls distinguished himself only by his infamous flattery (Tacit. Annal. xv. 74); but even the evidence of crimes, if they bear the stamp of greatness and antiquity, is admitted without reluctance to prove the genealogy of a noble house.

¹⁷ In the sixth century the nobility of the Anician name is mentioned (Cassiodor. Variar. l. x. Ep. 11, 12) with singular respect by the minister of a Gothic king of Italy.

¹⁸

——— Fixus in omnes
Cognatos procedit honos; quemcumque requiras
Hæc de stirpe virum, certum est de Consule nasci.
Per fasces numerantur avi, semperque renata
Nobilitate virent, et prolem fata sequuntur.

(Claudian in Prob. et Olyb. Consulat. 12, etc.). The Annii, whose name seems to have merged in the Anician, mark the Fasti with many consulships from the time of Vespasian to the fourth century.

¹⁹ The title of First Christian Senator may be justified by the authority of Pru-

higher offices of the State. Q. Anicius Prænестinus was curule ædile with Q. Flavius, the celebrated scribe of App. Claudius Cæcus, A.U.C. 450, A.C. 304. See Pliny, Hist. Nat. l. xxxiii. c. 1, s. 6.—S.

industry of Probus, the chief of the Anician family, who shared with Gratian the honors of the consulship, and exercised four times the high office of Prætorian præfect.²⁰ His immense estates were scattered over the wide extent of the Roman world; and though the public might suspect or disapprove the methods by which they had been acquired, the generosity and magnificence of that fortunate statesman deserved the gratitude of his clients and the admiration of strangers.²¹ Such was the respect entertained for his memory that the two sons of Probus, in their earliest youth and at the request of the senate, were associated in the consular dignity—a memorable distinction, without example in the annals of Rome.²²

“The marbles of the Anician palace” were used as a proverbial expression of opulence and splendor;²³ but the nobles and senators of Rome aspired, in due gradation, to imitate that illustrious family. The accurate description of the city, which was composed in the Theodosian age, enumerates one thousand seven hundred and eighty *houses*, the residence of wealthy and honorable citizens.²⁴ Many of these stately mansions might almost excuse the exaggeration of the poet—that Rome contained a multitude of palaces, and that each palace was equal to a city, since it included within its own precincts everything which could be subservient either to use or luxury—markets, hippodromes, temples,

Wealth of the
Roman nobles.

dentius (in Symmach. i. 553) and the dislike of the pagans to the Anician family. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 183, v. p. 44. Baion. *Annal.* A.D. 312, No. 78; A.D. 322, No. 2.

²⁰ Probus . . . claritudine generis et potentiâ et opâm amplitudine cognitus Orbi Romano, per quem universum pœne patrimonia sparsa possedit, juste an secus non judiculi est nostri.—Ammian. Marcellin. xxvii. 11. His children and widow elected for him a magnificent tomb in the Vatican, which was demolished in the time of Pope Nicholas V. to make room for the new Church of St. Peter. Baronius, who laments the ruin of this Christian monument, has diligently preserved the inscriptions and basso-relievos. See *Annal. Eccles.* A.D. 395, No. 5–17.

²¹ Two Persian satraps travelled to Milan and Rome to hear St. Ambrose and to see Probus (Paulin. in Vit. Ambros.). Claudian (in Cons. Probin. et Olybr. 30–60) seems at a loss how to express the glory of Probus.

²² See the poem which Claudian addressed to the two noble youths.

²³ Secundinus, the Manichæan, apud Baion. *Annal. Eccles.* A.D. 390, No. 34.

²⁴ See Nardini, *Roma Antica*, p. 89, 498, 500.

fountains, baths, porticoes, shady groves, and artificial aviaries.²⁶ The historian Olympiodorus, who represents the state of Rome when it was besieged by the Goths,²⁷ continues to observe that several of the richest senators received from their estates an annual income of four thousand pounds of gold, above one hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling, without computing the stated provision of corn and wine which, had they been sold, might have equalled in value one third of the money. Compared to this immoderate wealth, an ordinary revenue of a thousand or fifteen hundred pounds of gold might be considered as no more than adequate to the dignity of the senatorian rank, which required many expenses of a public and ostentatious kind. Several examples are recorded in the age of Honorius of vain and popular nobles who celebrated the year of their prætorship by a festival which lasted seven days and cost above one hundred thousand pounds sterling.²⁸ The es-

26

Quid loquar inclusas inter laquearia silvas ?

Vernula quæ vario carmine ludit avis ?

Claud. Rutil. Numatian. Itinerar. ver. 111.

The poet lived at the time of the Gothic invasion. A moderate palace would have covered Cincinnatus's farm of four acres (Val. Max. iv. 4, 7). "In laxitatem ruris excurrunt," says Seneca, Epist. 114. See a judicious note of Mr. Hume, Essays, vol. i. p. 562, last 8vo edition.

²⁶ This curious account of Rome, in the reign of Honorius, is found in a fragment of the historian Olympiodorus, apud Photium, p. 197 [p. 63, edit. Bekker].

²⁷ The sons of Alypius [Olympius in Bekker's edit.], of Symmachus, and of Maximus spent, during their respective prætorships, twelve, or twenty, or forty *centenaries* (or hundredweight of gold). See Olympiodor. apud Phot. p. 197 [p. 63, edit. Bekker]. This popular estimation allows some latitude; but it is difficult to explain a law in the Theodosian Code (l. vi. tit. iv. leg. 5) which fixes the expense of the first prætor at 25,000. of the second at 20,000, and of the third at 15,000 *folles*. The name of *folles* (see Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 727) was equally applied to a purse of 125 pieces of silver and to a small copper coin of the value of $\frac{1}{125}$ part of that purse. In the former sense, the 25,000 *folles* would be equal to £150,000; in the latter, to five or six pounds sterling. The one appears extravagant, the other is ridiculous.^a There must have

^a The *centenarium* was a hundred pounds weight of gold; and from the time of Constantine the pound contained 72 solidi. Supposing the solidus to be worth only 10s. English,* the prætorship of Symmachus cost £72,000, and that of Max-

* This is the value of the solidus, according to Savigny (see note, vol. ii. p. 338), which we have adopted in previous notes; but Mommsen makes the solidus nearly equal to 12s. See Marquardt in Becker's Römisch. Alterth. vol. iii. part ii. p. 84.

tates of the Roman senators, which so far exceed the proportion of modern wealth, were not confined to the limits of Italy. Their possessions extended far beyond the Ionian and *Ægean* seas to the most distant provinces. The city of *Nicopolis*, which Augustus had founded as an eternal monument of the Actian victory, was the property of the devout Paula;²⁸ and it is observed by Seneca that the rivers which had divided hostile nations now flowed through the lands of private citizens.²⁹ According to their temper and circumstances, the estates of the Romans were either cultivated by the labor of their slaves or granted for a certain and stipulated rent to the industrious farmer. The economical writers of antiquity strenuously recommend the former method wherever it may be practicable; but if the object should be removed by its distance or magnitude from the immediate eye of the master, they prefer the active care of an old hereditary tenant, attached to the soil and interested in the produce, to the mercenary administration of a negligent, perhaps an unfaithful, steward.³⁰

The opulent nobles of an immense capital, who were never

existed some third and middle value, which is here understood; but ambiguity is an inexcusable fault in the language of laws.

²⁸ *Nicopolis* . . . in *Actiaco littore sita possessionis vestræ nunc pars vel maxima est.*—Jerome, in præfat. Comment. ad *Epistol. ad Titum*, tom. ix. p. 243. M. de Tillemont supposes, strangely enough, that it was part of Agamemnon's inheritance. *Mém. Ecclési.* tom. xii. p. 85.

²⁹ Seneca, *Epist.* lxxxix. His language is of the declamatory kind; but declamation could scarcely exaggerate the avarice and luxury of the Romans. The philosopher himself deserved some share of the reproach, if it be true that his rigorous exaction of *quadringenties*, above three hundred thousand pounds, which he had lent at high interest, provoked a rebellion in Britain. (*Dion Cassius*, l. lxii [c. 2] p. 1003). According to the conjecture of Gale (*Antoninus's Itinerary in Britain*, p. 92), the same Faustinus possessed an estate near Bury, in Suffolk, and another in the kingdom of Naples.

³⁰ Volusius, a wealthy senator (*Tacit. Annal.* iii. 30), always preferred tenants born on the estate. Columella, who received this maxim from him, argues very judiciously on the subject. *De Re Rusticâ*, l. i. c. 7, p. 408, edit. Gesner Leipzig, 1785.

imus £144,000. In the passage of the Theodosian Code quoted by Gibbon, the *folles* means a purse of 125 pieces of silver; and as this *folles* was equal to £5 11s. nearly (according to Mommsen), 25,000 *folles* contained £148,750. This sum, it is true, is prodigious; but it is very nearly the same as the amount expended by Maximus in his prætorship.—S.

excited by the pursuit of military glory and seldom engaged in the occupations of civil government, naturally resigned their leisure to the business and amusements of private life. At Rome commerce was always held in contempt; but the senators, from the first age of the republic, increased their patrimony and multiplied their clients by the lucrative practice of usury, and the obsolete laws were eluded or violated by the mutual inclinations and interest of both parties.²¹ A considerable mass of treasure must always have existed at Rome, either in the current coin of the empire or in the form of gold and silver plate; and there were many sideboards in the time of Pliny which contained more solid silver than had been transported by Scipio from vanquished Carthage.²² The greater part of the nobles, who dissipated their fortunes in profuse luxury, found themselves poor in the midst of wealth, and idle in a constant round of dissipation. Their desires were continually gratified by the labor of a thousand hands: of the numerous train of their domestic slaves, who were actuated by the fear of punishment; and of the various professions of artificers and merchants, who were more powerfully impelled by the hopes of gain. The ancients were destitute of many of the conveniences of life which have been invented or improved by the progress of industry; and the plenty of glass and linen has diffused more real comforts among the modern nations of Europe than the senators of Rome could derive from all the refinements of pompous or sensual luxury.²³

²¹ Valesius (ad Ammian. xiv. 6) has proved, from Chrysostom and Augustine, that the senators were not allowed to lend money at usury. Yet it appears from the Theodosian Code (see Godefroy ad L. ii. tit. xxxiii. tom. i. p. 230-239) that they were permitted to take six per cent., or one half of the legal interest; and, what is more singular, this permission was granted to the *young* senators.

²² Plin. Hist. Natur. xxxiii. 50. He states the silver at only 4380 pounds, which is increased by Livy (xxx. 45) to 100,028. The former seems too little for an opulent city, the latter too much for any private sideboard.

²³ The learned Arbuthnot (Tables of Ancient Coins, etc., p. 153) has observed with humor, and I believe with truth, that Augustus had neither glass to his windows nor a shirt to his back. Under the lower empire the use of linen and glass became somewhat more common.*

* The discovery of glass in such common use at Pompeii spoils the jest of Ar-

Their luxury and their manners have been the subject of minute and laborious disquisition; but as such inquiries would divert me too long from the design of the present work, I shall produce an authentic state of Rome and its inhabitants, which is more peculiarly applicable to the period of the Gothic invasion. Ammianus Marcellinus, who prudently chose the capital of the empire as the residence the best adapted to the historian of his own times, has mixed with the narrative of public events a lively representation of the scenes with which he was familiarly conversant. The judicious reader will not always approve the asperity of censure, the choice of circumstances, or the style of expression; he will perhaps detect the latent prejudices and personal resentments which soured the temper of Ammianus himself, but he will surely observe, with philosophic curiosity, the interesting and original picture of the manners of Rome.*

"The greatness of Rome" (such is the language of the historian) "was founded on the rare and almost incredible alliance of virtue and of fortune. The long period of her infancy was employed in a laborious struggle against the tribes of Italy, the neighbors and enemies of the rising city. In the strength and ardor of youth she sustained the storms of war, carried her victorious arms beyond the seas and the mountains, and brought home triumphal laurels from every country of the globe. At length, verging towards old age, and sometimes conquering by the terror only of her name, she sought the blessings of ease and tranquillity. The VENERABLE CITY, which had trampled on the necks of the

Character of
the Roman
nobles, by
Ammianus
Marcellinus.

* It is incumbent on me to explain the liberties which I have taken with the text of Ammianus. 1. I have melted down into one piece the sixth chapter of the fourteenth, and the fourth of the twenty-eighth, book. 2. I have given order and connection to the confused mass of materials. 3. I have softened *some* extravagant hyperboles and pared away some superfluities of the original. 4. I have developed some observations which were insinuated rather than expressed. With these allowances my version will be found, not literal, indeed, but faithful and exact.

buttnot. See Sir W. Gell, *Pompeiana*, second ser. p. 98.—M. See also Becker's *Gallia*, vol. iii. p. 58 seq., second edit.—S.

fiercest nations, and established a system of laws, the perpetual guardians of justice and freedom, was content, like a wise and wealthy parent, to devolve on the Cæsars, her favorite sons, the care of governing her ample patrimony." A secure and profound peace, such as had been once enjoyed in the reign of Numa, succeeded to the tumults of a republic; while Rome was still adored as the queen of the earth, and the subject nations still revered the name of the people and the majesty of the senate. But this native splendor" (continues Ammianus) "is degraded and sullied by the conduct of some nobles, who, unmindful of their own dignity and of that of their country, assume an unbounded license of vice and folly. They contend with each other in the empty vanity of titles and surnames, and curiously select or invent the most lofty and sonorous appellations—Reburus or Fabunius, Pagonius or Tarasius"—which may impress the ears of the vulgar with astonishment and respect. From a vain ambition of perpetuating their memory, they affect to multiply their likeness in statues of bronze and marble; nor are they satisfied unless those statues are covered with plates of gold, an honorable distinction, first granted to Acilius the consul, after he had subdued by his arms and counsels the power of King Antiochus. The ostentation of displaying, of magnifying perhaps, the rent-roll of the estates which they possess in all the provinces, from the rising to the setting sun, provokes the just resentment of every man who recollects that their poor and invincible ancestors were not distinguished from the meanest of the sol-

* Claudian, who seems to have read the history of Ammianus, speaks of this great revolution in a much less courtly style:

Postquam jura ferox in se communia Cæsar
Transtulit; et lapsi mores, desuetaque piis
Artibus, in gremium pacis servile recessi.

De Bell. Gildonico, v. 49.

** The minute diligence of antiquarians has not been able to verify these extraordinary names. I am of opinion that they were invented by the historian himself, who was afraid of any personal satire or application. It is certain, however, that the simple denominations of the Romans were gradually lengthened to the number of four, five, or even seven, pompous surnames; as, for instance, Marcus Mæcius Mæmmius Furius Balburus Cæcilianus Placidus. See Noris, *Cenotaph. Pisan. Dissert. iv. p. 438.*

diers by the delicacy of their food or the splendor of their apparel. But the modern nobles measure their rank and consequence according to the loftiness of their chariots³⁷ and the weighty magnificence of their dress. Their long robes of silk and purple float in the wind; and as they are agitated, by art or accident, they occasionally discover the under-garments, the rich tunics, embroidered with the figures of various animals.³⁸ Followed by a train of fifty servants, and tearing up the pavement, they move along the streets with the same impetuous speed as if they travelled with post-horses; and the example of the senators is boldly imitated by the matrons and ladies, whose covered carriages are continually driving round the immense space of the city and suburbs. Whenever these persons of high distinction condescend to visit the public baths, they assume, on their entrance, a tone of loud and insolent command, and appropriate to their own use the conveniences which were designed for the Roman people. If, in these places of mixed and general resort, they meet any of the infamous ministers of their pleasures, they express their affection by a tender embrace, while they proudly decline the salutations of their fellow-citizens, who are not permitted to aspire above the honor of kissing their hands or their knees. As soon as they have indulged themselves in the refreshment of the bath, they resume their rings and the other ensigns of their dignity, select from their private wardrobe of the finest linen, such as might suffice for a dozen persons, the garments the

³⁷ The *carrucæ*, or coaches of the Romans, were often of solid silver curiously carved and engraved; and the trappings of the mules or horses were embossed with gold. This magnificence continued from the reign of Nero to that of Honorius; and the Appian Way was covered with the splendid equipages of the nobles, who came out to meet St. Melania when she returned to Rome six years before the Gothic siege (Seneca, *Epist.* lxxxvii.; Plin. *Hist. Natur.* xxxiii. 49; Paulin. Nolan. apud Baron. *Annal. Eccles.* A.D. 397, No. 5). Yet pomp is well exchanged for convenience; and a plain modern coach that is hung upon springs is much preferable to the silver or gold *carts* of antiquity, which rolled on the axletree, and were exposed, for the most part, to the inclemency of the weather.

³⁸ In a homily of Asterius, Bishop of Amasia, M. de Valois has discovered (ad Ammian. xiv. 6) that this was a new fashion; that bears, wolves, lions, and tigers, woods, hunting-matches, etc., were represented in embroidery, and that the more pious coxcombs substituted the figure or legend of some favorite saint.

most agreeable to their fancy, and maintain till their departure the same haughty demeanor which perhaps might have been excused in the great Marcellus after the conquest of Syracuse. Sometimes, indeed, these heroes undertake more arduous achievements. They visit their estates in Italy, and procure themselves, by the toil of servile hands, the amusements of the chase.³⁹ If at any time, but more especially on a hot day, they have courage to sail in their painted galleys from the Lucrine lake⁴⁰ to their elegant villas on the sea-coast of Puteoli and Caieta,⁴¹ they compare their own expeditions to the marches of Cæsar and Alexander. Yet should a fly presume to settle on the silken folds of their gilded umbrellas, should a sunbeam penetrate through some unguarded and imperceptible chink, they deplore their intolerable hardships, and lament in affected language that they were not born in the land of the Cimmerians,⁴² the regions of eternal darkness. In these journeys into the country⁴³ the whole body of the household marches

³⁹ See Pliny's Epistles, i. 6. Three large wild boars were allured and taken in the toils without interrupting the studies of the philosophic sportsman.

⁴⁰ The change from the inauspicious word *Avernus*, which stands in the text, is immaterial. The two lakes, Avernus and Lucrinus, communicated with each other, and were fashioned by the stupendous moles of Agrippa into the Julian port, which opened through a narrow entrance into the Gulf of Puteoli. Virgil, who resided on the spot, has described (Georgic ii. 161) this work at the moment of its execution; and his commentators, especially Catrou, have derived much light from Strabo, Suetonius, and Dion. Earthquakes and volcanoes have changed the face of the country, and turned the Lucrine lake, since the year 1588, into the Monte Nuovo. See Camillo Pellegrino, *Discorsi della Campania Felice*, p. 239, 244, etc. Antonii Sanfelicii *Campania*, p. 13, 88.

⁴¹ *The regna Cumana et Puteolana; loca castroqui valde expetenda, interpellantium autem multitudine pæne fugienda.*—Cicero ad Attic. xiv. 16.

⁴² The proverbial expression of *Cimmerian darkness* was originally borrowed from the description of Homer (in the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*) which he applies to a remote and fabulous country on the shores of the ocean. See Erasmus *Adagia*, in his Works, tom. ii. p. 593, the Leyden edition.

⁴³ We may learn from Seneca, *Epist. cxxiii.*, three curious circumstances relative to the journeys of the Romans. 1. They were preceded by a troop of Numidian light-horse, who announced by a cloud of dust the approach of a great man. 2. Their baggage-mules transported not only the precious vases, but even the fragile vessels of crystal and *murra*, which last is almost proved, by the learned French translator of Seneca (tom. iii. p. 402-422), to mean the porcelain of China and

with their master. In the same manner as the cavalry and infantry, the heavy and the light armed troops, the advanced guard and the rear, are marshalled by the skill of their military leaders, so the domestic officers, who bear a rod as an ensign of authority, distribute and arrange the numerous train of slaves and attendants. The baggage and wardrobe move in the front, and are immediately followed by a multitude of cooks and inferior ministers employed in the service of the kitchens and of the table. The main body is composed of a promiscuous crowd of slaves, increased by the accidental concourse of idle or dependent plebeians. The rear is closed by the favorite band of eunuchs, distributed from age to youth, according to the order of seniority. Their numbers and their deformity excite the horror of the indignant spectators, who are ready to execrate the memory of Semiramis for the cruel art which she invented of frustrating the purposes of nature, and of blasting in the bud the hopes of future generations. In the exercise of domestic jurisdiction the nobles of Rome express an exquisite sensibility for any personal injury, and a contemptuous indifference for the rest of the human species. When they have called for warm water, if a slave has been tardy in his obedience, he is instantly chastised with three hundred lashes; but should the same slave commit a wilful murder, the master will mildly observe that he is a worthless fellow, but that, if he repeats the offence, he shall not escape punishment. Hospitality was formerly the virtue of the Romans; and every stranger who could plead either merit or misfortune was relieved or rewarded by their generosity. At present, if a foreigner, perhaps of no contemptible rank, is introduced to one of the proud and wealthy senators, he is welcomed indeed in the first audience with such warm professions and such kind inquiries that he retires enchanted with the affability of his

Japan.* 3. The beautiful faces of the young slaves were covered with a medicated crust, or ointment, which secured them against the effects of the sun and frost.

* This would be rendered still more probable if we could place dependence upon the statement of Sh. W. Gell, "that the porcelain of the East was called *Mirrhadi Smyrna* to as late a date as 1555." *Pompeiana*, vol. i. p. 98, 99 —S.

illustrious friend, and full of regret that he had so long delayed his journey to Rome, the native seat of manners as well as of empire. Secure of a favorable reception, he repeats his visit the ensuing day, and is mortified by the discovery that his person, his name, and his country are already forgotten. If he still has resolution to persevere, he is gradually numbered in the train of dependents, and obtains the permission to pay his assiduous and unprofitable court to a haughty patron, incapable of gratitude or friendship, who scarcely deigns to remark his presence, his departure, or his return. Whenever the rich prepare a solemn and popular entertainment, " whenever they celebrate with profuse and pernicious luxury their private banquets, the choice of the guests is the subject of anxious deliberation. The modest, the sober, and the learned are seldom preferred; and the nomenclators, who are commonly swayed by interested motives, have the address to insert in the list of invitations the obscure names of the most worthless of mankind. But the frequent and familiar companions of the great are those parasites who practise the most useful of all arts, the art of flattery; who eagerly applaud each word and every action of their immortal patron, gaze with rapture on his marble columns and variegated pavements, and strenuously praise the pomp and elegance which he is taught to consider as a part of his personal merit. At the Roman tables the birds, the *squirrels*," or the fish, which appear of an un-

" "Distributio solemnium sportularum." The *sportula*, or *sportella*, were small baskets supposed to contain a quantity of hot provisions of the value of 100 quadrantes, or twelvepence half-penny, which were ranged in order in the hall, and ostentatiously distributed to the hungry or servile crowd who waited at the door. This indelicate custom is very frequently mentioned in the epigrams of Martial and the satires of Juvenal. See likewise Suetonius, in Claud. c. 21; in Neron. c. 16; in Domitian. c. 4, 7. These baskets of provisions were afterwards converted into large pieces of gold and silver coin, or plate, which were mutually given and accepted even by the persons of the highest rank (see Symmach. Epist. iv. 55, ix. 124, and Miscell. p. 256 [edit. Paris, 1604]), on solemn occasions, of consulships, marriages, etc.

" The want of an English name obliges me to refer to the common genus of squirrels,* the Latin *glis*, the French *loir*; a little animal who inhabits the woods

* Is it not the dormouse?—M.

common size, are contemplated with curious attention; a pair of scales is accurately applied to ascertain their real weight; and, while the more rational guests are disgusted by the vain and tedious repetition, notaries are summoned to attest by an authentic record the truth of such a marvellous event. Another method of introduction into the houses and society of the great is derived from the profession of gaming, or, as it is more politely styled, of play. The confederates are united by a strict and indissoluble bond of friendship, or rather of conspiracy; a superior degree of skill in the *Tesserarian* art (which may be interpreted the game of dice and tables⁴⁶) is a sure road to wealth and reputation. A master of that sublime science who in a supper or assembly is placed below a magistrate displays in his countenance the surprise and indignation which Cato might be supposed to feel when he was refused the prætorship by the votes of a capricious people. The acquisition of knowledge seldom engages the curiosity of the nobles, who abhor the fatigue and disdain the advantages of study; and the only books which they peruse are the Satires of Juvenal and the verbose and fabulous histories of Marius Maximus.⁴⁷ The libraries which they have

Had remains torpid in cold weather (see Plin. Hist. Natur. viii. 82; Buffon, Hist. Naturelle, tom. viii. 158; Pennant's Synopsis of Quadrupeds, p. 289). The art of rearing and fattening great numbers of *glres* was practised in Roman villas as a profitable article of rural economy (Varro de Re Rusticâ, iii. 15). The excessive demand of them for luxurious tables was increased by the foolish prohibitions of the censors; and it is reported that they are still esteemed in modern Rome, and are frequently sent as presents by the Colonna princes see Brotier, the last editor of Pliny, tom. ii. p. 458, apud Barbon, 1779.

⁴⁶ This game, which might be translated by the more familiar names of *trictrac*, or *backgammon*, was a favorite amusement of the gravest Romans; and old Mucius Sævola, the lawyer, had the reputation of a very skilful player. It was called *ludus duodecim scriptorum*, from the twelve *scripta*, or lines, which equally divided the *alveolus*, or table. On these the two armies, the white and the black, each consisting of fifteen men, or *calculi*, were regularly placed and alternately moved according to the laws of the game and the chances of the *tessera*, or dice. Dr. Hyde, who diligently traces the history and varieties of the *nerdiludum* (a name of Persic etymology) from Ireland to Japan, pours forth on this trifling subject a copious torrent of classic and Oriental learning. See Syntagma Dissertat. tom. ii. p. 217-405.

⁴⁷ Marius Maximus, homo omnium verbosissimus, qui et mythistoricis se voluminibus implicavit.—Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 242 [Vopisc. Firm. c. 1]. He

inherited from their fathers are secluded, like dreary sepulchres, from the light of day.⁴⁸ But the costly instruments of the theatre—flutes, and enormous lyres, and hydraulic organs—are constructed for their use; and the harmony of vocal and instrumental music is incessantly repeated in the palaces of Rome. In those palaces sound is preferred to sense, and the care of the body to that of the mind. It is allowed as a salutary maxim that the light and frivolous suspicion of a contagious malady is of sufficient weight to excuse the visits of the most intimate friends; and even the servants who are despatched to make the decent inquiries are not suffered to return home till they have undergone the ceremony of a previous ablution. Yet this selfish and unmanly delicacy occasionally yields to the more imperious passion of avarice. The prospect of gain will urge a rich and gouty senator as far as Spoleto; every sentiment of arrogance and dignity is subdued by the hopes of an inheritance, or even of a legacy; and a wealthy childless citizen is the most powerful of the Romans. The art of obtaining the signature of a favorable testament, and sometimes of hastening the moment of its execution, is perfectly understood; and it has happened that in the same house, though in different apartments, a husband and a wife, with the laudable design of overreaching each other, have summoned their respective lawyers to declare at the same time their mutual but contradictory intentions. The distress which follows and chastises extravagant luxury often reduces the great to the use of the most humiliating expedients. When they desire to borrow, they employ the base and supplicating style of the slave in the comedy; but when they are called upon to pay, they assume the royal and tragic declamation of the grandsons of Hercules. If the demand is repeated, they readily procure some trusty sycophant, instructed to maintain a charge of

wrote the lives of the emperors from Trajan to Alexander Severus. See Gerard Vossius de Historicis Latin. l. ii. c. 3, in his Works, vol. iv. p. 57.

⁴⁸ This satire is probably exaggerated. The *Saturnalia* of Macrobius and the *Epistles* of Jerome afford satisfactory proofs that Christian theology and classic literature were studiously cultivated by several Romans of both sexes and of the highest rank.

poison or magic against the insolent creditor, who is seldom released from prison till he has signed a discharge of the whole debt. These vices, which degrade the moral character of the Romans, are mixed with a puerile superstition that disgraces their understanding. They listen with confidence to the predictions of haruspices, who pretend to read in the entrails of victims the signs of future greatness and prosperity; and there are many who do not presume either to bathe or to dine, or to appear in public, till they have diligently consulted, according to the rules of astrology, the situation of Mercury and the aspect of the moon.* It is singular enough that this vain credulity may often be discovered among the profane sceptics who impiously doubt or deny the existence of a celestial power."

In populous cities, which are the seat of commerce and manufactures, the middle ranks of inhabitants, who derive their subsistence from the dexterity or labor of their hands, are commonly the most prolific, the most useful, and in that sense the most respectable, part of the community. But the plebeians of Rome, who disdained such sedentary and servile arts, had been oppressed from the earliest times by the weight of debt and usury; and the husbandman, during the term of his military service, was obliged to abandon the cultivation of his farm.** The lands of Italy, which had been originally divided among the families of free and indigent proprietors, were insensibly purchased or usurped by the avarice of the nobles; and in the age which preceded the fall of the republic, it was computed that only two thousand citizens were possessed of any independent substance.† Yet

State and
character of
the people of
Rome.

* Macrobius, the friend of these Roman nobles, considered the stars as the cause, or at least the signs, of future events (*De Somn. Scipion.* l. i. c. 19, p. 68).

** The histories of Livy (see particularly vi. 36) are full of the extortions of the rich and the sufferings of the poor debtors. The melancholy story of a brave old soldier (*Dionys. Hal.* l. vi. c. 26, p. 347, edit. Hudson, and Livy, ii. 28) must have been frequently repeated in those primitive times, which have been so undeservedly praised.

† Non esse in civitate duo millia hominum qui rem haberent.—Cicero, *Offic.* ii. 21, and *Comment.* Paul Manut. in edit. Græv. This vague computation was made A.U.C. 649, in a speech of the tribune Philippus, and it was his object, as

as long as the people bestowed by their suffrages the honors of the State, the command of the legions, and the administration of wealthy provinces, their conscious pride alleviated in some measure the hardships of poverty; and their wants were seasonably supplied by the ambitious liberality of the candidates, who aspired to secure a venal majority in the thirty-five tribes, or the hundred and ninety-three centuries, of Rome. But when the prodigal commons had imprudently alienated not only the *use*, but the *inheritance* of power, they sank, under the reign of the Cæsars, into a vile and wretched populace, which must, in a few generations, have been totally extinguished if it had not been continually recruited by the manumission of slaves and the influx of strangers. As early as the time of Hadrian, it was the just complaint of the ingenuous natives that the capital had attracted the vices of the universe and the manners of the most opposite nations. The intemperance of the Gauls, the cunning and levity of the Greeks, the savage obstinacy of the Egyptians and Jews, the servile temper of the Asiatics, and the dissolute, effeminate prostitution of the Syrians, were mingled in the various multitude, which, under the proud and false denomination of Romans, presumed to despise their fellow-subjects, and even their sovereigns, who dwelt beyond the precincts of the *ETERNAL CITY*.²²

Yet the name of that city was still pronounced with respect; the frequent and capricious tumults of its inhabitants were indulged with impunity; and the successors of Constantine, instead of crushing the last remains of the democracy by the strong arm of military power, embraced the mild policy of Augustus, and studied to relieve the

Public distribution of bread, bacon, oil, wine, etc.

well as that of the Gracchi (see Plutarch), to deplore, and perhaps to exaggerate, the misery of the common people.

²² See the third Satire (60-125) of Juvenal, who indignantly complains,

— Quamvis quota portio fœcis Achæi !
Jampridem Syrus in Tiberem defluxit Orontes ;
Et linguam et mores, etc.

Seneca, when he proposes to comfort his mother (Consolat. ad Helv. c. 6) by the reflection that a great part of mankind were in a state of exile, reminds her how few of the inhabitants of Rome were born in the city.

poverty and to amuse the idleness of an innumerable people.⁸³ I. For the convenience of the lazy plebeians, the monthly distributions of corn were converted into a daily allowance of bread; a great number of ovens were constructed and maintained at the public expense; and at the appointed hour, each citizen who was furnished with a ticket ascended the flight of steps which had been assigned to his peculiar quarter or division, and received, either as a gift or at a very low price, a loaf of bread of the weight of three pounds for the use of his family. II. The forests of Lucania, whose acorns fattened large droves of wild hogs,⁸⁴ afforded, as a species of tribute, a plentiful supply of cheap and wholesome meat. During five months of the year a regular allowance of bacon was distributed to the poorer citizens; and the annual consumption of the capital, at a time when it was much declined from its former lustre, was ascertained, by an edict of Valentinian the Third, at three millions six hundred and twenty-eight thousand pounds.⁸⁵ III. In the manners of antiquity the use of oil was indispensable for the lamp as well as for the bath, and the annual tax which was imposed on Africa for the benefit of Rome amounted to the weight of three millions of pounds, to the measure, perhaps, of three hundred thousand English gallons. IV. The anxiety of Augustus to provide the metropolis with sufficient plenty of corn was not extended be-

⁸³ Almost all that is said of the bread, bacon, oil, wine, etc., may be found in the fourteenth book of the Theodosian Code, which expressly treats of the *police* of the great cities. See particularly the titles iii. iv. xv. xvi. xvii. xxiv. The collateral testimonies are produced in Godefroy's Commentary, and it is needless to transcribe them. According to a law of Theodosius, which appreciates in money the military allowance, a piece of gold (eleven shillings) was equivalent to eighty pounds of bacon, or to eighty pounds of oil, or to twelve modii (or pecks) of salt (Cod. Theod. l. viii. tit. iv. leg. 17). This equation, compared with another of seventy pounds of bacon for an *amphora* (Cod. Theod. l. xiv. tit. iv. leg. 4), fixes the price of wine at about sixteen pence the gallon.

⁸⁴ The anonymous author of the Description of the World (p. 14, in tom. iii. Geograph. Minor. Hudson) observes of Lucania, in his barbarous Latin, "*Regio optima, et ipsa omnibus habundans, et lardum multum foias emittit: propter quod est in montibus, cujus æscam animalium variam.*"

⁸⁵ See Novell. ad calcem Cod. Theod. D. Valent. l. i. tit. xv. [tom. vi. App. p. 28, edit. Gothofr.]. This law was published at Rome, June 29, A.D. 452.

yond that necessary article of human subsistence; and when the popular clamor accused the dearness and scarcity of wine, a proclamation was issued by the grave reformer to remind his subjects that no man could reasonably complain of thirst, since the aqueducts of Agrippa had introduced into the city so many copious streams of pure and salubrious water.⁴⁴ This rigid sobriety was insensibly relaxed; and, although the generous design of Aurelian⁴⁵ does not appear to have been executed in its full extent, the use of wine was allowed on very easy and liberal terms. The administration of the public cellars was delegated to a magistrate of honorable rank; and a considerable part of the vintage of Campania was reserved for the fortunate inhabitants of Rome.

The stupendous aqueducts, so justly celebrated by the praises of Augustus himself, replenished the *Thermæ*, or baths, which had been constructed in every part of the city with imperial magnificence. The baths of Antoninus Caracalla, which were open at stated hours for the indiscriminate service of the senators and the people, contained above sixteen hundred seats of marble; and more than three thousand were reckoned in the baths of Diocletian.⁴⁶ The walls of the lofty apartments were covered with curious mosaics that imitated the art of the pencil in the elegance of design and the variety of colors. The Egyptian granite was beautifully incrustated with the precious green marble of Numidia; the perpetual stream of hot water was poured into the capacious basins through so many wide mouths of bright and massy silver; and the meanest Roman could purchase with a small copper coin the daily enjoyment of a scene of pomp and luxury which might excite the envy of the kings of Asia.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Sueton. in August. c. 42. The utmost debauch of the emperor himself, in his favorite wine of Rhætia, never exceeded a *sextarius* (an English pint). Id. c. 77. Torrentius ad loc. and Arbuthnot's Tables, p. 86.

⁴⁵ His design was to plant vineyards along the sea-coast of Etruria (Vopiscus, in Hist. August. p. 225 [in Aurel. c. 48]), the dreary, unwholesome, uncultivated *Maritime* of modern Tuscany.

⁴⁶ Olympiodor. apud Phot. p. 197 [p. 68, edit. Bekker].

⁴⁷ Seneca (Epistol. lxxxvi.) compares the baths of Scipio Africanus at his villa of Liternum with the magnificence (which was continually increasing) of the pub-

the Tragic and the Comic Muse of the Romans, who seldom aspired beyond the imitation of Attic genius," had been almost totally silent since the fall of the republic," and their place was unworthily occupied by licentious farce, effeminate music, and splendid pageantry. The pantomimes," who maintained their reputation from the age of Augustus to the sixth century, expressed, without the use of words, the various fables of the gods and heroes of antiquity; and the perfection of their art, which sometimes disarmed the gravity of the philosopher, always excited the applause and wonder of the people. The vast and magnificent theatres of Rome were filled by three thousand female dancers, and by three thousand singers, with the masters of the respective choruses. Such was the popular favor which they enjoyed that in a time of scarcity, when all strangers were banished from the city, the merit of contributing to the public pleasures exempted *them* from a law which was strictly executed against the professors of the liberal arts."

It is said that the foolish curiosity of Elagabalus attempted to discover, from the quantity of spiders' webs, the number of the inhabitants of Rome. A more rational method of inquiry

⁶² Sometimes, indeed, they composed original pieces.

——— Vestigia Græca

Ausi deserere et celebrare domestica facta.

Horat. Epistol. ad Pisones, 285, and the learned though perplexed note of Dacier, who might have allowed the name of tragedies to the *Brutus* and the *Decius* of Pacuvius, or to the *Cato* of Maternus. The *Octavia*, ascribed to one of the Senecas, still remains a very unfavorable specimen of Roman tragedy.

⁶³ In the time of Quintilian and Pliny a tragic poet was reduced to the imperfect method of hiring a great room, and reading his play to the company, whom he invited for that purpose. (See Dialog. de Oratoribus, c. 9, 10, and Plin. Epistol. vii. 17).

⁶⁴ See the dialogue of Lucian entitled *De Saltatione*, tom. ii. p. 265-317, edit. Reitz. The pantomimes obtained the honorable name of *χρησοφόροι*, and it was required that they should be conversant with almost every art and science. Parrette (in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. i. p. 127, etc.) has given a short history of the art of pantomimes.

⁶⁵ Ammianus, l. xiv. c. 6. He complains, with decent indignation, that the streets of Rome were filled with crowds of females who might have given children to the State, but whose only occupation was to curl and dress their hair, and "jactari volubilibus gyris, dum expriment innumera simulacra, quæ fixere fabulæ theatralis."

might not have been undeserving of the attention of the wisest princes, who could easily have resolved a question so important for the Roman government and so interesting to succeeding ages. The births and deaths of the citizens were duly registered; and if any writer of antiquity had condescended to mention the annual amount or the common average, we might now produce some satisfactory calculation which would destroy the extravagant assertions of critics, and perhaps confirm the modest and probable conjectures of philosophers.* The most diligent researches have collected only the following circumstances, which, slight and imperfect as they are, may tend in some degree to illustrate the question of the populousness of ancient Rome. I. When the capital of the empire was besieged by the Goths, the circuit of the walls was accurately measured by Ammonius, the mathematician, who found it equal to twenty-one miles.† It should not be forgotten that the form of the city was almost that of a circle—the geometrical figure which is known to contain the largest space within any given circumference. II. The architect Vitruvius, who flourished in the Augustan age, and whose evidence on this occasion has peculiar weight and authority, observes that the innumerable habitations of the Roman people would have spread themselves far beyond the narrow limits of the city; and that the want of ground, which was probably contracted on every side by gardens and villas, suggested the common though inconvenient practice of raising the houses to a considerable height in the air.‡ But the loftiness

* Lipsius (tom. iii. p. 423, de Magnitud. Romana, l. iii. c. 3) and Isaac Vossius (Observat. Var. p. 26-34) have indulged strange dreams, of four, or eight, or fourteen millions in Rome. Mr. Hume (Essays, vol. i. p. 450-457), with admirable good sense and scepticism, betrays some secret disposition to extenuate the populousness of ancient times.

† Olympiodor. ap. Phot. p. 197 [p. 63, edit. Bekker]. See Fabricius, Biblioth. Græc. tom. ix. p. 400.‡

‡ In ea autem majestate urbis, et civium infinita frequentia innumerabiles habitationes opus fuit explicare. Ergo cum recipere non posset area plana tantam

* The name of the mathematician was Ammon, not Ammonius; and, notwithstanding the positive statement in Olympiodorus, the actual circumference of the walls of Rome could not have exceeded twelve miles. See note, vol. i. p. 592.—S.

of these buildings, which often consisted of hasty work and insufficient materials, was the cause of frequent and fatal accidents; and it was repeatedly enacted by Augustus, as well as by Nero, that the height of private edifices within the walls of Rome should not exceed the measure of seventy feet from the ground." III. Juvenal⁷⁰ laments, as it should seem from his own experience, the hardships of the poorer citizens, to whom he addresses the salutary advice of emigrating, without delay, from the smoke of Rome, since they might purchase in the little towns of Italy a cheerful, commodious dwelling at the same price which they annually paid for a dark and miserable lodging. House-rent was therefore immoderately dear. The rich acquired, at an enormous expense, the ground, which they covered with palaces and gardens; but the body of the Roman people was crowded into a narrow space; and the different floors and apartments of the same house were divided, as it is still the custom of Paris and other cities, among several families of plebeians. IV. The total number of houses in the fourteen regions of the city is accurately stated in the description of Rome composed under the reign of Theodosius, and they amount to forty-eight thousand three hundred and eighty-two.⁷¹ The two classes of *domus* and of *insula*, into

multitudinem [ad habitandum] in urbe, ad auxilium altitudinis ædificiorum res ipsa coëgit devenire.—Vitruv. ii. 8. This passage, which I owe to Vossius, is clear, strong, and comprehensive.

⁷⁰ The successive testimonies of Pliny, Aristides, Claudian, Rutilius, etc., prove the insufficiency of these restrictive edicts. See Lipsius, *De Magnitud. Romana*, l. iii. c. 4.

——— Tabulata tibi jam tertia fumant;
Tu nescis; nam si gradibus trepidatur ab imis
Ultimus ardebit, quem tegula sola tuetur
A pluviâ.

Juvenal, *Satir.* iii. 199.

⁷¹ Read the whole third Satire, but particularly 166, 223, etc. The description of a crowded *insula*, or lodging-house, in Petronius (c. 95, 97) perfectly tallies with the complaints of Juvenal; and we learn from legal authority that, in the time of Augustus (Heineccius, *Hist. Juris Roman.* c. iv. p. 181), the ordinary rent of the several *canacula*, or apartments of an *insula*, annually produced forty thousand sesterces, between three and four hundred pounds sterling (*Pandect.* l. xix. tit. ii. No. 30), a sum which proves at once the large extent and high value of those common buildings.

⁷² This sum total is composed of 1780 *domus*, or great houses, of 46,602 *insula*,

which they are divided, include all the habitations of the capital, of every rank and condition, from the marble palace of the Anicii, with a numerous establishment of freedmen and slaves, to the lofty and narrow lodging-house where the poet Codrus and his wife were permitted to hire a wretched garret immediately under the tiles. If we adopt the same average which, under similar circumstances, has been found applicable to Paris,⁷² and indifferently allow about twenty-five persons for each house, of every degree, we may fairly estimate the inhabitants of Rome at twelve hundred thousand—a number which cannot be thought excessive for the capital of a mighty empire, though it exceeds the populousness of the greatest cities of modern Europe.^{73*}

or plebeian habitations (see Nardini, *Roma Antica*, l. iii. p. 88); and these numbers are ascertained by the agreement of the texts of the different *Notitiæ*. Nardini, l. viii. p. 498, 500.

⁷² See that accurate writer M. de Messance, *Recherches sur la Population*, p. 175–187. From probable or certain grounds he assigns to Paris 23,565 houses, 71,114 families, and 576,630 inhabitants.

⁷³ This computation is not very different from that which M. Brotier, the last editor of Tacitus (tom. ii. p. 380), has assumed from similar principles; though he seems to aim at a degree of precision which it is neither possible nor important to obtain.

* Since the time of Gibbon the populousness of ancient Rome has been investigated by several writers, of whom the most important are quoted at the end of this note. Dureau de la Malle has reduced the population to 562,000 souls; Zumpt increases it to 2,000,000, and Höck to 2,265,000. The number of Dureau de la Malle is unquestionably too low, and his arguments have been refuted by Zumpt. The most important datum for estimating the population is the statement in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, that the *plebs urbana* in the year 5 B.C. consisted of 320,000 males. This number contains neither children under eleven years of age (Sueton. Aug. 41), nor senators, nor equites, nor slaves. The females and children under eleven years of age must have been at least double, which would make the *plebs urbana* not less than 640,000. Höck, indeed, supposes that, as the 320,000 were the persons who received the *congiaria* from the State, they were only the poorer members of the *plebs urbana*, and that the whole number of the latter amounted to 1,250,000; but Mommsen has satisfactorily proved that *all* Roman citizens received the *congiaria*, with the exception of the senators and equites. The latter may have been 10,000. The number of slaves is quite uncertain, but all accounts represent their number as immense, and they were at least equal to, perhaps double, the male population. In addition to these, we must reckon the military and the great mass of foreigners always resident at Rome, so that the population could not have been far short of 2,000,000. If this should be considered too large a number to be distributed among the 1780 domus and the 46,602 insulæ, it must be recollected that the domus were extensive palaces, and that the insulæ contained numerous separate dwellings, being separated from other buildings by a space of at least five feet, whence their name. Besides

Such was the state of Rome under the reign of Honorius, at the time when the Gothic army formed the siege, or rather the blockade, of the city.⁷⁴ By a skilful disposition of his numerous forces, who impatiently watched the moment of an assault, Alaric encompassed the walls, commanded the twelve principal gates, intercepted all communication with the adjacent country, and vigilantly guarded the navigation of the Tiber, from which the Romans derived the surest and most plentiful supply of provisions. The first emotions of the nobles and of the people were those of surprise and indignation that a vile barbarian should dare to insult the capital of the world; but their arrogance was soon humbled by misfortune; and their unmanly rage, instead of being directed against an enemy in arms, was meanly exercised on a defenceless and innocent victim. Perhaps in the person of Serena the Romans might have respected the niece of Theodosius, the aunt—nay, even the adoptive mother—of the reigning emperor; but they abhorred the widow of Stilicho, and they listened with credulous passion to the tale of calumny which accused her of maintaining a secret and criminal correspondence with the Gothic invader. Actuated, or overawed, by the same popular frenzy, the senate, without requiring any evidence of her guilt, pronounced the sentence of her death. Serena was ignominiously strangled; and the infatuated multitude were astonished to find that this cruel act of injustice did not immediately produce the retreat of the barbarians and the deliverance of the city. That unfortunate city gradually experienced the distress of scarcity, and at length the horrid calamities of famine. The

First siege of
Rome by the
Goths
A.D. 408.

Famine.

⁷⁴ For the events of the first siege of Rome, which are often confounded with those of the second and third, see Zosimus, l. v. [c. 38–42] p. 350–354; Sozomen, l. ix. c. 6, Olympiodorus, ap. Phot. p. 180 [p. 57, edit. Bekk.]; Philostorgius, l. xii. c. 3; and Godefroy, Dissertat. p. 467–475.

this, the slaves were very densely crowded, and lived in cellars and subterranean buildings under the public edifices. See Dureau de la Malle, *Économie Politique des Romains*, vol. i. p. 340 seq.; Bunsen, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, vol. i. p. 183 seq.; Höck, *Römische Geschichte*, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 383 seq.; Zumpt, *Ueber den Stand der Bevölkerung*, etc., im *Altherthum*. p. 59 seq.; Mommsen, *Die römischen Tribus*, p. 187 seq.—S.

daily allowance of three pounds of bread was reduced to one half, to one third, to nothing; and the price of corn still continued to rise in a rapid and extravagant proportion. The poorer citizens, who were unable to purchase the necessaries of life, solicited the precarious charity of the rich; and for a while the public misery was alleviated by the humanity of *Læta*, the widow of the Emperor Gratian, who had fixed her residence at Rome, and consecrated to the use of the indigent the princely revenue which she annually received from the grateful successors of her husband.* But these private and temporary donatives were insufficient to appease the hunger of a numerous people; and the progress of famine invaded the marble palaces of the senators themselves. The persons of both sexes who had been educated in the enjoyment of ease and luxury discovered how little is requisite to supply the demands of nature, and lavished their unavailing treasures of gold and silver to obtain the coarse and scanty sustenance which they would formerly have rejected with disdain. The food the most repugnant to sense or imagination, the aliments the most unwholesome and pernicious to the constitution, were eagerly devoured and fiercely disputed by the rage of hunger. A dark suspicion was entertained that some desperate wretches fed on the bodies of their fellow-creatures whom they had secretly murdered; and even mothers (such was the horrid conflict of the two most powerful instincts implanted by nature in the human breast)—even mothers are said to have tasted the flesh of their slaughtered infants!† Many thousands of the inhabitants of Rome expired in their houses or in the streets for want of sustenance; and as the public sepulchres without the walls were in the power of the enemy,

* The mother of *Læta* was named *Pissumena*. Her father, family, and country are unknown. Ducange, *Fam. Byzantin.* p. 59.

† *Ad nefandos cibos erupit esurientium rabies, et sua invicem membra laniarunt, dum mater non parcat lactenti infantie; et recipit utero, quem paullò ante effuderat.*—Jerome, *ad Principiam*, tom. i. p. 121 [*Ep. cxxvii.* tom. i. p. 953, edit. Vallars.]. The same horrid circumstance is likewise told of the sieges of Jerusalem and Paris. For the latter, compare the tenth book of the *Henriade*, and the *Journal de Henri IV.* tom. i. p. 47–83; and observe that a plain narrative of facts is much more pathetic than the most labored descriptions of epic poetry.

the stench which arose from so many putrid and unburied carcasses infected the air; and the miseries of famine were

succeeded and aggravated by the contagion of a

Plague. pestilential disease. The assurances of speedy and

effectual relief, which were repeatedly transmitted from the Court of Ravenna, supported for some time the fainting resolution of the Romans, till at length the despair of any human aid tempted them to accept the offers of a preternatural

deliverance. Pompeianus, præfect of the city, had

Superstition. been persuaded, by the art or fanaticism of some

Tuscan diviners, that by the mysterious force of spells and sacrifices they could extract the lightning from the clouds,

and point those celestial fires against the camp of the barbarians." The important secret was communicated to Innocent,

the Bishop of Rome; and the successor of St. Peter is accused,

perhaps without foundation, of preferring the safety of the republic to the rigid severity of the Christian worship. But

when the question was agitated in the senate—when it was

proposed, as an essential condition, that those sacrifices should

be performed in the Capitol, by the authority and in the presence of the magistrates—the majority of that respectable assembly, apprehensive either of the divine or of the imperial

displeasure, refused to join in an act which appeared almost

equivalent to the public restoration of paganism."

"Zosimus (L. v. [c. 41] p. 355, 356) speaks of these ceremonies like a Greek

unacquainted with the national superstition of Rome and Tuscany. I suspect

that they consisted of two parts, the secret and the public; the former were probably

an imitation of the arts and spells by which Numa had drawn down Jupiter

and his thunder on Mount Aventine.

_____ Quid agant laqueis, quæ carmina dicant,

Quæque trahant superis sedibus arte Jovem,

Scire nefas homini.*

The *ancilia*, or shields, of Mars, the *pignora Imperii*, which were carried in solemn

procession on the calends of March, derived their origin from this mysterious event

(Ovid. Fast. iii. 259–398). It was probably designed to revive this ancient festival,

which had been suppressed by Theodosius. In that case we recover a chronological

date (March the 1st, A.D. 409) which has not hitherto been observed.

"Sozomen (L. ix. c. 6) insinuates that the experiment was actually though un-

* On the curious question of the knowledge of conducting lightning possessed

by the ancients, consult Eusèbe Salverte, Des Sciences Occultes, ch. xxiv. Paris.

1829.—M.

The last resource of the Romans was in the clemency, or at least in the moderation, of the King of the Goths. The senate, who in this emergency assumed the supreme powers of government, appointed two ambassadors to negotiate with the enemy. This important trust was delegated to Basilus, a senator of Spanish extraction, and already conspicuous in the administration of provinces; and to John, the first tribune of the notaries, who was peculiarly qualified, by his dexterity in business as well as by his former intimacy with the Gothic prince. When they were introduced into his presence, they declared, perhaps in a more lofty style than became their abject condition, that the Romans were resolved to maintain their dignity, either in peace or war; and that if Alaric refused them a fair and honorable capitulation, he might sound his trumpets, and prepare to give battle to an innumerable people, exercised in arms and animated by despair. "The thicker the hay, the easier it is mowed," was the concise reply of the barbarian; and this rustic metaphor was accompanied by a loud and insulting laugh, expressive of his contempt for the menaces of an unwarlike populace, enervated by luxury before they were emaciated by famine. He then condescended to fix the ransom which he would accept as the price of his retreat from the walls of Rome: *all* the gold and silver in the city, whether it were the property of the State or of individuals; *all* the rich and precious movables; and *all* the slaves who could prove their title to the name of *barbarians*. The ministers of the senate presumed to ask, in a modest and suppliant tone, "If such, O king! are your demands, what do you intend to leave us?" "YOUR LIVES," replied the haughty conqueror. They trembled and retired. Yet before they retired, a short suspen-

Alaric accepts a ransom and raises the siege. A.D. 409.*

successfully made, but he does not mention the name of Innocent; and Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclési.* tom. x. p. 645) is determined not to believe that a pope could be guilty of such impious condescension.

* Alaric withdrew from Rome a little before Honorius began his eighth consulship (*Zosim.* v. 42), consequently in December, A.D. 408. See Clinton, *Fast. Rom.* vol. i. p. 572.—S.

sion of arms was granted, which allowed some time for a more temperate negotiation. The stern features of Alaric were insensibly relaxed; he abated much of the rigor of his terms; and at length consented to raise the siege, on the immediate payment of five thousand pounds of gold, of thirty thousand pounds of silver, of four thousand robes of silk, of three thousand pieces of fine scarlet cloth, and of three thousand pounds weight of pepper." But the public treasury was exhausted; the annual rents of the great estates in Italy and the provinces were intercepted by the calamities of war; the gold and gems had been exchanged, during the famine, for the vilest sustenance; the hoards of secret wealth were still concealed by the obstinacy of avarice; and some remains of consecrated spoils afforded the only resource that could avert the impending ruin of the city. As soon as the Romans had satisfied the rapacious demands of Alaric, they were restored, in some measure, to the enjoyment of peace and plenty. Several of the gates were cautiously opened; the importation of provisions from the river and the adjacent country was no longer obstructed by the Goths; the citizens resorted in crowds to the free market which was held during three days in the suburbs; and while the merchants who undertook this gainful trade made a considerable profit, the future subsistence of the city was secured by the ample magazines which were deposited in the public and private granaries. A more regular discipline than could have been expected was maintained in the camp of Alaric; and the wise barbarian justified his regard for the faith of treaties by the just severity with which he chastised a party of licentious Goths who had insulted some Roman citizens on the road to Ostia. His army, enriched by the contributions of the capital, slowly advanced into the fair and fruitful province of Tuscany, where he proposed to establish

⁷⁹ Pepper was a favorite ingredient of the most expensive Roman cookery, and the best sort commonly sold for fifteen denarii, or ten shillings, the pound. See Pliny, *Hist. Natur.* xii. 14. It was brought from India; and the same country, the coast of Malabar, still affords the greatest plenty; but the improvement of trade and navigation has multiplied the quantity and reduced the price. See *Histoire Politique et Philosophique*, etc., tom. i. p. 457.

his winter-quarters; and the Gothic standard became the refuge of forty thousand barbarian slaves who had broken their chains, and aspired, under the command of their great deliverer, to revenge the injuries and the disgrace of their cruel servitude. About the same time he received a more honorable reinforcement of Goths and Huns, whom Adolphus,* the brother of his wife, had conducted, at his pressing invitation, from the banks of the Danube to those of the Tiber, and who had cut their way, with some difficulty and loss, through the superior numbers of the imperial troops. A victorious leader, who united the daring spirit of a barbarian with the art and discipline of a Roman general, was at the head of a hundred thousand fighting men; and Italy pronounced with terror and respect the formidable name of Alaric.[†]

At the distance of fourteen centuries, we may be satisfied with relating the military exploits of the conquerors of Rome, without presuming to investigate the motives of their political conduct. In the midst of his apparent prosperity, Alaric was conscious, perhaps, of some secret weakness, some internal defect; or perhaps the moderation which he displayed was intended only to deceive and disarm the easy credulity of the ministers of Honorius. The King of the Goths repeatedly declared that it was his desire to be considered as the friend of peace and of the Romans. Three senators, at his earnest request, were sent ambassadors to the court of Ravenna, to solicit the exchange of hostages and the conclusion of the treaty; and the proposals which he more clearly expressed during the course of the negotiations could only inspire a doubt of his sincerity, as they might seem inadequate to the state of his fortune. The barbarian still aspired to the rank of master-general of the armies of the West; he

Frutless
negotiations
for peace.
A.D. 409.

* This Gothic chieftain is called, by Jornandes and Isidore, *Athaulphus*; by Zosimus and Orosius, *Ataulphus*; and by Olympiodorus, *Adaolphus*. I have used the celebrated name of *Adolphus*, which seems to be authorized by the practice of the Swedes, the sons or brothers of the ancient Goths.

† The treaty between Alaric and the Romans, etc., is taken from Zosimus, l. v. [c. 41 seq.] p. 354, 355, 358, 359, 362, 363. The additional circumstances are too few and trifling to require any other quotation.

stipulated an annual subsidy of corn and money; and he chose the provinces of Dalmatia, Noricum, and Venetia for the seat of his new kingdom, which would have commanded the important communication between Italy and the Danube. If these modest terms should be rejected, Alaric showed a disposition to relinquish his pecuniary demands, and even to content himself with the possession of Noricum—an exhausted and impoverished country, perpetually exposed to the inroads of the barbarians of Germany.²² But the hopes of peace were disappointed by the weak obstinacy or interested views of the minister Olympius. Without listening to the salutary remonstrances of the senate, he dismissed their ambassadors under the conduct of a military escort too numerous for a retinue of honor, and too feeble for an army of defence. Six thousand Dalmatians, the flower of the imperial legions, were ordered to march from Ravenna to Rome, through an open country which was occupied by the formidable myriads of the barbarians. These brave legionaries, encompassed and betrayed, fell a sacrifice to ministerial folly. Their general, Valens, with a hundred soldiers, escaped from the field of battle; and one of the ambassadors, who could no longer claim the protection of the law of nations, was obliged to purchase his freedom with a ransom of thirty thousand pieces of gold. Yet Alaric, instead of resenting this act of impotent hostility, immediately renewed his proposals of peace; and the second embassy of the Roman senate, which derived weight and dignity from the presence of Innocent, bishop of the city, was guarded from the dangers of the road by a detachment of Gothic soldiers.²³

Olympius²⁴ might have continued to insult the just resentment of a people who loudly accused him as the author of the public calamities, but his power was undermined by the secret intrigues of the palace. The

Change and
succession of
ministers.

²² Zosimus, l. v. [c. 48] p. 367, 368, 369.

²³ Zosimus, l. v. [c. 45] p. 360, 361, 362. The bishop, by remaining at Ravenna, escaped the impending calamities of the city. Orosius, l. vii. c. 39, p. 573.

²⁴ For the adventures of Olympius and his successors in the ministry, see Zosimus, l. v. [c. 46] p. 363, 365, 366; and Olympiodor. ap. Phot. p. 180, 181 [p. 57, edit. Bekk.]

favorite eunuchs transferred the government of Honorius and the empire to Jovius, the Prætorian præfect—an unworthy servant, who did not atone by the merit of personal attachment for the errors and misfortunes of his administration. The exile or escape of the guilty Olympius reserved him for more vicissitudes of fortune: he experienced the adventures of an obscure and wandering life; he again rose to power; he fell a second time into disgrace; his ears were cut off; he expired under the lash; and his ignominious death afforded a grateful spectacle to the friends of Stilicho. After the removal of Olympius, whose character was deeply tainted with religious fanaticism, the pagans and heretics were delivered from the impolitic proscription which excluded them from the dignities of the State. The brave Gennerid,⁸⁵ a soldier of barbarian origin, who still adhered to the worship of his ancestors, had been obliged to lay aside the military belt; and though he was repeatedly assured by the emperor himself that laws were not made for persons of his rank or merit, he refused to accept any partial dispensation, and persevered in honorable disgrace till he had extorted a general act of justice from the distress of the Roman government. The conduct of Gennerid in the important station to which he was promoted or restored, of Master-general of Dalmatia, Pannonia, Noricum, and Rhætia, seemed to revive the discipline and spirit of the republic. From a life of idleness and want, his troops were soon habituated to severe exercise and plentiful subsistence, and his private generosity often supplied the rewards which were denied by the avarice or poverty of the Court of Ravenna. The valor of Gennerid, formidable to the adjacent barbarians, was the firmest bulwark of the Illyrian frontier; and his vigilant care assisted the empire with a reinforcement of ten thousand Huns, who arrived on the confines of Italy, attended by such a con-

⁸⁵ Zosimus (l. v [c. 46] p 364) relates this circumstance with visible complacency, and celebrates the character of Gennerid as the last glory of expiring paganism. Very different were the sentiments of the Council of Carthage, who deputed four bishops to the court of Ravenna to complain of the law which had been just enacted, that all conversions to Christianity should be free and voluntary. See Baronius, *Annal. Eccles.* A.D. 409, No. 12; A.D. 410, No. 47, 48.

voy of provisions and such a numerous train of sheep and oxen as might have been sufficient not only for the march of an army, but for the settlement of a colony. But the court and councils of Honorius still remained a scene of weakness and distraction, of corruption and anarchy. Instigated by the præfect Jovius, the guards rose in furious mutiny and demanded the heads of two generals and of the two principal eunuchs. The generals, under a perfidious promise of safety, were sent on shipboard and privately executed; while the favor of the eunuchs procured them a mild and secure exile at Milan and Constantinople. Eusebius the eunuch and the barbarian Allobich succeeded to the command of the bedchamber and of the guards; and the mutual jealousy of the subordinate ministers was the cause of their mutual destruction. By the insolent order of the count of the domestics, the great chamberlain was shamefully beaten to death with sticks before the eyes of the astonished emperor; and the subsequent assassination of Allobich, in the midst of a public procession, is the only circumstance of his life in which Honorius discovered the faintest symptom of courage or resentment. Yet before they fell, Eusebius and Allobich had contributed their part to the ruin of the empire by opposing the conclusion of a treaty which Jovius, from a selfish and perhaps a criminal motive, had negotiated with Alaric, in a personal interview under the walls of Rimini. During the absence of Jovius, the emperor was persuaded to assume a lofty tone of inflexible dignity, such as neither his situation nor his character could enable him to support; and a letter signed with the name of Honorius was immediately despatched to the Prætorian præfect, granting him a free permission to dispose of the public money, but sternly refusing to prostitute the military honors of Rome to the proud demands of a barbarian. This letter was imprudently communicated to Alaric himself; and the Goth, who in the whole transaction had behaved with temper and decency, expressed in the most outrageous language his lively sense of the insult so wantonly offered to his person and to his nation. The conference of Rimini was hastily interrupted; and the præfect Jovius, on his return to Ravenna, was compelled

to adopt, and even to encourage, the fashionable opinions of the court. By his advice and example the principal officers of the State and army were obliged to swear that, without listening in *any* circumstances to *any* conditions of peace, they would still persevere in perpetual and implacable war against the enemy of the republic. This rash engagement opposed an insuperable bar to all future negotiation. The ministers of Honorius were heard to declare that if they had only invoked the name of the Deity, they would consult the public safety, and trust their souls to the mercy of Heaven; but they had sworn by the sacred head of the emperor himself—they had touched in solemn ceremony that august seat of majesty and wisdom—and the violation of their oath would expose them to the temporal penalties of sacrilege and rebellion."

While the emperor and his court enjoyed with sullen pride the security of the marshes and fortifications of Ravenna, they abandoned Rome, almost without defence, to the resentment of Alaric. Yet such was the moderation which he still preserved, or affected, that as he moved with his army along the Flaminian Way, he successively despatched the bishops of the towns of Italy to reiterate his offers of peace, and to conjure the emperor that he would save the city and its inhabitants from hostile fire and the sword of the barbarians." These impending calamities were, however, averted, not indeed by the wisdom of Honorius, but by the prudence or humanity of the Gothic king, who employed a milder, though not less effectual, method of conquest. Instead of assaulting the capital, he successfully directed his efforts against the *Port* of Ostia, one of the boldest and most

Second siege
of Rome by
the Goths.
A.D. 408.

" Zosimus, l. v. [c. 47-49] p. 367, 368, 369. This custom of swearing by the head, or life, or safety, or genius of the sovereign was of the highest antiquity, both in Egypt (Genesis xlii. 15) and Scythia. It was soon transferred, by flattery, to the Cæsars; and Tertullian complains that it was the only oath which the Romans of his time affected to reverence. See an elegant dissertation of the Abbé Massieu on the Oaths of the Ancients, in the *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. i. p. 208, 209.

" Zosimus, l. v. [c. 50] p. 368, 369. I have softened the expressions of Alaric, who expatiates in too florid a manner on the history of Rome.

stupendous works of Roman magnificence." The accidents to which the precarious subsistence of the city was continually exposed in a winter navigation and an open road had suggested to the genius of the first Cæsar the useful design which was executed under the reign of Claudius. The artificial moles which formed the narrow entrance advanced far into the sea, and firmly repelled the fury of the waves, while the largest vessels securely rode at anchor within three deep and capacious basins which received the northern branch of the Tiber about two miles from the ancient colony of Ostia." The Roman *Port* insensibly swelled to the size of an episcopal city," where

⁸⁸ See Sueton. in Claud. c. 20; Dion Cassius, l. lx. [c. 11] p. 949, edit. Reimar; and the lively description of Juvenal, Satir. xii. 75, etc. In the sixteenth century, when the remains of this Augustan port were still visible, the antiquarians sketched the plan (see D'Anville, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. tom. xxx. p. 198), and declared with enthusiasm that all the monarchs of Europe would be unable to execute so great a work (Bergier, Hist. des Grands Chemins des Romains, tom. ii. p. 356).

⁸⁹ The *Ostia Tiberina* (see Cluver. Italia Antiq. l. iii. p. 870-879), in the plural number, the two mouths of the Tiber, were separated by the Holy Island, an equilateral triangle, whose sides were each of them computed at about two miles. The colony of Ostia was founded immediately beyond the left, or southern, and the *Port* immediately beyond the right, or northern, branch of the river; and the distance between their remains measures something more than two miles on Cingolani's map. In the time of Strabo the sand and mud deposited by the Tiber had choked the harbor of Ostia; the progress of the same cause has added much to the size of the Holy Island, and gradually left both Ostia and the Port at a considerable distance from the shore. The dry channels (*fiumi morti*) and the large estuaries (*stagno di Ponente, di Levante*) mark the changes of the river and the efforts of the sea. Consult, for the present state of this dreary and desolate tract, the excellent map of the ecclesiastical State by the mathematicians of Benedict XIV.; an actual survey of the *Agro Romano*, in six sheets, by Cingolani, which contains 113,819 *rubbie* (about 570,000 acres); and the large topographical map of Amati, in eight sheets.

⁹⁰ As early as the third (Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel, part ii. vol. iii. p. 89-92), or at least the fourth century (Carol. a Sancto Paulo, Notit. Eccles. p. 47), the Port of Rome was an episcopal city,* which was demolished, as it should seem, in the ninth century by Pope Gregory IV. during the incursions of the Arabs. It is now reduced to an inn, a church, and the house or palace of the bishop, who ranks as one of six cardinal-bishops of the Roman Church. See Eschard, Descrizione di Roma e dell' Agro Romano, p. 328.

* The Port of Rome was an episcopal city even earlier, since at the end of the second and the beginning of the third century we find the see filled by Hippolytus. See Bunsen, Hippolytus and his Age.—S.

the corn of Africa was deposited in spacious granaries for the use of the capital. As soon as Alaric was in possession of that important place, he summoned the city to surrender at discretion; and his demands were enforced by the positive declaration that a refusal, or even a delay, should be instantly followed by the destruction of the magazines on which the life of the Roman people depended. The clamors of that people and the terror of famine subdued the pride of the senate. They listened without reluctance to the proposal of placing a new emperor on the throne of the unworthy Honorius; and the suffrage of the Gothic conqueror bestowed the purple on Attalus, præfect of the city. The grateful monarch immediately acknowledged his protector as master-general of the armies of the West; Adolphus, with the rank of count of the domestics, obtained the custody of the person of Attalus; and the two hostile nations seemed to be united in the closest bands of friendship and alliance.²¹

The gates of the city were thrown open, and the new emperor of the Romans, encompassed on every side by the Gothic arms, was conducted in tumultuous procession to the palace of Augustus and Trajan. After he had distributed the civil and military dignities among his favorites and followers, Attalus convened an assembly of the senate, before whom, in a formal and florid speech, he asserted his resolution of restoring the majesty of the republic, and of uniting to the empire the provinces of Egypt and the East which had once acknowledged the sovereignty of Rome. Such extravagant promises inspired every reasonable citizen with a just contempt for the character of an unwarlike usurper whose elevation was the deepest and most ignominious wound which the republic had yet sustained from the insolence of the barbarians. But the populace, with their usual levity, applauded the change of masters. The public discontent was favorable to the rival of Honorius; and the sectaries,

Attalus is
created em-
peror by the
Goths and
Romans.

²¹ For the elevation of Attalus, consult Zosimus, l. vi. [c. 6, 7] p. 377-380; Sozomen, l. ix. c. 8, 9; Olympiodor. ap. Phot. p. 180, 181 [p. 57, edit. Bekk.]; Philostorg. l. xii. c. 3, and Godefroy, Dissertat. p. 470.

oppressed by his persecuting edicts, expected some degree of countenance, or at least of toleration, from a prince who, in his native country of Iona, had been educated in the pagan superstition, and who had since received the sacrament of baptism from the hands of an Arian bishop." The first days of the reign of Attalus were fair and prosperous. An officer of confidence was sent with an inconsiderable body of troops to secure the obedience of Africa. The greatest part of Italy submitted to the terror of the Gothic powers; and though the city of Bologna made a vigorous and effectual resistance, the people of Milan, dissatisfied perhaps with the absence of Honorius, accepted with loud acclamations the choice of the Roman senate. At the head of a formidable army, Alaric conducted his royal captive almost to the gates of Ravenna; and a solemn embassy of the principal ministers—of Jovius, the Prætorian præfect; of Valens, master of the cavalry and infantry; of the quæstor Potamius; and of Julian, the first of the notaries—was introduced with martial pomp into the Gothic camp. In the name of their sovereign, they consented to acknowledge the lawful election of his competitor, and to divide the provinces of Italy and the West between the two emperors. Their proposals were rejected with disdain; and the refusal was aggravated by the insulting clemency of Attalus, who condescended to promise that if Honorius would instantly resign the purple, he should be permitted to pass the remainder of his life in the peaceful exile of some remote island." So desperate, indeed, did the situation of the son of Theodosius appear to those who were the best acquainted with his strength and resources that Jovius and Valens, his minister and his general, betrayed their trust, infamously deserted the sinking cause

²² We may admit the evidence of Sozomen for the Arian baptism, and that of Philostorgius for the pagan education, of Attalus. The visible joy of Zosimus, and the discontent which he imputes to the Anician family, are very unfavorable to the Christianity of the new emperor.

²³ He carried his insolence so far as to declare that he should mutilate Honorius before he sent him into exile. But this assertion of Zosimus [l. vi c 8] is destroyed by the more impartial testimony of Olympiodorus, who attributes the ungenerous proposal (which was absolutely rejected by Attalus) to the baseness, and perhaps the treachery, of Jovius.

of their benefactor, and devoted their treacherous allegiance to the service of his more fortunate rival. Astonished by such examples of domestic treason, Honorius trembled at the approach of every servant, at the arrival of every messenger. He dreaded the secret enemies who might lurk in his capital, his palace, his bedchamber; and some ships lay ready in the harbor of Ravenna to transport the abdicated monarch to the dominions of his infant nephew, the Emperor of the East.

But there *is* a Providence (such, at least, was the opinion of the historian Procopius⁴⁴) that watches over innocence and fol-

ly, and the pretensions of Honorius to its peculiar care cannot reasonably be disputed. At the mo-

He is degrad-
ed by Alaric.
A.D. 410.

ment when his despair, incapable of any wise or manly resolution, meditated a shameful flight, a seasonable reinforcement of four thousand veterans unexpectedly landed in the port of Ravenna. To these valiant strangers, whose fidelity had not been corrupted by the factions of the court, he committed the walls and gates of the city; and the slumbers of the emperor were no longer disturbed by the apprehension of imminent and internal danger. The favorable intelligence which was received from Africa suddenly changed the opinions of men and the state of public affairs. The troops and officers whom Attalus had sent into that province were defeated and slain, and the active zeal of Heraclian maintained his own allegiance and that of his people. The faithful Count of Africa transmitted a large sum of money, which fixed the attachment of the imperial guards; and his vigilance in preventing the exportation of corn and oil introduced famine, tumult, and discontent into the walls of Rome. The failure of the African expedition was the source of mutual complaint and recrimination in the party of Attalus, and the mind of his protector was insensibly alienated from the interest of a prince who wanted spirit to command or docility to obey. The most imprudent measures were adopted, without the knowledge or against the advice of Alaric; and the obstinate refusal of the senate to allow, in the embarkation, the mixture even of five

⁴⁴ Procop. de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 2 [tom. i. p. 318, edit. Bonn].

hundred Goths, betrayed a suspicious and distrustful temper which in their situation was neither generous nor prudent. The resentment of the Gothic king was exasperated by the malicious arts of Jovius, who had been raised to the rank of patrician, and who afterwards excused his double perfidy by declaring without a blush that he had only *seemed* to abandon the service of Honorius, more effectually to ruin the cause of the usurper. In a large plain near Rimini, and in the presence of an innumerable multitude of Romans and barbarians, the wretched Attalus was publicly despoiled of the diadem and purple; and those ensigns of royalty were sent by Alaric as the pledge of peace and friendship to the son of Theodosius.* The officers who returned to their duty were reinstated in their employments, and even the merit of a tardy repentance was graciously allowed. But the degraded Emperor of the Romans, desirous of life and insensible of disgrace, implored the permission of following the Gothic camp in the train of a haughty and capricious barbarian.**

The degradation of Attalus removed the only real obstacle to the conclusion of the peace; and Alaric advanced within three miles of Ravenna to press the irresolution of the imperial ministers, whose insolence soon returned with the return of fortune. His indignation was kindled by the report that a rival chieftain—that Sarus, the personal enemy of Adolphus, and the hereditary foe of the House of Balti—had been received into the palace. At the head of three hundred followers, that fearless barbarian immediately sallied from the gates of Ravenna, surprised and cut in pieces a considerable body of Goths, re-entered the city in triumph, and was permitted to insult his adversary by the voice of a herald, who publicly declared that the guilt of

Third siege
and sack of
Rome by the
Goths.
A.D. 410.
Aug. 24.

* See the cause and circumstances of the fall of Attalus in Zosimus, l. vi. [c. 9-12] p. 380-383. Sozomen, l. ix. c. 8. Philostorg. l. xii. c. 8. The two acts of indemnity in the Theodosian Code, l. ix. tit. xxxviii. leg. 11, 12, which were published the 12th of February and the 8th of August, A.D. 410, evidently relate to this usurper.

** In hoc, Alaricus, imperatore, facto, infecto, reffecto, ac defecto . . . minimum risit, et ludum spectavit imperii.—Orosius, l. vii. c. 42, p. 582.

Alaric had forever excluded him from the friendship and alliance of the emperor." The crime and folly of the court of Ravenna were expiated a third time by the calamities of Rome. The King of the Goths, who no longer dissembled his appetite for plunder and revenge, appeared in arms under the walls of the capital; and the trembling senate, without any hopes of relief, prepared by a desperate resistance to delay the ruin of their country. But they were unable to guard against the secret conspiracy of their slaves and domestics, who either from birth or interest were attached to the cause of the enemy. At the hour of midnight the Salarian gate was silently opened, and the inhabitants were awakened by the tremendous sound of the Gothic trumpet. Eleven hundred and sixty-three years after the foundation of Rome, the imperial city, which had subdued and civilized so considerable a part of mankind, was delivered to the licentious fury of the tribes of Germany and Scythia.⁸⁷

The proclamation of Alaric, when he forced his entrance into a vanquished city, discovered, however, some regard for the laws of humanity and religion. He encouraged his troops boldly to seize the rewards of valor, and to enrich themselves with the spoils of a wealthy and effeminate people; but he exhorted them, at the same time, to spare the lives of the unresisting citizens, and to respect the churches of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul as holy and inviolable sanctuaries. Amidst the horrors of a nocturnal tu-

Respect of
the Goths for
the Christian
religion.

⁸⁷ Zosimus, l. vi. [c. 18] p. 384. Sozomen, l. ix. c. 9. Philostorgius, l. xii. c. 8. In this place the text of Zosimus is mutilated, and we have lost the remainder of his sixth and last book, which ended with the sack of Rome. Credulous and partial as he is, we must take our leave of that historian with some regret.

⁸⁸ *Adest Alaricus, trepidam Romam obsidet, turbat, irrumpit.*—Orosius, l. vii. c. 39, p. 578. He despatches this great event in seven words; but he employs whole pages in celebrating the devotion of the Goths. I have extracted from an improbable story of Procopius the circumstances which had an air of probability. Procop. de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 2 [tom. i. p. 315, edit. Bonn]. He supposes that the city was surprised while the senators slept in the afternoon; but Jerome, with more authority and more reason, affirms that it was in the night, "*nocte Moab capta est; nocte cecidit murus ejus*," tom. i. p. 121, ad Principiam [Epist. cxxvii. c. 12, tom. i. p. 958, edit. Vallars.].

mult, several of the Christian Goths displayed the fervor of a recent conversion; and some instances of their uncommon piety and moderation are related, and perhaps adorned, by the zeal of ecclesiastical writers." While the barbarians roamed through the city in quest of prey, the humble dwelling of an aged virgin, who had devoted her life to the service of the altar, was forced open by one of the powerful Goths. He immediately demanded, though in civil language, all the gold and silver in her possession, and was astonished at the readiness with which she conducted him to a splendid hoard of massy plate of the richest materials and the most curious workmanship. The barbarian viewed with wonder and delight this valuable acquisition, till he was interrupted by a serious admonition, addressed to him in the following words: "These," said she, "are the consecrated vessels belonging to St. Peter; if you presume to touch them, the sacrilegious deed will remain on your conscience. For my part, I dare not keep what I am unable to defend." The Gothic captain, struck with reverential awe, despatched a messenger to inform the king of the treasure which he had discovered, and received a peremptory order from Alaric that all the consecrated plate and ornaments should be transported, without damage or delay, to the church of the apostle. From the extremity, perhaps, of the Quirinal Hill to the distant quarter of the Vatican, a numerous detachment of Goths, marching in order of battle through the principal streets, protected with glittering arms the long train of their devout companions who bore aloft on their heads the sacred vessels of gold and silver, and the martial shouts of the barbarians were mingled with the sound of religious psalmody. From all the adjacent houses a crowd of Christians hast-

²² Orosius (l vii c. 39, p. 573-576) applauds the piety of the Christian Goths without seeming to perceive that the greatest part of them were Arian heretics. Jornandes (c. 30, p. 653 [p. 86, edit. Lugd. B. 1597]) and Isidore of Seville (Chron. p. 714, edit. Grot.), who were both attached to the Gothic cause, have repeated and embellished these edifying tales. According to Isidore, Alaric himself was heard to say that he waged war with the Romans, and not with the apostles. Such was the style of the seventh century; two hundred years before, the same and merit had been ascribed, not to the apostles, but to Christ.

ened to join this edifying procession; and a multitude of fugitives, without distinction of age or rank, or even of sect, had the good fortune to escape to the secure and hospitable sanctuary of the Vatican. The learned work concerning the *City of God* was professedly composed by St. Augustine to justify the ways of Providence in the destruction of the Roman greatness. He celebrates with peculiar satisfaction this memorable triumph of Christ, and insults his adversaries by challenging them to produce some similar example of a town taken by storm, in which the fabulous gods of antiquity had been able to protect either themselves or their deluded votaries.¹⁰⁰

In the sack of Rome some rare and extraordinary examples of barbarian virtue have been deservedly applauded. But the holy precincts of the Vatican and the apostolic churches could receive a very small proportion of the Roman people; many thousand warriors, more especially of the Huns who served under the standard of Alaric, were strangers to the name, or at least to the faith, of Christ; and we may suspect, without any breach of charity or candor, that in the hour of savage license, when every passion was inflamed and every restraint was removed, the precepts of the Gospel seldom influenced the behavior of the Gothic Christians. The writers the best disposed to exaggerate their clemency have freely confessed that a cruel slaughter was made of the Romans,¹⁰¹ and that the streets of the city were filled with dead bodies, which remained without burial during the general consternation. The despair of the citizens was sometimes converted into fury; and whenever the barbarians were provoked

¹⁰⁰ See Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, l. i. c. 1-6. He particularly appeals to the examples of Troy, Syracuse, and Tarentum.

¹⁰¹ Jerome (tom. i. p. 121, ad Principiam [Ep. cxxvii. tom. i. p. 953, edit. Valars.]) has applied to the sack of Rome all the strong expressions of Virgil:

Quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando,
Explicet, etc.

Procopius (l. i. c. 2 [tom. i. p. 316, edit. Bonn]) positively affirms that great numbers were slain by the Goths. Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*, l. i. c. 12, 13) offers Christian comfort for the death of those whose bodies (*multa corpora*) had remained (in *tanta strage*) unburied. Baronius, from the different writings of the Fathers, has thrown some light on the sack of Rome. *Annal. Eccles.* A.D. 410, No. 16-44

by opposition, they extended the promiscuous massacre to the feeble, the innocent, and the helpless. The private revenge of forty thousand slaves was exercised without pity or remorse; and the ignominious lashes which they had formerly received were washed away in the blood of the guilty or obnoxious families. The matrons and virgins of Rome were exposed to injuries more dreadful, in the apprehension of chastity, than death itself; and the ecclesiastical historian has selected an example of female virtue for the admiration of future ages.¹⁰⁸ A Roman lady of singular beauty and orthodox faith had excited the impatient desires of a young Goth, who, according to the sagacious remark of Sozomen, was attached to the Arian heresy. Exasperated by her obstinate resistance, he drew his sword, and, with the anger of a lover, slightly wounded her neck. The bleeding heroine still continued to brave his resentment and to repel his love, till the ravisher desisted from his unavailing efforts, respectfully conducted her to the sanctuary of the Vatican, and gave six pieces of gold to the guards of the church on condition that they should restore her inviolate to the arms of her husband. Such instances of courage and generosity were not extremely common. The brutal soldiers satisfied their sensual appetites without consulting either the inclination or the duties of their female captives; and a nice question of casuistry was seriously agitated, Whether those tender victims who had inflexibly refused their consent to the violation which they sustained had lost, by their misfortune, the glorious crown of virginity.¹⁰⁹ There were other losses,

¹⁰⁸ Sozomen, l. ix. c. 10. Augustine (*De Civitate Dei*, l. i. c. 17) intimates that some virgins or matrons actually killed themselves to escape violation; and though he admires their spirit, he is obliged by his theology to condemn their rash presumption. Perhaps the good Bishop of Hippo was too easy in the belief, as well as too rigid in the censure, of this act of female heroism. The twenty maidens (if they ever existed) who threw themselves into the Elbe when Magdeburg was taken by storm have been multiplied to the number of twelve hundred. See Harte's *History of Gustavus Adolphus*, vol. i. p. 308.

¹⁰⁹ See Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, l. i. c. 16-18. He treats the subject with remarkable accuracy; and, after admitting that there cannot be any crime where there is no consent, he adds, "*Sed quia non solum quod ad dolorem, verum etiam quod ad libidinem, pertinet, in corpore alieno perpetrari potest; quicquid tale fac-*

indeed, of a more substantial kind and more general concern. It cannot be presumed that all the barbarians were at all times capable of perpetrating such amorous outrages; and the want of youth or beauty or chastity protected the greatest part of the Roman women from the danger of a rape. But avarice is an insatiate and universal passion, since the enjoyment of almost every object that can afford pleasure to the different tastes and tempers of mankind may be procured by the possession of wealth. In the pillage of Rome a just preference was given to gold and jewels, which contain the greatest value in the smallest compass and weight; but after these portable riches had been removed by the more diligent robbers, the palaces of Rome were rudely stripped of their splendid and costly furniture. The sideboards of massy plate, and the variegated wardrobes of silk and purple, were irregularly piled in the wagons that always followed the march of a Gothic army. The most exquisite works of art were roughly handled or wantonly destroyed. Many a statue was melted for the sake of the precious materials; and many a vase, in the division of the spoil, was shivered into fragments by the stroke of a battle-axe. The acquisition of riches served only to stimulate the avarice of the rapacious barbarians, who proceeded by threats, by blows, and by tortures to force from their prisoners the confession of hidden treasure.¹⁰⁴ Visible splendor and expense were alleged as the proof of a plentiful fortune; the appearance of poverty was imputed to a parsimonious disposition; and the obstinacy of some misers, who endured the most cruel torments before they would discover the secret object of their affection, was fatal to many unhappy wretches, who expired

tum fuerit, etsi retentam constantissimo animo pudicitiam non excutit, pudorem tamen incutit, ne credatur factum cum mentis etiam voluntate, quod fieri fortasse sine carnis aliquâ voluptate non potuit." In c. 18 he makes some curious distinctions between moral and physical virginity.

¹⁰⁴ Marcella, a Roman lady, equally respectable for her rank, her age, and her piety, was thrown on the ground and cruelly beaten and whipped, "*cæsam fustibus flagellisq[ue]*," etc. Jerome, tom. i. p. 121, ad Principiam [Ep. cxxvii. c. 18, tom. i. p. 953, edit. Vallars.]. See Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, l. i. c. 10. The modern *Sacco di Roma*, p. 208, gives an idea of the various methods of torturing prisoners for gold.



CAPTURE AND SACK OF ROME BY ALARIC, KING OF THE GOTHS, 410 A.D. Page 408
"In the pillage of Rome a just preference was given to gold and jewels, which contain the greatest value in the smallest compass and weight."
Gibbon's Rome, Vol. III. Painting by W. Landwehrman

rank who perished in the massacre of Rome, it is confidently affirmed that only one senator lost his life by the sword of the enemy.¹⁰⁸ But it was not easy to compute the multitudes who, from an honorable station and a prosperous fortune, were suddenly reduced to the miserable condition of captives and exiles. As the barbarians had more occasion for money than for slaves, they fixed at a moderate price the redemption of their indigent prisoners; and the ransom was often paid by the benevolence of their friends or the charity of strangers.¹⁰⁹ The captives, who were regularly sold, either in open market or by private contract, would have legally regained their native freedom, which it was impossible for a citizen to lose or to alienate.¹¹⁰ But as it was soon discovered that the vindication of their liberty would endanger their lives, and that the Goths, unless they were tempted to sell, might be provoked to murder, their useless prisoners, the civil jurisprudence had been already qualified by a wise regulation—that they should be obliged to serve the moderate term of five years till they had discharged, by their labor, the price of their redemption.¹¹¹ The nations who invaded the Roman empire had driven before them, into Italy, whole troops of hungry and affrighted provincials, less apprehensive of servitude than of famine. The calamities of Rome and Italy dispersed the inhabitants to the most lonely, the most secure, the most distant places of refuge. While the Gothic cavalry spread terror and desolation along the sea-coast of Campania and Tuscany, the little island of Igilium, separated by a narrow channel from the

¹⁰⁸ Orosius (l. ii. c. 19, p. 142) compares the cruelty of the Gauls and the clemency of the Goths. “*Ibi vix quemquam inventum senatorem, qui vel absens evaserit; hic vix quemquam requiri, qui forte ut latens perierit.*” But there is an air of rhetoric, and perhaps of falsehood, in this antithesis; and Socrates (l. vii. c. 10) affirms, perhaps by an opposite exaggeration, that *many* senators were put to death with various and exquisite tortures.

¹⁰⁹ “*Multi . . . Christiani captivi ducti sunt*” (Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, l. i. c. 14); and the Christians experienced no peculiar hardships.

¹¹⁰ See Heineccius, *Antiquitat. Juris Roman.* tom. i. p. 96.

¹¹¹ Appendix Cod. Theodos. xvi. in Sirmond. *Opera*, tom. i. p. 735. This edict was published on the 11th of December, A.D. 408, and is more reasonable than properly belonged to the ministers of Honorius.

Argentarian promontory, repulsed or eluded their hostile attempts; and at so small a distance from Rome, great numbers of citizens were securely concealed in the thick woods of that sequestered spot.¹¹³ The ample patrimonies which many senatorian families possessed in Africa invited them, if they had time and prudence to escape from the ruin of their country, to embrace the shelter of that hospitable province. The most illustrious of these fugitives was the noble and pious Proba,¹¹³ the widow of the præfect Petronius. After the death of her husband, the most powerful subject of Rome, she had remained at the head of the Anician family, and successively supplied, from her private fortune, the expense of the consulships of her three sons. When the city was besieged and taken by the Goths, Proba supported with Christian resignation the loss of immense riches; embarked in a small vessel, from whence she beheld, at sea, the flames of her burning palace; and fled with her daughter Læta and her granddaughter, the celebrated virgin Demetrias, to the coast of Africa. The benevolent profusion with which the matron distributed the fruits or the price of her estates contributed to alleviate the misfortunes of

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Eminus Igilii sylvas cacumina miror;
 Quem fraudare nefas landis honore suæ.
 Hæc proprios nuper tutata est insula saltus;
 Sive loci ingenio, seu domini genio.
 Gurgite cum modico victricibus obstitit armis,
 Tanquam longinquo dissociata mari.
 Hæc multos lacerâ suscepit ab urbe fugatos,
 Hic fessis posito certa timore salus.
 Plurima terreno populaverat æquora bello,
 Contra naturam classe timendus eques:
 Unum, mira fides, vario discrimine portum!
 Tam prope Romanis, tam procul esse Getis.

Rutilius, in *Itinerar.* l. i. 325.

The island is now called Giglio. See Cluver. *Ital. Antiq.* l. ii. p. 502.

¹¹³ As the adventures of Proba and her family are connected with the life of St. Augustine, they are diligently illustrated by Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclési.* tom. xiii. p. 620-635. Some time after their arrival in Africa, Demetrias took the veil and made a vow of virginity, an event which was considered as of the highest importance to Rome and to the world. All the *saints* wrote congratulatory letters to her; that of Jerome is still extant (tom. i. p. 62-73, ad Demetriad. de servandâ Virginitat. [Epist. cxxx. tom. i. p. 969, edit. Vallars.]), and contains a mixture of absurd reasoning spirited declamation, and curious facts, some of which relate to the siege and sack of Rome.

exile and captivity. But even the family of Proba herself was not exempt from the rapacious oppression of Count Heraclian, who basely sold, in matrimonial prostitution, the noblest maidens of Rome to the lust or avarice of the Syrian merchants. The Italian fugitives were dispersed through the provinces, along the coast of Egypt and Asia, as far as Constantinople and Jerusalem; and the village of Bethlehem, the solitary residence of St. Jerome and his female converts, was crowded with illustrious beggars of either sex and every age, who excited the public compassion by the remembrance of their past fortune.¹¹⁵ This awful catastrophe of Rome filled the astonished empire with grief and terror. So interesting a contrast of greatness and ruin disposed the fond credulity of the people to deplore, and even to exaggerate, the afflictions of the Queen of Cities. The clergy, who applied to recent events the lofty metaphors of Oriental prophecy, were sometimes tempted to confound the destruction of the capital and the dissolution of the globe.

There exists in human nature a strong propensity to depreciate the advantages and to magnify the evils of the present times. Yet, when the first emotions had subsided and a fair estimate was made of the real damage, the more learned and judicious contemporaries were forced to confess that infant Rome had formerly received more essential injury from the Gauls than she had now sustained from the Goths in her declining age.¹¹⁶ The experience of eleven centuries has enabled posterity to produce a much more singular parallel; and to affirm with confidence that the ravages of the barbarians whom Alaric had led from the banks of the Danube were less destructive than the hostilities exercised by the troops of Charles the Fifth, a Catholic prince, who styled himself Emperor of the Romans.¹¹⁷ The Goths evacuated the

*Sack of Rome
by the troops
of Charles V.*

¹¹⁵ See the pathetic complaint of Jerome (tom. v. p. 400) in his preface to the second book of his Commentaries on the prophet Ezekiel.

¹¹⁶ Orosius, though with some theological partiality, states this comparison, l. ii. c. 19, p. 142, l. vii. c. 39, p. 575. But in the history of the taking of Rome by the Gauls everything is uncertain, and perhaps fabulous. See Beaufort sur l'Incertain, etc., de l'Histoire Romaine, p. 356; and Melot, in the Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions tom. xv. p. 1-21.

¹¹⁷ The reader who wishes to inform himself of the circumstances of this famous

city at the end of six days; but Rome remained above nine months in the possession of the imperialists, and every hour was stained by some atrocious act of cruelty, lust, and rapine. The authority of Alaric preserved some order and moderation among the ferocious multitude which acknowledged him for their leader and king; but the Constable of Bourbon had gloriously fallen in the attack of the walls, and the death of the general removed every restraint of discipline from an army which consisted of three independent nations—the Italians, the Spaniards, and the Germans. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the manners of Italy exhibited a remarkable scene of the depravity of mankind. They united the sanguinary crimes that prevail in an unsettled state of society with the polished vices which spring from the abuse of art and luxury; and the loose adventurers, who had violated every prejudice of patriotism and superstition to assault the palace of the Roman pontiff, must deserve to be considered as the most profligate of the *Italians*. At the same era the *Spaniards* were the terror both of the Old and the New World; but their high-spirited valor was disgraced by gloomy pride, rapacious avarice, and unrelenting cruelty. Indefatigable in the pursuit of fame and riches, they had improved, by repeated practice, the most exquisite and effectual methods of torturing their prisoners. Many of the Castilians who pillaged Rome were familiars of the Holy Inquisition; and some volunteers, perhaps, were lately returned from the conquest of Mexico. The *Germans* were less corrupt than the Italians, less cruel than the Spaniards; and the rustic or even savage aspect of those *Tramontane* warriors often disguised a simple and merciful disposition. But they had imbibed, in the first fervor of the Reformation, the spirit as well as the principles of Luther. It

event may peruse an admirable narrative in Dr Robertson's History of Charles V. vol. ii. p. 288, or consult the *Annali d'Italia* of the learned Muratori, tom. xiv. p. 280–244, octavo edition. If he is desirous of examining the originals, he may have recourse to the eighteenth book of the great but unfinished history of Guicciardini. But the account which most truly deserves the name of authentic and original is a little book entitled *Il Sacco di Roma*, composed, within less than a month after the assault of the city, by the brother of the historian Guicciardini, who appears to have been an able magistrate and a dispassionate writer.

was their favorite amusement to insult or destroy the consecrated objects of Catholic superstition; they indulged, without pity or remorse, a devout hatred against the clergy of every denomination and degree who form so considerable a part of the inhabitants of modern Rome; and their fanatic zeal might aspire to subvert the throne of Antichrist, to purify with blood and fire the abominations of the spiritual Babylon.¹¹⁷

The retreat of the victorious Goths, who evacuated Rome on the sixth day,¹¹⁸ might be the result of prudence; but it was not, surely, the effect of fear.¹¹⁹ At the head of an army encumbered with rich and weighty spoils, their intrepid leader advanced along the Appian Way into the southern provinces of Italy, destroying whatever dared to oppose his passage, and contenting himself with the plunder of the unresisting country. The fate of Capua, the proud and luxurious metropolis of Campania, and which was respected, even in its decay, as the eighth city of the empire,¹²⁰ is buried in oblivion; whilst the adjacent town of Nola¹²¹ has been illustrated on this occasion by the sanctity of Paulinus,¹²² who was successively a consul, a monk, and a

Alaric evacuated Rome and ravages Italy.
A.D. 410.
Aug. 29.

¹¹⁷ The furious spirit of Luther, the effect of temper and enthusiasm, has been forcibly attacked (Bossuet, *Hist. des Variations des Églises Protestantes*, livre i. p. 20-36) and feebly defended (Seckendorf, *Comment. de Lutheranism*, especially l. i. No. 78, p. 120, and l. iii. No. 122, p. 556).

¹¹⁸ Marcellinus, in *Chron. Orosius* (l. vii. c. 39, p. 575), asserts that he left Rome on the *third* day; but this difference is easily reconciled by the successive motions of great bodies of troops.

¹¹⁹ Socrates (l. vii. c. 10) pretends, without any color of truth or reason, that Alaric fled on the report that the armies of the Eastern empire were in full march to attack him.

¹²⁰ Anonius de *Clar. Urbibus*, p. 233, edit. Toll. The luxury of Capua had formerly surpassed that of Sybaris itself. See Athenæus, *Deipnosophist.* l. xii. [c. 36] p. 528, edit. Casanbon.

¹²¹ Forty-eight years before the foundation of Rome (about 800 before the Christian era) the Tuscans built Capua and Nola, at the distance of twenty-three miles from each other; but the latter of the two cities never emerged from a state of mediocrity.

¹²² Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclési.* tom. xiv. p. 1-146) has compiled, with his usual diligence, all that relates to the life and writings of Paulinus, whose retreat is celebrated by his own pen and by the praises of St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, Sulpicius Severus, etc., his Christian friends and contemporaries.

bishop. At the age of forty he renounced the enjoyment of wealth and honor, of society and literature, to embrace a life of solitude and penance; and the loud applause of the clergy encouraged him to despise the reproaches of his worldly friends, who ascribed this desperate act to some disorder of the mind or body.¹²³ An early and passionate attachment determined him to fix his humble dwelling in one of the suburbs of Nola, near the miraculous tomb of St. Felix, which the public devotion had already surrounded with five large and populous churches. The remains of his fortune and of his understanding were dedicated to the service of the glorious martyr, whose praise, on the day of his festival, Paulinus never failed to celebrate by a solemn hymn; and in whose name he erected a sixth church, of superior elegance and beauty, which was decorated with many curious pictures from the history of the Old and New Testaments. Such assiduous zeal secured the favor of the saint,¹²⁴ or at least of the people; and, after fifteen years' retirement, the Roman consul was compelled to accept the bishopric of Nola, a few months before the city was invested by the Goths. During the siege, some religious persons were satisfied that they had seen, either in dreams or visions, the divine form of their tutelar patron; yet it soon appeared by the event that Felix wanted power or inclination to preserve the flock of which he had formerly been the shepherd. Nola was not saved from the general devastation;¹²⁵ and the captive bishop was protected only by the general opinion of his innocence and poverty. Above four years elapsed from the successful invasion of Italy by the arms of Alaric to the volun-

¹²³ See the affectionate letters of Ansonius (Epist. xix.—xxv. p. 650–698, edit. Toll.) to his colleague, his friend, and his disciple, Paulinus. The religion of Ansonius is still a problem (see *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xv. p. 123–138).^a I believe that it was such in his own time, and consequently that in his heart he was a pagan.

¹²⁴ The humble Paulinus once presumed to say that he believed St. Felix *did* love him, at least, as a master loves his little dog.

¹²⁵ See Jornandes, *De Reb. Get.* c. 30, p. 653. Philostorgius, l. xii. c. 3. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, l. i. c. 10. Baronius, *Annal. Eccles.* A.D. 410, No. 45, 46.

^a On the religion of Ansonius, see note, p. 177.—S.

tary retreat of the Goths under the conduct of his successor Adolphus; and, during the whole time, they reigned without control over a country which, in the opinion of the ancients, had united all the various excellences of nature and art. The prosperity, indeed, which Italy had attained in the auspicious age of the Antonines had gradually declined with the decline of the empire. The fruits of a long peace perished under the rude grasp of the barbarians; and they themselves were incapable of tasting the more elegant refinements of luxury which had been prepared for the use of the soft and polished Italians. Each soldier, however, claimed an ample portion of the substantial plenty—the corn and cattle, oil and wine—that was daily collected and consumed in the Gothic camp; and the principal warriors insulted the villas and gardens, once inhabited by Lucullus and Cicero, along the beauteous coast of Campania. Their trembling captives, the sons and daughters of Roman senators, presented in goblets of gold and gems large draughts of Falernian wine to the haughty victors, who stretched their huge limbs under the shade of plane-trees,¹³⁶ artificially disposed to exclude the scorching rays, and to admit the genial warmth, of the sun. These delights were enhanced by the memory of past hardships. The comparison of their native soil, the bleak and barren hills of Scythia, and the frozen banks of the Elbe and Danube, added new charms to the felicity of the Italian climate.¹³⁷

¹³⁶ The *platanus*, or plane-tree, was a favorite of the ancients, by whom it was propagated, for the sake of shade, from the East to Gaul. Pliny, *Hist. Natur.* xii. 3, 4, 5. He mentions several of an enormous size—one in the imperial villa at Velitæ, which Caligula called his nest, as the branches were capable of holding a large table, the proper attendants, and the emperor himself, whom Pliny quaintly styles *pars umbræ*, an expression which might, with equal reason, be applied to Alaric.

¹³⁷

The prostrate South to the destroyer yields
Her boasted tiles and her golden fields;
With grim delight the brood of winter view
A brighter day, and skies of azure hue;
Scent the new fragrance of the opening rose,
And quaff the pendent vintage as it grows.

See Gray's Poems, published by Mr. Mason, p. 197. Instead of compiling tables of chronology and natural history, why did not Mr. Gray apply the powers of his genius to finish the philosophic poem of which he has left such an exquisite specimen?

Whether fame or conquest or riches were the object of Alaric, he pursued that object with an indefatigable ardor which could neither be quelled by adversity nor satiated by success. No sooner had he reached the extreme land of Italy than he was attracted by the neighboring prospect of a fertile and peaceful island. Yet even the possession of Sicily he considered only as an intermediate step to the important expedition which he already meditated against the continent of Africa. The straits of Rhegium and Messina¹²⁸ are twelve miles in length, and in the narrowest passage about one mile and a half broad; and the fabulous monsters of the deep, the rocks of Scylla and the whirlpool of Charybdis, could terrify none but the most timid and unskilful mariners. Yet as soon as the first division of the Goths had embarked, a sudden tempest arose, which sank or scattered many of the transports. Their courage was daunted by the terrors of a new element; and the whole design was defeated by the premature death of Alaric, which fixed, after a short illness, the fatal term of his conquests. The ferocious character of the barbarians was displayed in the funeral of a hero whose valor and fortune they celebrated with mournful applause. By the labor of a captive multitude they forcibly diverted the course of the Busentinus,* a small river that washes the walls of Consentia. The royal sepulchre, adorned with the splendid spoils and trophies of Rome, was constructed in the vacant bed; the waters were then restored to their natural channel; and the secret spot where the remains of Alaric had been deposited was forever concealed by the inhuman massacre of the prisoners who had been employed to execute the work.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ For the perfect description of the Straits of Messina, Scylla, Charybdis, etc., see Cluverius (Ital. Antiq. l. iv. p. 1293. and Sicilia Antiq. l. i. p. 60-76), who had diligently studied the ancients and surveyed with a curious eye the actual face of the country.

¹²⁹ Jornandes, De Reb. Get. c. 30, p. 654 [p. 87, edit. Lugd. B. 1597].

* This river is now called the *Busento*: the ancient name is variously written Basentus, Basentius, and Bazentinus. Busentinus in the text seems to be a mistake. See Smith's Dict. of Greek and Rom. Geogr. vol. i. p. 656.—S.

The personal animosities and hereditary feuds of the barbarians were suspended by the strong necessity of their affairs ; and the brave Adolphus, the brother-in-law of the deceased monarch, was unanimously elected to succeed to his throne. The character and political system of the new king of the Goths may be best understood from his own conversation with an illustrious citizen of Narbonne, who afterwards, in a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, related it to St. Jerome, in the presence of the historian Orosius. "In the full confidence of valor and victory, I once aspired" (said Adolphus) "to change the face of the universe ; to obliterate the name of Rome ; to erect on its ruins the dominion of the Goths ; and to acquire, like Augustus, the immortal fame of the founder of a new empire. By repeated experiments I was gradually convinced that laws are essentially necessary to maintain and regulate a well-constituted state ; and that the fierce, untractable humor of the Goths was incapable of bearing the salutary yoke of laws and civil government. From that moment I proposed to myself a different object of glory and ambition ; and it is now my sincere wish that the gratitude of future ages should acknowledge the merit of a stranger who employed the sword of the Goths, not to subvert, but to restore and maintain, the prosperity of the Roman empire."¹⁰⁰ With these pacific views, the successor of Alaric suspended the operations of war, and seriously negotiated with the imperial court a treaty of friendship and alliance. It was the interest of the ministers of Honorius, who were now released from the obligation of their extravagant oath, to deliver Italy from the intolerable weight of the Gothic powers ; and they readily accepted their service against the tyrants and barbarians who infested the provinces beyond the Alps.¹⁰¹ Adolphus, assuming the character of a

Adolphus,
King of the
Goths, con-
cludes a
peace with
the empire,
and marches
into Gaul.
A.D. 413.

¹⁰⁰ Orosius, l. vii. c. 43, p. 584, 585. He was sent by St. Augustine, in the year 415, from Africa to Palestine, to visit St. Jerome and to consult with him on the subject of the Pelagian controversy.

¹⁰¹ Jornandes supposes, without much probability, that Adolphus visited and plundered Rome a second time ("more locustarum erasit") Yet he agrees with Orosius in supposing that a treaty of peace was concluded between the Gothic prince

Roman general, directed his march from the extremity of Campania to the southern provinces of Gaul. His troops, either by force or agreement, immediately occupied the cities of Narbonne, Toulouse, and Bordeaux; and though they were repulsed by Count Boniface from the walls of Marseilles, they soon extended their quarters from the Mediterranean to the ocean. The oppressed provincials might exclaim that the miserable remnant which the enemy had spared was cruelly ravished by their pretended allies; yet some specious colors were not wanting to palliate or justify the violence of the Goths. The cities of Gaul which they attacked might perhaps be considered as in a state of rebellion against the government of Honorius: the articles of the treaty or the secret instructions of the court might sometimes be alleged in favor of the seeming usurpations of Adolphus; and the guilt of any irregular, unsuccessful act of hostility might always be imputed, with an appearance of truth, to the ungovernable spirit of a barbarian host impatient of peace or discipline. The luxury of Italy had been less effectual to soften the temper than to relax the courage of the Goths; and they had imbibed the vices, without imitating the arts and institutions, of civilized society.¹²²

The professions of Adolphus were probably sincere, and his attachment to the cause of the republic was secured by the as-

cendant which a Roman princess had acquired over
His marriage
with Placidia.
A.D. 414. the heart and understanding of the barbarian king.

Placidia,¹²³ the daughter of the great Theodosius and of Galla, his second wife, had received a royal education in the palace of Constantinople; but the eventful story of her life is connected with the revolutions which agitated the Western empire under the reign of her brother Honorius. When Rome was first invested by the arms of Alaric, Placidia, who

and Honorius. See Oros. l. vii. c. 43, p. 584, 585. Jornandes, De Reb. Geticis, c. 31, p. 654, 655 [p. 88, edit. Lugd. B.].

¹²² The retreat of the Goths from Italy and their first transactions in Gaul are dark and doubtful. I have derived much assistance from Mascou (*Hist. of the Ancient Germans*, l. viii. c. 29, 35, 36, 37), who has illustrated and connected the broken chronicles and fragments of the times.

¹²³ See an account of Placidia in Ducange, *Fam. Byzant.* p. 72; and Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 260, 386, etc., tom. vi. p. 240.

was then about twenty years of age, resided in the city; and her ready consent to the death of her cousin Serena has a cruel and ungrateful appearance, which, according to the circumstances of the action, may be aggravated or excused by the consideration of her tender age.¹²⁴ The victorious barbarians detained, either as a hostage or a captive,¹²⁵ the sister of Honorius; but while she was exposed to the disgrace of following round Italy the motions of a Gothic camp, she experienced, however, a decent and respectful treatment. The authority of Jornandes, who praises the beauty of Placidia, may perhaps be counterbalanced by the silence, the expressive silence, of her flatterers; yet the splendor of her birth, the bloom of youth, the elegance of manners, and the dexterous insinuation which she condescended to employ made a deep impression on the mind of Adolphus, and the Gothic king aspired to call himself the brother of the emperor. The ministers of Honorius rejected with disdain the proposal of an alliance so injurious to every sentiment of Roman pride, and repeatedly urged the restitution of Placidia as an indispensable condition of the treaty of peace. But the daughter of Theodosius submitted without reluctance to the desires of the conqueror, a young and valiant prince, who yielded to Alaric in loftiness of stature, but who excelled in the more attractive qualities of grace and beauty. The marriage of Adolphus and Placidia¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Zosim. l. v [c. 38] p. 350.

¹²⁵ Zosim. l. vi [c. 12] p. 383. Orosius (l. vii. c. 40, p. 576) and the chronicles of Marcellinus and Idatius seem to suppose that the Goths did not carry away Placidia till after the last siege of Rome.

¹²⁶ See the pictures of Adolphus and Placidia, and the account of their marriage, in Jornandes, *De Reb. Geticis*, c. 31, p. 654, 655 [p. 88, edit. Lugd. B.]. With regard to the place where the nuptials were stipulated, or consummated, or celebrated, the MSS. of Jornandes vary between two neighboring cities, Forlì and Imola (*Forum Livii* and *Forum Corneli*).^a It is fair and easy to reconcile the Gothic historian with Olympiodorus (see Mascon, l. viii. c. 36); but Tillemont grows peevish, and swears that it is not worth while to try to conciliate Jornandes with any good authors.

^a The statement of Olympiodorus (ap. Phot. p. 59, edit. Bekk.) and of Idatius (*Chron. ad Ann. Honorii xx.*) that the marriage was solemnized at Narbonne is to be preferred to that of Jornandes, a much later writer. See Aschbach, *Gesch. der Westgothen*, p. 101.—S.

was consummated before the Goths retired from Italy; and the solemn, perhaps the anniversary, day of their nuptials was afterwards celebrated in the house of Ingenuus, one of the most illustrious citizens of Narbonne, in Gaul. The bride, attired and adorned like a Roman empress, was placed on a throne of state; and the King of the Goths, who assumed on this occasion the Roman habit, contented himself with a less honorable seat by her side. The nuptial gift which, according to the custom of his nation,¹²⁷ was offered to Placidia consisted of the rare and magnificent spoils of her country. Fifty beautiful youths, in silken robes, carried a basin in each hand; and one of these basins was filled with pieces of gold, the other with precious stones of an inestimable value. Attalus, so long the sport of fortune and of the Goths, was appointed to lead the chorus of the hymeneal song; and the degraded emperor might aspire to the praise of a skilful musician. The barbarians enjoyed the insolence of their triumph; and the provincials rejoiced in this alliance, which tempered, by the mild influence of love and reason, the fierce spirit of their Gothic lord.¹²⁸

The hundred basins of gold and gems presented to Placidia at her nuptial feast formed an inconsiderable portion of the Gothic treasures, of which some extraordinary specimens may be selected from the history of the successors of Adolphus. Many curious and costly ornaments of pure gold, enriched with jewels, were found in their palace of Narbonne when it was pillaged in the sixth century by the

The Gothic
treasures.

¹²⁷ The Visigoths (the subjects of Adolphus) restrained by subsequent laws the prodigality of conjugal love. It was illegal for a husband to make any gift or settlement for the benefit of his wife during the first year of their marriage; and his liberality could not at any time exceed the tenth part of his property. The Lombards were somewhat more indulgent: they allowed the *morgingcap* immediately after the wedding night; and this famous gift, the reward of virginity, might equal the fourth part of the husband's substance. Some cautious maidens, indeed, were wise enough to stipulate beforehand a present which they were too sure of not deserving. See Montesquien, *Esprit des Loix*, l. xix. c. 25. Muratori, *delle Antichità Italiane*, tom. i. Dissertazione xx. p. 248.

¹²⁸ We owe the curious detail of this nuptial feast to the historian Olympiodorus, ap. Photium, p. 185, 188 [p. 59, edit. Bekk.].

Franks: sixty cups or chalices; fifteen *patens*, or plates, for the use of the communion; twenty boxes, or cases, to hold the books of the Gospels. This consecrated wealth¹³⁹ was distributed by the son of Clovis among the churches of his dominions, and his pious liberality seems to upbraid some former sacrilege of the Goths. They possessed, with more security of conscience, the famous *missorium*, or great dish for the service of the table, of massy gold, of the weight of five hundred pounds, and of far superior value, from the precious stones, the exquisite workmanship, and the tradition that it had been presented by Aëtius, the patrician, to Torismond, King of the Goths. One of the successors of Torismond purchased the aid of the French monarch by the promise of this magnificent gift. When he was seated on the throne of Spain, he delivered it with reluctance to the ambassadors of Dagobert; despoiled them on the road; stipulated, after a long negotiation, the inadequate ransom of two hundred thousand pieces of gold; and preserved the *missorium* as the pride of the Gothic treasury.¹⁴⁰ When that treasury, after the conquest of Spain, was plundered by the Arabs, they admired and they have celebrated another object still more remarkable—a table of considerable size, of one single piece of solid emerald,¹⁴¹ encircled with three rows of fine pearls, supported by

¹³⁹ See in the great collection of the Historians of France by Dom Bouquet, tom. ii. Greg. Turonens. l. iii. c. 10, p. 191. *Gesta Regum Francorum*, c. 23, p. 557. The anonymous writer, with an ignorance worthy of his times, supposes that these instruments of Christian worship had belonged to the temple of Solomon.* If he has any meaning, it must be that they were found in the sack of Rome.

¹⁴⁰ Consult the following original testimonies in the Historians of France, tom. ii. Fredegarii Scholastici Chron. c. 78, p. 441. Fredegar. Fragment. iii. p. 463. *Gesta Regis Dagobert*. c. 29, p. 587. The accession of Sisenand to the throne of Spain happened A.D. 631. The 200,000 pieces of gold were appropriated by Dagobert to the foundation of the Church of St. Denys.

¹⁴¹ The president Goguet (*Origine des Loix*, etc., tom. ii. p. 289) is of opinion that the stupendous pieces of emerald, the statues and columns which antiquity has

* Procopius explains the manner in which these precious vases found their way into Gaul. They were the spoils of the Temple of Solomon, brought from Jerusalem by the Romans, and which Alaric carried off when he captured Rome (*Bell. Goth.* l. 12, tom. ii. p. 67, edit. Bonn). It is strange that Gibbon should have overlooked this passage; since in ch. xxxviii. of his *History* he frequently quotes this chapter of Procopius.—S.

three hundred and sixty-five feet of gems and massy gold, and estimated at the price of five hundred thousand pieces of gold.¹⁴² Some portion of the Gothic treasures might be the gift of friendship or the tribute of obedience; but the far greater part had been the fruits of war and rapine, the spoils of the empire, and perhaps of Rome.

After the deliverance of Italy from the oppression of the Goths, some secret counsellor was permitted, amidst the factions of the palace, to heal the wounds of that afflicted country.¹⁴³ By a wise and humane regulation, the eight provinces which had been the most deeply injured — Campania, Tuscany, Picenum, Samnium, Apulia, Calabria, Bruttium, and Lucania—obtained an indulgence of five years; the ordinary tribute was reduced to one fifth, and even that fifth was destined to restore and support the useful institution of the public posts. By another law, the lands which had been left without inhabitants or cultivation were granted, with some diminution of taxes, to the neighbors who should occupy or the strangers who should solicit them; and the new possessors were secured against the future claims of the fugitive proprietors. About the same time a general amnesty was published in the name of Honorius, to abolish the guilt and memory of all the *involuntary* offences which had been committed by his unhappy subjects during the term of the public disorder and calamity. A decent and respectful attention was paid to the restoration of the capital; the citizens were encouraged to rebuild the edifices which had been destroyed or damaged by hostile fire; and extraordinary supplies of corn were imported from the coast of Africa. The

placed in Egypt, at Gades, at Constantinople, were in reality artificial compositions of colored glass. The famous emerald dish which is shown at Genoa is supposed to countenance the suspicion.

¹⁴² Elmacin. *Hist. Saracenica*, l. i. p. 85; Roderic. Tolet. *Hist. Arab.* c. 9. Cardonne, *Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous les Arabes*, tom. i. p. 83. It was called the Table of Solomon, according to the custom of the Orientals, who ascribe to that prince every ancient work of knowledge or magnificence.

¹⁴³ His three laws are inserted in the Theodosian Code, l. xi. tit. xxviii. leg. 7; l. xiii. tit. xi. leg. 12; l. xv. tit. xiv. leg. 14. The expressions of the last are very remarkable, since they contain not only a pardon, but an apology.

crowds that so lately fled before the sword of the barbarians were soon recalled by the hopes of plenty and pleasure; and Albinus, Præfect of Rome, informed the court, with some anxiety and surprise, that in a single day he had taken an account of the arrival of fourteen thousand strangers.¹⁴⁴ In less than seven years the vestiges of the Gothic invasion were almost obliterated, and the city appeared to resume its former splendor and tranquillity. The venerable matron replaced her crown of laurel, which had been ruffled by the storms of war, and was still amused in the last moment of her decay with the prophesies of revenge, of victory, and of eternal dominion.¹⁴⁵

This apparent tranquillity was soon disturbed by the approach of a hostile armament from the country which afforded the daily subsistence of the Roman people. Heraclian, Count of Africa, who, under the most difficult and distressful circumstances, had supported with active loyalty the cause of Honorius, was tempted in the year of his consulship to assume the character of a rebel and the title of emperor. The ports of Africa were immediately filled with the naval forces at the head of which he prepared to invade Italy; and his fleet, when it cast anchor at the mouth of the Tiber, indeed surpassed the fleets of Xerxes and Alexander if *all* the vessels, including the royal galley and the smallest boat, did actually amount to the incredible number of three thousand two hundred.¹⁴⁶ Yet with such an

Revolt and
defeat of
Heraclian,
Count of
Africa.
A.D. 413.

¹⁴⁴ Olympiodorus ap. Phot. p. 188 [p. 59, edit. Bekk.]. Philostorgius (l. xii. c. 5) observes that when Honorius made his triumphal entry, he encouraged the Romans, with his hand and voice (*χερὶ καὶ γλώττῃ*), to rebuild their city; and the Chronicle of Prosper commends Heraclian, "qui in Romanæ urbis reparationem strenuum exhibuerat ministerium."

¹⁴⁵ The date of the voyage of Claudius Rutilius Numatianus is clogged with some difficulties; but Scaliger has deduced from astronomical characters that he left Rome the 24th of September, and embarked at Porto the 9th of October, A.D. 416. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 820. In this poetical Itinerary, Rutilius (l. i. 115, etc.) addresses Rome in a high strain of congratulation:

Erige crinales lauros, seniumque sacrat
Verticis in virides, Roma, recinge comas, etc.

¹⁴⁶ Orosius composed his history in Africa only two years after the event; yet his authority seems to be overbalanced by the improbability of the fact. The Chronicle of Marcellinus gives Heraclian 700 ships and 8000 men: the latter of

armament, which might have subverted or restored the greatest empires of the earth, the African usurper made a very faint and feeble impression on the provinces of his rival. As he marched from the port along the road which leads to the gates of Rome, he was encountered, terrified, and routed by one of the imperial captains; and the lord of this mighty host, deserting his fortune and his friends, ignominiously fled with a single ship.¹⁴⁷ When Heraclian landed in the harbor of Carthage, he found that the whole province, disdaining such an unworthy ruler, had returned to their allegiance. The rebel was beheaded in the ancient temple of Memory, his consulship was abolished,¹⁴⁸ and the remains of his private fortune, not exceeding the moderate sum of four thousand pounds of gold, were granted to the brave Constantius, who had already defended the throne which he afterwards shared with his feeble sovereign. Honorius viewed with supine indifference the calamities of Rome and Italy,¹⁴⁹ but the rebellious attempts of Attalus and Heraclian against his personal safety awakened for a moment the torpid instinct of his nature. He was probably ignorant of the causes and events which preserved him from these impending dangers; and, as Italy was no longer invaded by any foreign or domestic enemies, he peaceably existed in the palace of Ravenna, while the tyrants beyond the Alps were repeatedly vanquished in the name and by the lieutenants of the son of Theodosius.¹⁵⁰ In the course of a busy

these numbers is ridiculously corrupt; but the former would please me very much.

¹⁴⁷ The Chronicle of Idatius affirms, without the least appearance of truth, that he advanced as far as Otriculum, in Umbria, where he was overthrown in a great battle with the loss of fifty thousand men.

¹⁴⁸ See Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. xiv. leg. 13. The legal acts performed in his name, even the manumission of slaves, were declared invalid till they had been formally repeated.

¹⁴⁹ I have disdained to mention a very foolish, and probably a false report (Procop. de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 2 [tom. i. p. 316, edit. Bonn]), that Honorius was alarmed by the loss of Rome till he understood that it was not a favorite chicken of that name, but *only* the capital of the world, which had been lost. Yet even this story is some evidence of the public opinion

¹⁵⁰ The materials for the lives of all these tyrants are taken from six contem-

and interesting narrative, I might possibly forget to mention the death of such a prince, and I shall therefore take the precaution of observing in this place that he survived the last siege of Rome about thirteen years.

The usurpation of Constantine, who received the purple from the legions of Britain, had been successful, and seemed to be secure. His title was acknowledged from the Wall of Antoninus to the Columns of Hercules, and, in the midst of the public disorder, he shared the dominion and the plunder of Gaul and Spain with the tribes of barbarians whose destructive progress was no longer checked by the Rhine or Pyrenees. Stained with the blood of the kinsmen of Honorius, he extorted from the court of Ravenna, with which he secretly corresponded, the ratification of his rebellious claims. Constantine engaged himself by a solemn promise to deliver Italy from the Goths, advanced as far as the banks of the Po, and, after alarming rather than assisting his pusillanimous ally, hastily returned to the palace of Arles, to celebrate with intemperate luxury his vain and ostentatious triumph. But this transient prosperity was soon interrupted and destroyed by the revolt of Count Gerontius, the bravest of his generals, who, during the absence of his son Constans, a prince already invested with the imperial purple, had been left to command in the provinces of Spain. For some reason of which we are ignorant, Gerontius, instead of assuming the diadem, placed it on the head of his friend Maximus, who fixed his residence at Tarragona, while the active count pressed forward through the Pyrenees to surprise the two emperors Constantine and Constans before they could prepare for their defence. The son was made prisoner at Vienne, and immediately put to death; and the unfortunate youth had scarcely

Revolutions
of Gaul and
Spain.
A.D. 409-412.

porary historians, two Latins and four Greeks: Orosius, l. vii. c. 42, p. 581, 582, 588; Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus, apud Gregor. Turon. l. ii. c. 9, in the *Histories of France*, tom. ii. p. 165, 166; Zosimus, l. vi. [c. 2] p. 370, 371; Olympiodorus, apud Phot. p. 180, 181, 184, 185 [p. 57 seq., edit. Bekk.]; Sozomen, l. ix. c. 12, 13, 14, 15; and Philostorgius, l. xii. c. 5, 6, with Godefroy's *Dissertations*, p. 477-481; besides the four *Chronicles of Prosper Tyro*, *Prosper of Aquitaine*, *Idatius*, and *Marcellinus*.

leisure to deplore the elevation of his family, which had tempted or compelled him sacrilegiously to desert the peaceful obscurity of the monastic life. The father maintained a siege within the walls of Arles; but those walls must have yielded to the assailants had not the city been unexpectedly relieved by the approach of an Italian army. The name of Honorius, the proclamation of a lawful emperor, astonished the contending parties of the rebels. Gerontius, abandoned by his own troops, escaped to the confines of Spain, and rescued his name from oblivion by the Roman courage which appeared to animate the last moments of his life. In the middle of the night a great body of his perfidious soldiers surrounded and attacked his house, which he had strongly barricaded. His wife, a valiant friend of the nation of the Alani, and some faithful slaves, were still attached to his person; and he used with so much skill and resolution a large magazine of darts and arrows that above three hundred of the assailants lost their lives in the attempt. His slaves, when all the missile weapons were spent, fled at the dawn of day; and Gerontius, if he had not been restrained by conjugal tenderness, might have imitated their example; till the soldiers, provoked by such obstinate resistance, applied fire on all sides to the house. In this fatal extremity he complied with the request of his barbarian friend and cut off his head. The wife of Gerontius, who conjured him not to abandon her to a life of misery and disgrace, eagerly presented her neck to his sword; and the tragic scene was terminated by the death of the count himself, who, after three ineffectual strokes, drew a short dagger and sheathed it in his heart.¹⁸¹ The unprotected Maximus, whom he had invested with the purple, was indebted for his life to the contempt that was entertained of his power and abilities. The caprice of the barbarians, who ravaged Spain, once more seated this imperial phantom on the throne; but they soon resigned him to the justice of Honorius; and the tyrant Maximus, after he

¹⁸¹ The praises which Sozomen has bestowed on this act of despair appear strange and scandalous in the mouth of an ecclesiastical historian. He observes (p. 379 [edit. Cantab. 1720]) that the wife of Gerontius was a *Christian*; and that her death was worthy of her religion and of immortal fame.

had been shown to the people of Ravenna and Rome, was publicly executed.

The general, Constantius was his name, who raised by his approach the siege of Arles and dissipated the troops of Gerontius was born a Roman; and this remarkable distinction is strongly expressive of the decay of military spirit among the subjects of the empire. The strength and majesty which were conspicuous in the person of that general¹²⁸ marked him in the popular opinion as a candidate worthy of the throne which he afterwards ascended. In the familiar intercourse of private life his manners were cheerful and engaging; nor would he sometimes disdain, in the license of convivial mirth, to vie with the pantomimes themselves in the exercises of their ridiculous profession. But when the trumpet summoned him to arms; when he mounted his horse, and, bending down (for such was his singular practice) almost upon the neck, fiercely rolled his large animated eyes round the field, Constantius then struck terror into his foes and inspired his soldiers with the assurance of victory. He had received from the court of Ravenna the important commission of extirpating rebellion in the provinces of the West; and the pretended Emperor Constantine, after enjoying a short and anxious respite, was again besieged in his capital by the arms of a more formidable enemy. Yet this interval allowed time for a successful negotiation with the Franks and Alemanni; and his ambassador, Edobic, soon returned at the head of an army to disturb the operations of the siege of Arles. The Roman general, instead of expecting the attack in his lines, boldly, and perhaps wisely, resolved to pass the Rhone and to meet the barbarians. His measures were conducted with so much skill and secrecy that, while they engaged the infantry of Constantius in the front, they were suddenly attacked, surrounded, and destroyed by the cavalry of his

¹²⁸ *Κίδορ ἄλιον τυραννίδος* is the expression of Olympiodorus, which he seems to have borrowed from *Æolus*, a tragedy of Euripides, of which some fragments only are now extant (Euripid. Barnes, tom. ii. p. 443, ver. 38). This allusion may prove that the ancient tragic poets were still familiar to the Greeks of the fifth century.

lieutenant, Ulphilas, who had silently gained an advantageous post in their rear. The remains of the army of Edobic were preserved by flight or submission, and their leader escaped from the field of battle to the house of a faithless friend, who too clearly understood that the head of his obnoxious guest would be an acceptable and lucrative present for the imperial general. On this occasion Constantius behaved with the magnanimity of a genuine Roman. Subduing or suppressing every sentiment of jealousy, he publicly acknowledged the merit and services of Ulphilas; but he turned with horror from the assassin of Edobic, and sternly intimated his commands that the camp should no longer be polluted by the presence of an ungrateful wretch who had violated the laws of friendship and hospitality. The usurper, who beheld from the walls of Arles the ruin of his last hopes, was tempted to place some confidence in so generous a conqueror. He required a solemn promise for his security; and after receiving, by the imposition of hands, the sacred character of a Christian presbyter, he ventured to open the gates of the city. But he soon experienced that the principles of honor and integrity, which might regulate the ordinary conduct of Constantius, were superseded by the loose doctrines of political morality. The Roman general, indeed, refused to sully his laurels with the blood of Constantine; but the abdicated emperor and his son Julian were sent, under a strong guard, into Italy; and before they reached the palace of Ravenna, they met the ministers of death.

Death of
the usurper
Constantine.
A.D. 411.
Nov. 23.

At a time when it was universally confessed that almost every man in the empire was superior in personal merit to the princes whom the accident of their birth had seated on the throne, a rapid succession of usurpers, regardless of the fate of their predecessors, still continued to arise. This mischief was peculiarly felt in the provinces of Spain and Gaul, where the principles of order and obedience had been extinguished by war and rebellion. Before Constantine resigned the purple, and in the fourth month of the siege of Arles, intelligence was received in the imperial camp that Jovinus had assumed the diadem at Mentz,

Fall of the
usurpers
Jovinus,
Sebastian,
and Attalus.
A.D. 411-416.

in the Upper Germany, at the instigation of Goar, King of the Alani, and of Guntiarus, King of the Burgundians; and that the candidate on whom they had bestowed the empire advanced with a formidable host of barbarians from the banks of the Rhine to those of the Rhone. Every circumstance is dark and extraordinary in the short history of the reign of Jovinus. It was natural to expect that a brave and skilful general, at the head of a victorious army, would have asserted, in a field of battle, the justice of the cause of Honorius. The hasty retreat of Constantius might be justified by weighty reasons; but he resigned without a struggle the possession of Gaul; and Dardanus, the Prætorian præfect, is recorded as the only magistrate who refused to yield obedience to the usurper.¹⁸³ When the Goths, two years after the siege of Rome, established their quarters in Gaul, it was natural to suppose that their inclinations could be divided only between the Emperor Honorius, with whom they had formed a recent alliance, and the degraded Attalus, whom they reserved in their camp for the occasional purpose of acting the part of a musician or a monarch. Yet in a moment of disgust (for which it is not easy to assign a cause or a date) Adolphus connected himself with the usurper of Gaul; and imposed on Attalus the ignominious task of negotiating the treaty which ratified his own disgrace. We are again surprised to read that, instead of considering the Gothic alliance as the firmest support of his throne, Jovinus upbraided, in dark and ambiguous language, the officious importunity of Attalus; that, scorning the advice of his great ally, he invested with the purple his brother Sebastian; and that he most imprudently accepted the service of Sarus, when that gallant chief, the soldier of Honorius, was provoked to desert the court of a prince who knew

¹⁸³ Sidonius Apollinaris (l. v. Epist. 9, p. 139, and Not. Sirmond. p. 58), after stigmatizing the *inconstancy* of Constantine, the *facility* of Jovinus, the *perfidy* of Gerontius, continues to observe that *all* the vices of these tyrants were united in the person of Dardannus. Yet the præfect supported a respectable character in the world, and even in the Church; held a devout correspondence with St. Augustine and St. Jerome; and was complimented by the latter (tom. iii. p. 66) with the epithets of “Christianorum Nobilissime” and “Nobilium Christianissime.”

not how to reward or punish. Adolphus, educated among a race of warriors who esteemed the duty of revenge as the most precious and sacred portion of their inheritance, advanced with a body of ten thousand Goths to encounter the hereditary enemy of the House of Balti. He attacked Sarus at an unguarded moment, when he was accompanied only by eighteen or twenty of his valiant followers. United by friendship, animated by despair, but at length oppressed by multitudes, this band of heroes deserved the esteem, without exciting the compassion, of their enemies; and the lion was no sooner taken in the toils¹⁴⁴ than he was instantly despatched. The death of Sarus dissolved the loose alliance which Adolphus still maintained with the usurpers of Gaul. He again listened to the dictates of love and prudence; and soon satisfied the brother of Placidia by the assurance that he would immediately transmit to the palace of Ravenna the heads of the two tyrants Jovinus and Sebastian. The King of the Goths executed his promise without difficulty or delay: the helpless brothers, unsupported by any personal merit, were abandoned by their barbarian auxiliaries; and the short opposition of Valentinian was expiated by the ruin of one of the noblest cities of Gaul. The emperor chosen by the Roman senate, who had been promoted, degraded, insulted, restored, again degraded, and again insulted, was finally abandoned to his fate; but when the Gothic king withdrew his protection, he was restrained, by pity or contempt, from offering any violence to the person of Attalus. The unfortunate Attalus, who was left without subjects or allies, embarked in one of the ports of Spain, in search of some secure and solitary retreat; but he was intercepted at sea, conducted to the presence of Hono-

¹⁴⁴ The expression may be understood almost literally: Olympiodorus says, *μόλις σάκκους ἐξώγησαν* *Σάκκος* (or *σάκος*)^a may signify a sack or a loose garment; and this method of entangling and catching an enemy, *laciniis contortis*, was much practised by the Huns (Ammian. xxxi. 2). "Il fut pris vif avec des filets" is the translation of Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 608.

^a Bekker, in his Photius, reads *σάκκους*, but in the new edition of the Byzantines he retains *σάκκος*, which is translated *scutis*, as if they protected him with their shields in order to take him alive. Photius, edit. Bekker, p. 58.—M.

rius, led in triumph through the streets of Rome or Ravenna, and publicly exposed to the gazing multitude, on the second step of the throne of his *invincible* conqueror. The same measure of punishment with which, in the days of his prosperity, he was accused of menacing his rival was inflicted on Attalus himself: he was condemned, after the amputation of two fingers, to a perpetual exile in the isle of Lipari, where he was supplied with the decent necessities of life. The remainder of the reign of Honorius was undisturbed by rebellion; and it may be observed that in the space of five years seven usurpers had yielded to the fortune of a prince who was himself incapable either of counsel or of action.

The situation of Spain, separated on all sides from the enemies of Rome by the sea, by the mountains, and by intermediate provinces, had secured the long tranquillity of that remote and sequestered country; and we may observe, as a sure symptom of domestic happiness, that, in a period of four hundred years, Spain furnished very few materials to the history of the Roman empire. The footsteps of the barbarians, who, in the reign of Gallienus, had penetrated beyond the Pyrenees, were soon obliterated by the return of peace; and in the fourth century of the Christian era the cities of Emerita or Merida, of Corduba, Seville, Bracara, and Tarragona, were numbered with the most illustrious of the Roman world. The various plenty of the animal, the vegetable, and the mineral kingdoms was improved and manufactured by the skill of an industrious people; and the peculiar advantages of naval stores contributed to support an extensive and profitable trade.¹⁸⁸ The arts and sciences flourished under the protection of the emperors; and if the character of the Spaniards was enfeebled by

Invasion of
Spain by the
Suevi, Van-
dals, Alani,
etc.
A.D. 409.
Oct. 12.

¹⁸⁸ Without recurring to the more ancient writers, I shall quote three respectable testimonies which belong to the fourth and seventh centuries—the *Expositio Totius Mundi* (p. 16, in the third volume of Hudson's *Minor Geographers*), Ausonius, (*de Claris Urbibus*, p. 242, edit. Toll.), and Isidore of Seville (*Præfat. ad Chron. ap. Grotium, Hist. Goth. p. 707*). Many particulars relative to the fertility and trade of Spain may be found in Nonnius, *Hispania Illustrata*, and in Huet, *Hist. du Commerce des Anciens*, ch. 40, p. 228–234.

peace and servitude, the hostile approach of the Germans, who had spread terror and desolation from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, seemed to rekindle some sparks of military ardor. As long as the defence of the mountains was intrusted to the hardy and faithful militia of the country, they successfully repelled the frequent attempts of the barbarians. But no sooner had the national troops been compelled to resign their post to the Honorian bands in the service of Constantine than the gates of Spain were treacherously betrayed to the public enemy, about ten months before the sack of Rome by the Goths.¹²⁶ The consciousness of guilt and the thirst of rapine prompted the mercenary guards of the Pyrenees to desert their station; to invite the arms of the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Alani; and to swell the torrent which was poured with irresistible violence from the frontiers of Gaul to the Sea of Africa. The misfortunes of Spain may be described in the language of its most eloquent historian, who has concisely expressed the passionate, and perhaps exaggerated, declamations of contemporary writers.¹²⁷ "The irruption of these nations was followed by the most dreadful calamities; as the barbarians exercised their indiscriminate cruelty on the fortunes of the Romans and the Spaniards, and ravaged with equal fury the cities and the open country. The progress of famine reduced the miserable inhabitants to feed on the flesh of their fellow-creatures; and even the wild beasts, who multiplied without control in the desert, were exasperated by the taste of blood and the impatience of hunger boldly to attack and devour their human prey. Pestilence soon appeared, the inseparable companion of famine; a large proportion of the people was swept away; and the groans of the dying excited only the envy of their surviving friends. At length the barbarians, satiated with carnage and rapine, and afflicted by the contagious evils

¹²⁶ The date is accurately fixed in the *Fasti* and the *Chronicle* of Idatius. Orosius (l. vii. c. 40, p. 578) imputes the loss of Spain to the treachery of the Honorians; while Sozomen (l. ix. c. 12) accuses only their negligence.

¹²⁷ Idatius wishes to apply the prophecies of Daniel to these national calamities, and is therefore obliged to accommodate the circumstances of the event to the terms of the prediction.

which they themselves had introduced, fixed their permanent seats in the depopulated country. The ancient Galicia, whose limits included the kingdom of Old Castile, was divided between the Suevi and the Vandals; the Alani were scattered over the provinces of Carthagera and Lusitania, from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic Ocean; and the fruitful territory of Bætica was allotted to the Silingi, another branch of the Vandalic nation. After regulating this partition, the conquerors contracted with their new subjects some reciprocal engagements of protection and obedience: the lands were again cultivated; and the towns and villages were again occupied by a captive people. The greatest part of the Spaniards was even disposed to prefer this new condition of poverty and barbarism to the severe oppressions of the Roman government; yet there were many who still asserted their native freedom, and who refused, more especially in the mountains of Galicia, to submit to the barbarian yoke."¹⁸⁸

The important present of the heads of Jovinus and Sebastian had approved the friendship of Adolphus, and restored Gaul to the obedience of his brother Honorius. Peace was incompatible with the situation and temper of the King of the Goths. He readily accepted the proposal of turning his victorious arms against the barbarians of Spain. The troops of Constantius intercepted his communication with the seaports of Gaul, and gently pressed his march towards the Pyrenees:¹⁸⁹ he passed the mountains, and surprised, in the name of the emperor, the city of Barcelona. The fondness of Adolphus for his Roman

Adolphus,
King of the
Goths,
marches into
Spain.
A.D. 414.

¹⁸⁸ Mariana de Rebus Hispanicis, l. v. c. 1, tom. i. p. 148. Hag. Comit. 1783. He had read in Orosius (l. vii. c. 41, p. 579) that the barbarians had turned their swords into ploughshares; and that many of the provincials preferred "inter Barbaros pauperem libertatem, quam inter Romanos tributariam sollicitudinem, sustinere."

¹⁸⁹ This mixture of force and persuasion may be fairly inferred from comparing Orosius and Jornandes, the Roman and the Gothic historian.*

* Orosius (l. vii. c. 48) expressly says that the Goths were expelled from Narbonne by the arms of Constantius, and then proceeded into Spain; and Idatius agrees with Orosius (Chron. ad Ann. Honorii xxii.). Against these authorities, that of Jornandes, the panegyrist of the Goths, is of no avail. See Aschbach, *Gesch. der Westgothen*, p. 103, note 188 —S.

bride was not abated by time or possession ; and the birth of a son, surnamed, from his illustrious grandsire, Theodosius, appeared to fix him forever in the interest of the republic. The loss of that infant, whose remains were deposited in a silver coffin in one of the churches near Barcelona, afflicted his parents ; but the grief of the Gothic king was suspended by the labors of the field ; and the course of his victories was soon interrupted by domestic treason. He had imprudently received into his service one of the followers of Sarus, a barbarian of a daring spirit, but of a diminutive stature, whose secret desire of revenging the death of his beloved patron was continually irritated by the sarcasms of his insolent master.

His death.
A.D. 415.
August.

Adolphus was assassinated in the palace of Barcelona ; the laws of the succession were violated by a tumultuous faction ;¹⁰⁰ and a stranger to the royal race, Singeric, the brother of Sarus himself, was seated on the Gothic throne. The first act of his reign was the inhuman murder of the six children of Adolphus, the issue of a former marriage, whom he tore, without pity, from the feeble arms of a venerable bishop.¹⁰¹ The unfortunate Placidia, instead of the respectful compassion which she might have excited in the most savage breasts, was treated with cruel and wanton insult. The daughter of the Emperor Theodosius, confounded among a crowd of vulgar captives, was compelled to march on foot above twelve miles, before the horse of a barbarian, the assassin of a husband whom Placidia loved and lamented.¹⁰²

But Placidia soon obtained the pleasure of revenge ; and the view of her ignominious sufferings might rouse an indignant people against the tyrant, who was assassinated on the sev-

¹⁰⁰ According to the system of Jornandes (c. 33, p. 659 [ed. Grot.]), the true hereditary right to the Gothic sceptre was vested in the *Amali* ; but those princes, who were the vassals of the Huns, commanded the tribes of the Ostrogoths in some distant parts of Germany or Scythia.

¹⁰¹ The murder is related by Olympiodorus ; but the number of the children is taken from an epitaph of suspected authority.

¹⁰² The death of Adolphus was celebrated at Constantinople with illuminations and circensian games (See Chron. Alexandrin.) It may seem doubtful whether the Greeks were actuated on this occasion by their hatred of the barbarians or of the Latins.

enth day of his usurpation. After the death of Singeric, the free choice of the nation bestowed the Gothic sceptre on Wallia, whose warlike and ambitious temper appeared, in the beginning of his reign, extremely hostile to the republic. He marched in arms from Barcelona to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, which the ancients revered and dreaded as the boundary of the world. But when he reached the southern promontory of Spain,¹⁸³ and, from the rock now covered by the fortress of Gibraltar, contemplated the neighboring and fertile coast of Africa, Wallia resumed the designs of conquest which had been interrupted by the death of Alaric. The winds and waves again disappointed the enterprise of the Goths; and the minds of a superstitious people were deeply affected by the repeated disasters of storms and shipwrecks. In this disposition, the successor of Adolphus no longer refused to listen to a Roman ambassador, whose proposals were enforced by the real or supposed approach of a numerous army under the conduct of the brave Constantius. A solemn treaty was stipulated and observed: Placidia was honorably restored to her brother; six hundred thousand measures of wheat were delivered to the hungry Goths;¹⁸⁴ and Wallia engaged to draw his sword in the service of the empire. A bloody war was instantly excited among the barbarians of Spain; and the contending princes are said to have addressed their letters, their ambassadors, and their hostages to the throne of the Western emperor, exhorting him to remain a tranquil spectator of their contest, the events of which must be favorable to the Romans by the mutual slaughter of their common enemies.¹⁸⁵ The Spanish war was obstinately supported, dur-

The Goths
conquer and
restore Spain.
A.D. 415-418.

¹⁸³

Quod Tartessiacis avus hujus Vallia terris
Vandalicas turmas, et juncti Martis Alanos
Stravit, et occiduam texere cadavera Calpen.

Sidon. Apollinar. in Panegy. Anthem. 363,
p. 300, edit. Sirmond.

¹⁸⁴ This supply was very acceptable: the Goths were insulted by the Vandals of Spain with the epithet of *Truli*, because in their extreme distress they had given a piece of gold for a *trula*, or about half a pound of flour. Olympiod. apud Phot. p. 189 [p. 60, edit. Bekk].

¹⁸⁵ Orosius inserts a copy of these pretended letters. "Tu cum omnibus pacem

ing three campaigns, with desperate valor and various success; and the martial achievements of Wallia diffused through the empire the superior renown of the Gothic hero. He exterminated the Silingi, who had irretrievably ruined the elegant plenty of the province of Bætica. He slew in battle the King of the Alani; and the remains of those Scythian wanderers who escaped from the field, instead of choosing a new leader, humbly sought a refuge under the standard of the Vandals, with whom they were ever afterwards confounded. The Vandals themselves and the Suevi yielded to the efforts of the invincible Goths. The promiscuous multitude of barbarians, whose retreat had been intercepted, were driven into the mountains of Galicia, where they still continued, in a narrow compass and on a barren soil, to exercise their domestic and implacable hostilities. In the pride of victory, Wallia was faithful to his engagements: he restored his Spanish conquests to the obedience of Honorius; and the tyranny of the imperial officers soon reduced an oppressed people to regret the time of their barbarian servitude. While the event of the war was still doubtful, the first advantages obtained by the arms of Wallia had encouraged the court of Ravenna to decree the honors of a triumph to their feeble sovereign. He entered Rome like the ancient conquerors of nations; and if the monuments of servile corruption had not long since met with the fate which they deserved, we should probably find that a crowd of poets and orators, of magistrates and bishops, applauded the fortune, the wisdom, and the invincible courage of the Emperor Honorius.¹⁰⁶

Such a triumph might have been justly claimed by the ally of Rome if Wallia, before he repassed the Pyrenees, had ex-

habe, omniumque obsides accipe; nos nobis configimus, nobis perimus, tibi vincimus; immortalis vero quæstus erit reipublicæ tuæ, si utrique pereamus" [p. 586]. The idea is just; but I cannot persuade myself that it was entertained or expressed by the barbarians.

¹⁰⁶ "Romam triumphans ingreditur" is the formal expression of Prosper's Chronicle. The facts which relate to the death of Adolphus and the exploits of Wallia are related from Olympiodorus (sp. Phot. p. 188 [p. 59, 60, edit. Bekker]), Orosius (l. vii. c. 48, p. 584-587), Jornandes (de Rebus Geticis, c. 31, 32), and the Chronicles of Idatius and Isidore.

tirpated the seeds of the Spanish war. His victorious Goths, forty-three years after they had passed the Danube, were established, according to the faith of treaties, in the possession of the second Aquitaine, a maritime province between the Garonne and the Loire, under the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Bordeaux. That metropolis, advantageously situated for the trade of the ocean, was built in a regular and elegant form; and its numerous inhabitants were distinguished among the Gauls by their wealth, their learning, and the politeness of their manners. The adjacent province, which has been fondly compared to the Garden of Eden, is blessed with a fruitful soil and a temperate climate; the face of the country displayed the arts and the rewards of industry; and the Goths, after their martial toils, luxuriously exhausted the rich vineyards of Aquitaine.¹⁸⁷ The Gothic limits were enlarged by the additional gift of some neighboring dioceses;* and the successors of Alaric fixed their royal residence at Toulouse, which included five populous quarters, or cities, within the spacious circuit of its walls. About the same time, in the last years of the reign of Honorius, the GOTHS, the BURGUNDIANS, and the FRANKS obtained a permanent seat and dominion in the provinces of Gaul. The liberal grant of the usurper Jovinus to his Burgundian allies was confirmed by the lawful emperor; the lands of the First, or Upper, Germany were ceded to those formidable barbarians; and they gradually occupied, either by conquest or treaty, the two provinces which still retain, with the titles of *Duchy* and of *County*, the national appellation of Burgundy.¹⁸⁸ The Franks, the valiant and faithful allies of the

Their establishment in Aquitaine. A.D. 419.

The Burgundians.

¹⁸⁷ Ansonius (de Claris Urbibus, p. 257-262 [No. 14]) celebrates Bordeaux with the partial affection of a native. See in Salvian (de Gubern. Dei, p. 228, Paris, 1608) a florid description of the provinces of Aquitaine and Novempopulana.

¹⁸⁸ Orosius (l. vii. c. 32, p. 550) commends the mildness and modesty of these

* The Gothic limits contained the territories of seven cities—namely, those of Bordeaux, Périgueux, Angoulême, Agen, Saintes, Poitiers, and Toulouse. Hence the district obtained the name of Septimania, which name is first given to it by Sidonius Apollinaris (ad Avitum, l. iii. Epist. 1). The Gothic Septimania must not be confounded with the Roman Septimania mentioned below by Gibbon (p. 446). See Aschbach, Gesch. der Westgothen, p. 110.—S.

Roman republic, were soon tempted to imitate the invaders whom they had so bravely resisted. Treves, the capital of Gaul, was pillaged by their lawless bands; and the humble colony which they so long maintained in the district of Toxandria, in Brabant, insensibly multiplied along the banks of the Meuse and Scheldt, till their independent power filled the whole extent of the Second, or Lower, Germany. These facts may be sufficiently justified by historic evidence; but the foundation of the French monarchy by Pharamond, the conquests, the laws, and even the existence of that hero, have been justly arraigned by the impartial severity of modern criticism.¹²⁹

The ruin of the opulent provinces of Gaul may be dated from the establishment of these barbarians, whose alliance was dangerous and oppressive, and who were capriciously impelled, by interest or passion, to violate the public peace. A heavy and partial ransom was imposed on the surviving provincials who had escaped the calamities of war; the fairest and most fertile lands were assigned to the rapacious strangers, for the use of their families, their slaves, and their cattle; and the trembling natives relinquished with a sigh the inheritance of their fathers. Yet these domestic misfortunes, which are seldom the lot of a vanquished people, had been felt and inflicted by the Romans themselves, not only in the insolence of foreign conquest, but in the madness of civil discord. The Triumvirs proscribed eighteen of

State of the
barbarians in
Gaul.
A.D. 420, etc

Burgundians, who treated their subjects of Gaul as their Christian brethren. Mascou has illustrated the origin of their kingdom in the four first annotations at the end of his laborious *History of the Ancient Germans*, vol. ii. p. 555-572 of the English translation.

¹²⁹ See Mascou, l. viii. c. 43, 44, 45. Except in a short and suspicious line of the *Chronicle of Prosper* (in tom. i. p. 638), the name of Pharamond is never mentioned before the seventh century. The author of the *Gesta Francorum* (in tom. ii. p. 543) suggests, probably enough, that the choice of Pharamond, or at least of a king, was recommended to the Franks by his father Marcomir, who was an exile in Tuscany.*

* The first mention of Pharamond is in the *Gesta Francorum* assigned to about the year 720. St. Martin, iv. 469. The modern French writers in general subscribe to the opinion of Thierry: Pharamond fils de Markomir, quoique son nom soit bien germanique, et son règne possible, ne figure pas dans les histoires les plus dignes de foi.—A. Thierry, *Lettres sur l'Histoire de France*, p. 90.—M.

the most flourishing colonies of Italy, and distributed their lands and houses to the veterans who revenged the death of Cæsar and oppressed the liberty of their country. Two poets, of unequal fame, have deplored, in similar circumstances, the loss of their patrimony; but the legionaries of Augustus appear to have surpassed in violence and injustice the barbarians who invaded Gaul under the reign of Honorius. It was not without the utmost difficulty that Virgil escaped from the sword of the centurion who had usurped his farm in the neighborhood of Mantua;¹⁷⁰ but Paulinus of Bordeaux received a sum of money from his Gothic purchaser, which he accepted with pleasure and surprise; and, though it was much inferior to the real value of his estate, this act of rapine was disguised by some colors of moderation and equity.¹⁷¹ The odious name of conquerors was softened into the mild and friendly appellation of the *guests* of the Romans; and the barbarians of Gaul, more especially the Goths, repeatedly declared that they were bound to the people by the ties of hospitality, and to the emperor by the duty of allegiance and military service. The title of Honorius and his successors, their laws, and their civil magistrates were still respected in the provinces of Gaul, of which they had resigned the possession to the barbarian allies; and the kings, who exercised a supreme and independent authority over their native subjects, ambitiously solicited the more honorable rank of masters-general of the imperial armies.¹⁷² Such was the involuntary rev-

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O Lycida, vivi pervenimus: advena nostri
(Quod nunquam veriti sumus) ut possessor agelli
Diceret: Hæc mea sunt; veteres migrate coloni.
Nunc victi tristes, etc.

See the whole of the ninth eclogue, with the useful Commentary of Servius. Fifteen miles of the Mantuan territory were assigned to the veterans, with a reservation in favor of the inhabitants of three miles round the city. Even in this favor they were cheated by Alfenus Varus, a famous lawyer and one of the commissioners, who measured eight hundred paces of water and morass.

¹⁷¹ See the remarkable passage of the Eucharisticon of Paulinus, 575, apud Maccou, l. viii. c. 42.

¹⁷² This important truth is established by the accuracy of Tillemont (*Hist. des Emp. tom. v. p. 641*) and by the ingenuity of the Abbé Dubos (*Hist. de l'Établissement de la Monarchie Française dans les Gaules, tom. i. p. 259*).

erence which the Roman name still impressed on the minds of those warriors who had borne away in triumph the spoils of the Capitol.

Whilst Italy was ravaged by the Goths, and a succession of feeble tyrants oppressed the provinces beyond the Alps, the

Revolt of
Britain and
Armorica.
A.D. 403.

British island separated itself from the body of the Roman empire. The regular forces which guarded that remote province had been gradually withdrawn; and Britain was abandoned, without defence, to the Saxon pirates and the savages of Ireland and Caledonia. The Britons, reduced to this extremity, no longer relied on the tardy and doubtful aid of a declining monarchy. They assembled in arms, repelled the invaders, and rejoiced in the important discovery of their own strength.¹⁷³ Afflicted by similar calamities and actuated by the same spirit, the Armorican provinces (a name which comprehended the maritime countries of Gaul between the Seine and the Loire)¹⁷⁴ resolved to imitate the example of the neighboring island. They expelled the Roman magistrates, who acted under the authority of the usurper Constantine; and a free government was established among a people who had so long been subject to the arbitrary will of a master. The independence of Britain and Armorica was soon confirmed by Honorius himself, the lawful Emperor of the West; and the letters by which he committed to the new States the care of their own safety might be interpreted as an absolute and perpetual abdication of the exercise and rights of sovereignty. This interpretation was in some measure justified by the event. After the usurpers of Gaul had successively fallen, the maritime provinces were restored to the empire. Yet their obedience was imperfect and precarious. The vain, inconstant, rebellious disposition of the people was in-

¹⁷³ Zosimus (l. vi. [c. 5] 376 [c. 10], 383) relates in a few words the revolt of Britain and Armorica. Our antiquarians, even the great Camden himself, have been betrayed into many gross errors by their imperfect knowledge of the history of the Continent.

¹⁷⁴ The limits of Armorica are defined by two national geographers, Messieurs De Valois and D'Anville, in their *Notitias* of Ancient Gaul. The word had been used in a more extensive, and was afterwards contracted to a much narrower, signification.

compatible either with freedom or servitude;¹⁷⁶ and Armorica, though it could not long maintain the form of a republic,¹⁷⁷ was agitated by frequent and destructive revolts. Britain was irrecoverably lost.¹⁷⁷ But as the emperors wisely acquiesced in the independence of a remote province, the separation was not embittered by the reproach of tyranny or rebellion; and the claims of allegiance and protection were succeeded by the mutual and voluntary offices of national friendship.¹⁷⁸

This revolution dissolved the artificial fabric of civil and military government; and the independent country, during a period of forty years till the descent of the Saxons, was ruled by the authority of the clergy, the nobles, and the municipal towns.¹⁷⁹ I. Zosimus, who alone

State of Brit-
ain.
A.D. 409-449.

¹⁷⁶

Gens inter geminos notissima clauditur amnes,
Armoricana prius veteri cognomine dicta.
Torva, ferox, ventosa, procax, incanta, rebellis;
Inconstans, dispartque sibi novitatis amore;
Prodiga verborum, sed non et prodiga facti.

Erricus, Monach. in Vit. St. Germani, l. v. apud Vales. Notit. Galliarum, p. 48. Valestinus alleges several testimonies to confirm this character, to which I shall add the evidence of the presbyter Constantine (A.D. 488), who, in the Life of St. Germain, calls the Armorican rebels "mobilem et indisciplinatum populum." See the Historians of France, tom. i. p. 648.

¹⁷⁷ I thought it necessary to enter my protest against this part of the system of the Abbé Dubos, which Montesquieu has so vigorously opposed. See *Esprit des Loix*, l. xxx. c. 24.*

¹⁷⁷ *Ἐπερωτίαν μέντοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἀναρώσασθαι οὐκ ἐνὶ ἔργῳ* are the words of Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 2, p. 181, Louvre edition [tom. i. p. 318, edit. Bonn]), in a very important passage which has been too much neglected. Even Bede (Hist. Gent. Anglican. l. i. c. 12, p. 50, edit. Smith) acknowledges that the Romans finally left Britain in the reign of Honorius. Yet our modern historians and antiquaries extend the term of their dominion; and there are some who allow only the interval of a few months between their departure and the arrival of the Saxons.

¹⁷⁸ Bede has not forgotten the occasional aid of the legions against the Scots and Picts; and more authentic proof will hereafter be produced that the independent Britons raised 12,000 men for the service of the Emperor Anthemius in Gaul.

¹⁷⁹ I owe it to myself and to historic truth to declare that some *circumstances* in this paragraph are founded only on conjecture and analogy. The stubbornness of our language has sometimes forced me to deviate from the *conditional* into the *indicative* mood.

* See Mémoires de Gallet sur l'Origine des Bretons, quoted by Daru, Histoire de Bretagne, i. p. 57. According to the opinion of these authors, the government of Armorica was monarchical from the period of its independence of the Roman empire.—M.

has preserved the memory of this singular transaction, very accurately observes that the letters of Honorius were addressed to the *cities* of Britain.¹²⁰ Under the protection of the Romans, ninety-two considerable towns had arisen in the several parts of that great province; and, among these, thirty-three cities were distinguished above the rest by their superior privileges and importance.¹²¹ Each of these cities, as in all the other provinces of the empire, formed a legal corporation for the purpose of regulating their domestic policy; and the powers of municipal government were distributed among annual magistrates, a select senate, and the assembly of the people, according to the original model of the Roman constitution.¹²² The management of a common revenue, the exercise of civil and criminal jurisdiction, and the habits of public counsel and command were inherent to these petty republics; and when they asserted their independence, the youth of the city and of the adjacent districts would naturally range themselves under the standard of the magistrate. But the desire of obtaining the advantages and of escaping the burdens of political society is a perpetual and inexhaustible source of discord; nor can it reasonably be presumed that the restoration of British freedom was exempt from tumult and faction. The pre-eminence of birth and fortune must have been frequently violated by bold and popular citizens; and the haughty nobles, who complained that they were become the subjects of their own servants,¹²³ would sometimes regret the reign of an arbitrary monarch. II. The jurisdiction of each city over the adjacent

¹²⁰ Πρὸς τὰς ἐν Βρεταννίᾳ πόλεις.—Zosimus, l. vi. [c. 10] p. 383.

¹²¹ Two cities of Britain were *municipia*, nine *colonies*, ten *Latii jure donatae*, twelve *stipendiariae* of eminent note. This detail is taken from Richard of Cirencester, de Sitū Britanniae, p. 36; and though it may not seem probable that he wrote from the MSS. of a Roman general, he shows a genuine knowledge of antiquity, very extraordinary for a monk of the fourteenth century.*

¹²² See Maffei, Verona Illustrata, part i. l. v. p. 83-106.

¹²³ Leges restituit, libertatemque reducit,
Et servos famulis non sinit esse suis.

Itinerar. Rutil. l. i. 215.

* The names may be found in Whitaker's Hist. of Manchester, vol. ii. p. 380, 379. Turner, Hist. Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 216.—M.

country was supported by the patrimonial influence of the principal senators; and the smaller towns, the villages, and the proprietors of land consulted their own safety by adhering to the shelter of these rising republics. The sphere of their attraction was proportioned to the respective degrees of their wealth and populousness; but the hereditary lords of ample possessions, who were not oppressed by the neighborhood of any powerful city, aspired to the rank of independent princes, and boldly exercised the rights of peace and war. The gardens and villas, which exhibited some faint imitation of Italian elegance, would soon be converted into strong castles—the refuge, in time of danger, of the adjacent country.¹⁸⁴ The produce of the land was applied to purchase arms and horses; to maintain a military force of slaves, of peasants, and of licentious followers; and the chieftain might assume, within his own domain, the powers of a civil magistrate. Several of these British chiefs might be the genuine posterity of ancient kings; and many more would be tempted to adopt this honorable genealogy, and to vindicate their hereditary claims, which had been suspended by the usurpation of the Cæsars.¹⁸⁵ Their situation and their hopes would dispose them to affect the dress, the language, and the customs of their ancestors. If the *princes* of Britain relapsed into barbarism, while the *cities* studiously preserved the laws and manners of Rome, the whole island must have been gradually divided by the distinction of two national parties, again broken into a thousand subdivisions of war and faction by the various provocations of interest and resentment. The public strength, instead of being united against a foreign enemy, was consumed in obscure and intestine quarrels; and the personal merit which had placed a suc-

¹⁸⁴ An inscription (apud Sirmond, Not. ad Sidon. Apollinar. p. 59) describes a castle, “cum muris et portis, tuitioni omnium,” erected by Dardannus on his own estate near Sisteron in the Second Narbonnese, and named by him Theopolis.

¹⁸⁵ The establishment of their power would have been easy indeed if we could adopt the impracticable scheme of a lively and learned antiquarian, who supposes that the British monarchs of the several tribes continued to reign, though with subordinate jurisdiction, from the time of Claudius to that of Honorius. See Whitaker's History of Manchester, vol. i. p. 247–257.

cessful leader at the head of his equals might enable him to subdue the freedom of some neighboring cities, and to claim a rank among the *tyrants*¹⁵⁶ who infested Britain after the dissolution of the Roman government. III. The British Church might be composed of thirty or forty bishops,¹⁵⁷ with an adequate proportion of the inferior clergy; and the want of riches (for they seem to have been poor)¹⁵⁸ would compel them to deserve the public esteem by a decent and exemplary behavior. The interest as well as the temper of the clergy was favorable to the peace and union of their distracted country. Those salutary lessons might be frequently inculcated in their popular discourses; and the episcopal synods were the only councils that could pretend to the weight and authority of a national assembly. In such councils, where the princes and magistrates sat promiscuously with the bishops, the important affairs of the State as well as of the Church might be freely debated, differences reconciled, alliances formed, contributions imposed, wise resolutions often concerted, and sometimes executed; and there is reason to believe that, in moments of extreme danger, a *pendragon*, or dictator, was elected by the general consent of the Britons. These pastoral cares, so worthy of the episcopal character, were interrupted, however, by zeal and superstition; and the British clergy incessantly labored to eradicate the Pelagian heresy, which they abhorred as the peculiar disgrace of their native country.¹⁵⁹

It is somewhat remarkable, or rather it is extremely natural, that the revolt of Britain and Armorica should have introduced

¹⁵⁶ 'ΑΛΛ' οὐσα ὑπὸ τυράννοισι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔμμεν.—Procopius, de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 2, p. 181 [edit. Paris; tom. i. p. 318, edit. Bonn]. "Britannia fertilis provincia tyrannorum" was the expression of Jerome in the year 415 (tom. ii. p. 255, ad Ctesiphont. [Epist. cxxxiii. c. 9, tom. i. p. 1032, edit. Vallars.]). By the pilgrims who resorted every year to the Holy Land, the monk of Bethlehem received the earliest and most accurate intelligence.

¹⁵⁷ See Bingham's Eccles. Antiquities, vol. i. l. ix. ch. 6, p. 394.

¹⁵⁸ It is reported of three British bishops who assisted at the Council of Rimini, A.D. 359, "tam pauperes fuisse ut nihil [proprium] haberent."—Sulpicius Severus, Hist. Sacra, l. ii. p. 420. Some of their brethren, however, were in better circumstances.

¹⁵⁹ Consult Usher, de Antiq. Eccles. Britannicar. c. 8-12.

an appearance of liberty into the obedient provinces of Gaul.

Assembly of
the seven
provinces of
Gaul.
A.D. 418.

In a solemn edict,¹⁹⁰ filled with the strongest assurances of that paternal affection which princes so often express and so seldom feel, the Emperor Honorius promulgated his intention of convening an annual assembly of the *seven provinces*, a name peculiarly appropriated to Aquitaine and the ancient Narbonnese, which had long since exchanged their Celtic rudeness for the useful and elegant arts of Italy.¹⁹¹ Arles, the seat of government and commerce, was appointed for the place of the assembly, which regularly continued twenty-eight days, from the fifteenth of August to the thirteenth of September of every year. It consisted of the Prætorian Præfect of the Gauls; of seven provincial governors, one consular, and six presidents; of the magistrates, and perhaps the bishops, of about sixty cities; and of a competent though indefinite number of the most honorable and opulent *possessors* of land, who might justly be considered as the representatives of their country. They were empowered to interpret and communicate the laws of their sovereign, to expose the grievances and wishes of their constituents, to moderate the excessive or unequal weight of taxes, and to deliberate on every subject of local or national importance that could tend to the restoration of the peace and prosperity of the seven provinces. If such an institution, which gave the people an interest in their own government, had been universally established by Trajan or the Antonines, the seeds of public wisdom and virtue might have been cherished and propagated in the empire of Rome. The privileges of the subject would have secured the throne of the monarch; the abuses of an arbitrary administration might have been prevented, in some degree, or

¹⁹⁰ See the correct text of this edict, as published by Sirmond (Not. ad Sidon. Apollin. p. 147). Hincmar of Rheims, who assigns a place to the *bishops*, had probably seen (in the ninth century) a more perfect copy. Dubos, *Hist. Critique de la Monarchie Française*, tom. i. p. 241-255.

¹⁹¹ It is evident from the *Notitia* that the seven provinces were the Viennensis, the maritime Alps, the First and Second Narbonnese, Novempopulania, and the First and Second Aquitaine. In the room of the First Aquitaine, the Abbé Dubos, on the authority of Hincmar, desires to introduce the First Lugdunensis, or Lyonnese.

corrected, by the interposition of these representative assemblies; and the country would have been defended against a foreign enemy by the arms of natives and freemen. Under the mild and generous influence of liberty, the Roman empire might have remained invincible and immortal; or if its excessive magnitude and the instability of human affairs had opposed such perpetual continuance, its vital and constituent members might have separately preserved their vigor and independence. But in the decline of the empire, when every principle of health and life had been exhausted, the tardy application of this partial remedy was incapable of producing any important or salutary effects. The Emperor Honorius expresses his surprise that he must compel the reluctant provinces to accept a privilege which they should ardently have solicited. A fine of three, or even five, pounds of gold was imposed on the absent representatives, who seem to have declined this imaginary gift of a free constitution as the last and most cruel insult of their oppressors.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Arcadius Emperor of the East.—Administration and Disgrace of Eutropius.—Revolt of Gannas.—Persecution of St. John Chrysostom.—Theodosius II. Emperor of the East.—His Sister Pulcheria—His Wife Eudocia.—The Persian War, and Division of Armenia.

THE division of the Roman world between the sons of Theodosius marks the final establishment of the empire of the East, which, from the reign of Arcadius to the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, subsisted one thousand and fifty-eight years in a state of premature and perpetual decay. The sovereign of that empire assumed and obstinately retained the vain, and at length fictitious, title of Emperor of the ROMANS; and the hereditary appellations of CÆSAR and AUGUSTUS continued to declare that he was the legitimate successor of the first of men who had reigned over the first of nations. The palace of Constantinople rivalled, and perhaps excelled, the magnificence of Persia; and the eloquent sermons of St. Chrysostom¹ celebrate, while they condemn, the pompous luxury of the reign of Arcadius. “The emperor,” says he, “wears on his head either a diadem or a crown of gold, decorated with precious stones of inestimable value. These ornaments and his purple garments are reserved for his sacred person alone; and his robes of silk are embroidered with the figures of golden dragons. His throne is of massy gold. Whenever he appears in public, he is sur-

¹ Father Montfaucon, who, by the command of his Benedictine superiors, was compelled (see Longueruana, tom i p. 205) to execute the laborious edition of St. Chrysostom, in thirteen volumes in folio (Paris, 1738), amused himself with extracting from that immense collection of morals some curious *antiquities*, which illustrate the manners of the Theodosian age (see Chrysostom, Opera, tom. xiii p. 192–196), and his French Dissertation, in the Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. xiii p. 474–490.

rounded by his courtiers, his guards, and his attendants. Their spears, their shields, their cuirasses, the bridles and trappings of their horses, have either the substance or the appearance of gold; and the large splendid boss in the midst of their shield is encircled with smaller bosses, which represent the shape of the human eye. The two mules that draw the chariot of the monarch are perfectly white and shining all over with gold. The chariot itself, of pure and solid gold, attracts the admiration of the spectators, who contemplate the purple curtains, the snowy carpet, the size of the precious stones, and the resplendent plates of gold, that glitter as they are agitated by the motion of the carriage. The imperial pictures are white, on a blue ground. The emperor appears seated on his throne, with his arms, his horses, and his guards beside him, and his vanquished enemies in chains at his feet." The successors of Constantine established their perpetual residence in the royal city which he had erected on the verge of Europe and Asia. Inaccessible to the menaces of their enemies, and perhaps to the complaints of their people, they received with each wind the tributary productions of every climate, while the impregnable strength of their capital continued for ages to defy the hostile attempts of the barbarians. Their dominions were bounded by the Adriatic and the Tigris; and the whole interval of twenty-five days' navigation which separated the extreme cold of Scythia from the torrid zone of *Æthiopia*² was comprehended within the limits of the empire of the East. The populous countries of that empire were the seat of art and learning, of luxury and wealth; and the inhabitants, who had assumed the language and manners of Greeks, styled themselves, with some appearance of truth, the most enlight-

² According to the loose reckoning, that a ship could sail with a fair wind 1000 stadia, or 125 miles, in the revolution of a day and night, Diodorus Siculus computes ten days from the Palus Mæotis to Rhodes, and four days from Rhodes to Alexandria. The navigation of the Nile from Alexandria to Syene, under the tropic of Cancer, required, as it was against the stream, ten days more. Diodr. Sicul. tom. i. l. iii. [c. 33] p. 200, edit. Wesseling. He might, without much impropriety, measure the extreme heat from the verge of the torrid zone; but he speaks of the Mæotis, in the 47th degree of northern latitude, as if it lay within the polar circle.

ened and civilized portion of the human species. The form of government was a pure and simple monarchy; the name of the ROMAN REPUBLIC, which so long preserved a faint tradition of freedom, was confined to the Latin provinces; and the princes of Constantinople measured their greatness by the servile obedience of their people. They were ignorant how much this passive disposition enervates and degrades every faculty of the mind. The subjects who had resigned their will to the absolute commands of a master were equally incapable of guarding their lives and fortunes against the assaults of the barbarians, or of defending their reason from the terrors of superstition.

The first events of the reign of Arcadius and Honorius are so intimately connected that the rebellion of the Goths and the fall of Rufinus have already claimed a place in the history of the West. It has already been observed that Eutropius,³ one of the principal eunuchs of the palace of Constantinople, succeeded the haughty minister whose ruin he had accomplished and whose vices he soon imitated. Every order of the State bowed to the new favorite; and their tame and obsequious submission encouraged him to insult the laws, and, what is still more difficult and dangerous, the manners, of his country. Under the weakest of the predecessors of Arcadius, the reign of the eunuchs had been secret and almost invisible. They insinuated themselves into the confidence of the prince; but their ostensible functions were confined to the menial service of the wardrobe and imperial bedchamber. They might direct, in a whisper, the public counsels, and blast by their malicious suggestions the fame and fortunes of the most illustrious citizens; but they never presumed to stand forward in the front of empire,⁴ or to profane the public honors of the

Administration and character of Eutropius. A.D. 395-399.

³ Barthius, who adored his author with the blind superstition of a commentator, gives the preference to the two books which Claudian composed against Eutropius, above all his other productions (Baillet, Jugemens des Savans, tom. iv. p. 227). They are, indeed, a very elegant and spirited satire, and would be more valuable in an historical light if the invective were less vague and more temperate.

⁴ After lamenting the progress of the eunuchs in the Roman palace, and defining their proper functions, Claudian adds,

State. Eutropius was the first of his artificial sex who dared to assume the character of a Roman magistrate and general.* Sometimes, in the presence of the blushing senate, he ascended the tribunal to pronounce judgment or to repeat elaborate harangues; and sometimes appeared on horseback, at the head of his troops, in the dress and armor of a hero. The disregard of custom and decency always betrays a weak and ill-regulated mind; nor does Eutropius seem to have compensated for the folly of the design by any superior merit or ability in the execution. His former habits of life had not introduced him to the study of the laws or the exercises of the field; his awkward and unsuccessful attempts provoked the secret contempt of the spectators. The Goths expressed their wish that *such* a general might always command the armies of Rome; and the name of the minister was branded with ridicule, more pernicious, perhaps, than hatred to a public character. The subjects of Arcadius were exasperated by the recollection that this deformed and decrepit eunuch,* who so perversely mimicked the actions of a man, was born in the most abject condition of servitude; that before he entered the imperial palace he had been successively sold and purchased by

——— A fronte recedant
Imperii.

In Eutrop. i. 422.

Yet it does not appear that the eunuch had assumed any of the efficient offices of the empire; and he is styled only "Præpositus sacri cubiculi" in the edict of his banishment. See Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. xl. leg. 17.

Jamque oblita sui, nec sobria divitiis mens
In miseras leges hominumque negotia ludit:
Judicat eunuchus . . .
Arma etiam violare parat . . .

Claudian (in Eutrop. i. 229-270), with that mixture of indignation and humor which always pleases in a satiric poet, describes the insolent folly of the eunuch, the disgrace of the empire, and the joy of the Goths.

——— Gaudet, cum viderit, hostis,
Et sentit jam deesse viros.

* The poet's lively description of his deformity (i. 110-125) is confirmed by the authentic testimony of Chrysostom (tom. iii. [in Eutrop. i. c. 3] p. 384, edit. Mont-faucon), who observes that, when the paint was washed away, the face of Eutropius appeared more ugly and wrinkled than that of an old woman. Claudian remarks (i. 469), and the remark must have been founded on experience, that there was scarcely any interval between the youth and the decrepit age of a eunuch.

a hundred masters, who had exhausted his youthful strength in every mean and infamous office, and at length dismissed him in his old age to freedom and poverty.* While these disgraceful stories were circulated, and perhaps exaggerated, in private conversations, the vanity of the favorite was flattered with the most extraordinary honors. In the senate, in the capital, in the provinces, the statues of Eutropius were erected in brass or marble, decorated with the symbols of his civil and military virtues, and inscribed with the pompous title of the third founder of Constantinople. He was promoted to the rank of *patrician*, which began to signify, in a popular and even legal acceptance, the father of the emperor; and the last year of the fourth century was polluted by the *consulship* of a eunuch and a slave. This strange and inexpiable prodigy* awakened, however, the prejudices of the Romans. The effeminate consul was rejected by the West as an indelible stain to the annals of the republic; and without invoking the shades of Brutus and Camillus, the colleague of Eutropius, a learned and respectable magistrate,* sufficiently represented the different maxims of the two administrations.

The bold and vigorous mind of Rufinus seems to have been actuated by a more sanguinary and revengeful spirit; but the avarice of the eunuch was not less insatiate than that of the præfect.¹⁰ As long as he despoiled the

His venality
and injustice.

* Eutropius appears to have been a native of Armenia or Assyria. His three services, which Claudian more particularly describes, were these: 1. He spent many years as the catamite of Ptolemy, a groom or soldier of the imperial stables; 2. Ptolemy gave him to the old general Arintheus, for whom he very skilfully exercised the profession of a pimp; 3. He was given, on her marriage, to the daughter of Arintheus; and the future consul was employed to comb her hair, to present the silver ewer, to wash and to fan his mistress in hot weather. See l. i. 31-137.

* Claudian (l. i. in Eutrop. 1-22), after enumerating the various prodigies of monstrous births, speaking animals, showers of blood or stones, double suns, etc., adds, with some exaggeration,

Omnia cesserant eunucho consule monstra.

The first book concludes with a noble speech of the goddess of Rome to her favorite Honorius, deprecating the *new* ignominy to which she was exposed.

* Fl. Mallius Theodorus, whose civil honors and philosophical works have been celebrated by Claudian in a very elegant panegyric.

¹⁰ *Μεθύων δὲ ἥδη τῷ πλούτῳ*, drunk with riches, is the forcible expression of

oppressors who had enriched themselves with the plunder of the people, Eutropius might gratify his covetous disposition without much envy or injustice; but the progress of his rapine soon invaded the wealth which had been acquired by lawful inheritance or laudable industry. The usual methods of extortion were practised and improved; and Claudian has sketched a lively and original picture of the public auction of the State: "The impotence of the eunuch" (says that agreeable satirist) "has served only to stimulate his avarice. The same hand which in his servile condition was exercised in petty thefts to unlock the coffers of his master, now grasps the riches of the world; and this infamous broker of the empire appreciates and divides the Roman provinces, from Mount Hæmus to the Tigris. One man, at the expense of his villa, is made proconsul of Asia; a second purchases Syria with his wife's jewels; and a third laments that he has exchanged his paternal estate for the government of Bithynia. In the antechamber of Eutropius a large tablet is exposed to public view, which marks the respective prices of the provinces. The different value of Pontus, of Galatia, of Lydia, is accurately distinguished. Lycia may be obtained for so many thousand pieces of gold, but the opulence of Phrygia will require a more considerable sum. The eunuch wishes to obliterate, by the general disgrace, his personal ignominy; and, as he has been sold himself, he is desirous of selling the rest of mankind. In the eager contention, the balance, which contains the fate and fortunes of the province, often trembles on the beam; and till one of the scales is inclined by a superior weight, the mind of the impartial judge remains in anxious suspense." Such" (continues the indignant poet) "are the fruits of Roman valor,

Zosimus (l. v. [c. 10] p. 801), and the avarice of Eutropius is equally execrated in the *Lexicon* of Suidas and the *Chronicle* of Marcellinus. Chrysostom had often admonished the favorite of the vanity and danger of immoderate wealth, tom. iii. p. 381 [in *Eutrop.* i. c. 1].

11

———— certantum sæpe duorum
 Diversum suspendit onus · cum pondere iudex
 Vergit, et in geminas nutat provincia lances.

Claudian (l. 192-209) so curiously distinguishes the circumstances of the sale that they all seem to allude to particular anecdotes.

of the defeat of Antiochus, and of the triumph of Pompey." This venal prostitution of public honors secured the impunity of *future* crimes; but the riches which Eutropius derived from confiscation were *already* stained with injustice, since it was decent to accuse and to condemn the proprietors of the wealth which he was impatient to confiscate. Some noble blood was shed by the hand of the executioner; and the most inhospitable extremities of the empire were filled with innocent and illustrious exiles. Among the generals and consuls of the East, Abundantius¹² had reason to dread the first effects of the resentment of Eutropius. He had been guilty of the unpardonable crime of introducing that abject slave to the palace of Constantinople; and some degree of praise must be allowed to a powerful and ungrateful favorite who was satisfied with the disgrace of his benefactor. Abundantius was stripped of his ample fortunes by an imperial rescript, and banished to Pityus, on the Euxine, the last frontier of the Roman world, where he subsisted by the precarious mercy of the barbarians till he could obtain, after the fall of Eutropius, a milder exile at Sidon, in Phœnicia. The destruction of Timasius¹³ required a more serious and regular mode of attack. That great officer, the master-general of the armies of Theodosius, had signalized his valor by a decisive victory which he obtained over the Goths of Thessaly; but he was too prone, after the example of his sovereign, to enjoy the luxury of peace and to abandon his confidence to wick-

¹² Claudian (in Eutrop. i. 154-170) mentions the *guilt* and exile of Abundantius; nor could he fail to quote the example of the artist who made the first trial of the brazen bull which he presented to Phalaris. See Zosimus, l. v. [c. 10] p. 302; Jerome, tom. i. p. 26 [Ep. lx. c. 16, tom. i. p. 842, edit. Vallars.]. The difference of place is easily reconciled; but the decisive authority of Asterius of Amasia (Orat. iv. p. 76, apud Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 485) must turn the scale in favor of Pityus.

¹³ Suidas (most probably from the history of Eunapius) has given a very unfavorable picture of Timasius. The account of his accuser, the judges, trial, etc., is perfectly agreeable to the practice of ancient and modern courts (see Zosimus, l. v. [c. 9] p. 298, 299, 300). I am almost tempted to quote the romance of a great master (Fielding's Works, vol. iv. p. 49, etc., 8vo edit.), which may be considered as the history of human nature.

ed and designing flatterers. Timasius had despised the public clamor by promoting an infamous dependent to the command of a cohort; and he deserved to feel the ingratitude of Bargus, who was secretly instigated by the favorite to accuse his patron of a treasonable conspiracy. The general was arraigned before the tribunal of Arcadius himself; and the principal eunuch stood by the side of the throne to suggest the questions and answers of his sovereign. But as this form of trial might be deemed partial and arbitrary, the further inquiry into the crimes of Timasius was delegated to Saturninus and Procopius; the former of consular rank, the latter still respected as the father-in-law of the Emperor Valens. The appearances of a fair and legal proceeding were maintained by the blunt honesty of Procopius; and he yielded with reluctance to the obsequious dexterity of his colleague, who pronounced a sentence of condemnation against the un-

A.D. 396. fortunate Timasius. His immense riches were confiscated in the name of the emperor and for the benefit of the favorite; and he was doomed to perpetual exile at Oasis—a solitary spot in the midst of the sandy deserts of Libya.¹⁴ Secluded from all human converse, the master-general of the Roman armies was lost forever to the world; but the circumstances of his fate have been related in a various and contradictory manner. It is insinuated that Eutropius despatched a private order for his secret execution.¹⁵ It was reported that in attempting to escape from Oasis he perished in the desert

¹⁴ The great Oasis was one of the spots in the sands of Libya watered with springs, and capable of producing wheat, barley, and palm-trees. It was about three days' journey from north to south, about half a day in breadth, and at the distance of about five days' march to the west of Abydos, on the Nile. See D'Anville, *Description de l'Égypte*, p. 186, 187, 188. The barren desert which encompasses Oasis (Zosimus, l. v. [c. 9] p. 800) has suggested the idea of comparative fertility, and even the epithet of the *happy island* (Herodot. iii. 26).

¹⁵ The line of Claudian, in *Eutrop.* l. i. 180,

Marmaricus claris violatur cœdibus Hammon,^a

evidently alludes to *his* persuasion of the death of Timasius.

^a A fragment of Eunapius confirms this account. "Thus having deprived this great person of his life—a eunuch a man, a slave a consul, a minister of the bed-chamber one bred in camps." Mai, p. 283, in Niebuhr, p. 87.—M.

of thirst and hunger, and that his dead body was found on the sands of Libya.¹⁶ It has been asserted with more confidence that his son Syagrius, after successfully eluding the pursuit of the agents and emissaries of the court, collected a band of African robbers; that he rescued Timasius from the place of his exile; and that both the father and the son disappeared from the knowledge of mankind.¹⁷ But the ungrateful Bargus, instead of being suffered to possess the reward of guilt, was soon afterwards circumvented and destroyed by the more powerful villany of the minister himself, who retained sense and spirit enough to abhor the instrument of his own crimes.

The public hatred and the despair of individuals continually threatened, or seemed to threaten, the personal safety of Eutropius, as well as of the numerous adherents who were attached to his fortune and had been promoted by his venal favor. For their mutual defence he contrived the safeguard of a law which violated every principle of humanity and justice.¹⁸ I. It is enacted, in the name and by the authority of Arcadius, that all those who shall conspire, either with subjects or with strangers, against the lives of any of the persons whom the emperor considers as the members of his own body shall be punished with death and confiscation. This species of fictitious and metaphorical treason is extended to protect not only the *illustrious* officers of the State and army who are admitted into the sacred consistory, but likewise the principal domestics of the palace, the senators of Constantinople, the military commanders, and the civil magistrates of the provinces—a vague and indefinite list, which, under the successors of Constantine, included an ob-

A cruel and unjust law of treason.
A. D. 397.
Sept. 4.

¹⁶ Sozomen, l. viii. c. 7. He speaks from report, ὡς τινος ἐπιθήμην.

¹⁷ Zosimus, l. v. [c. 9] p. 800. Yet he seems to suspect that this rumor was spread by the friends of Eutropius.

¹⁸ See the Theodosian Code, l. ix. tit. 14, ad legem Corneliam de Sicariis, leg. 3, and the Code of Justinian, l. ix. tit. viii. ad legem Juliam de Majestate, leg. 5. The alteration of the *title* from murder to treason was an improvement of the subtle Tribonian. Godefroy, in a formal dissertation which he has inserted in his Commentary, illustrates this law of Arcadius, and explains all the difficult passages which had been perverted by the juriconsults of the darker ages. See tom. iii. p. 88–111.

secure and numerous train of subordinate ministers. II. This extreme severity might perhaps be justified had it been only directed to secure the representatives of the sovereign from any actual violence in the execution of their office. But the whole body of imperial dependents claimed a privilege, or rather impunity, which screened them in the loosest moments of their lives from the hasty, perhaps the justifiable, resentment of their fellow-citizens; and, by a strange perversion of the laws, the same degree of guilt and punishment was applied to a private quarrel and to a deliberate conspiracy against the emperor and the empire. The edict of Arcadius most positively and most absurdly declares that in such cases of treason *thoughts* and *actions* ought to be punished with equal severity; that the knowledge of a mischievous intention, unless it be instantly revealed, becomes equally criminal with the intention itself;¹⁹ and that those rash men who shall presume to solicit the pardon of traitors shall themselves be branded with public and perpetual infamy. III. "With regard to the sons of the traitors" (continues the emperor), "although they ought to share the punishment, since they will probably imitate the guilt, of their parents, yet, by the special effect of our imperial lenity, we grant them their lives; but, at the same time, we declare them incapable of inheriting, either on the father's or on the mother's side, or of receiving any gift or legacy from the testament either of kinsmen or of strangers. Stigmatized with hereditary infamy, excluded from the hopes of honors or fortune, let them endure the pangs of poverty and contempt till they shall consider life as a calamity and death as a comfort and relief." In such words, so well adapted to insult the feelings of mankind, did the emperor, or rather his favorite eunuch, applaud the moderation of a law which transferred

¹⁹ Bartolus understands a simple and naked consciousness, without any sign of approbation or concurrence. For this opinion, says Baldus, he is now roasting in hell. For my own part, continues the discreet Heineccius (*Element. Jur. Civil.* l. iv. p. 411), I must approve the theory of Bartolus; but in practice I should incline to the sentiment of Baldus. Yet Bartolus was gravely quoted by the lawyers of Cardinal Richelieu; and Entropius was indirectly guilty of the murder of the virtuous De Thou.

the same unjust and inhuman penalties to the children of all those who had seconded or who had not disclosed these fictitious conspiracies. Some of the noblest regulations of Roman jurisprudence have been suffered to expire; but this edict, a convenient and forcible engine of ministerial tyranny, was carefully inserted in the codes of Theodosius and Justinian; and the same maxims have been revived in modern ages to protect the electors of Germany and the cardinals of the Church of Rome.²⁰

Yet these sanguinary laws, which spread terror among a unarmed and dispirited people, were of too weak a texture to restrain the bold enterprise of Tribigild²¹ the Ostrogoth. The colony of that warlike nation, which had been planted by Theodosius in one of the most fertile districts of Phrygia,²² impatiently compared the slow turns of laborious husbandry with the successful rapine and several rewards of Alaric; and their leader resented, as a personal affront, his own ungracious reception in the palace of Constantinople. A soft and wealthy province in the heart of the empire was astonished by the sound of war, and the faithful vassal who had been disregarded or oppressed was again suspected as soon as he resumed the hostile character of a barbarian. The vineyards and fruitful fields between the rapid Mæander and the winding Mæander²³ were consumed with fire;

²⁰ Godefroy, tom. iii. p. 89. It is, however, suspected that this law, so repugnant to the maxims of Germanic freedom, has been surreptitiously added to the den bull.

²¹ A copious and circumstantial narrative (which he might have reserved for more important events) is bestowed by Zosimus (l. v. [c. 10 seq.] p. 304-312) on the revolt of Tribigild and Gainas. See likewise Socrates, l. vi. c. 6, and Sozomen, l. viii. c. 4. The second book of Claudian against Eutropius is a fine though perfect piece of history.

²² Claudian (in Eutrop. l. ii. 237-250) very accurately observes that the ancient name and nation of the Phrygians extended very far on every side, till their limits were contracted by the colonies of the Bithynians of Thrace, of the Greeks, and at last of the Gauls. His description (ii. 257-272) of the fertility of Phrygia, and of the four rivers that produced gold, is just and picturesque.

²³ Xenophon, *Anabasis*, l. i. [c. 2, § 3] p. 11, 12, edit. Hutchinson; Strabo, l. p. 865, edit. Amstel. [p. 577, edit. Casanb.]; Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 1. Claudian compares the junction of the Mæander and Mæander to that of the Saône and

the decayed walls of the cities crumbled into dust at the first stroke of an enemy; the trembling inhabitants escaped from a bloody massacre to the shores of the Hellespont; and a considerable part of Asia Minor was desolated by the rebellion of Tribigild. His rapid progress was checked by the resistance of the peasants of Pamphylia; and the Ostrogoths, attacked in a narrow pass between the city of Selgæ,* a deep morass, and the craggy cliffs of Mount Taurus, were defeated with the loss of their bravest troops. But the spirit of their chief was not daunted by misfortune, and his army was continually recruited by swarms of barbarians and outlaws who were desirous of exercising the profession of robbery under the more honorable names of war and conquest. The rumors of the success of Tribigild might for some time be suppressed by fear or disguised by flattery; yet they gradually alarmed both the court and the capital. Every misfortune was exaggerated in dark and doubtful hints, and the future designs of the rebels became the subject of anxious conjecture. Whenever Tribigild advanced into the inland country, the Romans were inclined to suppose that he meditated the passage of Mount Taurus and the invasion of Syria. If he descended towards the sea, they imputed, and perhaps suggested, to the Gothic chief the more dangerous project of arming a fleet in the harbors of Ionia, and of extending his depredations along the maritime coast, from the mouth of the Nile to the port of Constantinople. The approach of danger and the obstinacy of Tribigild, who refused all terms of accommodation, compelled Eutropius to summon a council of war.[†] After claiming for him-

the Rhone, with this difference, however, that the smaller of the Phrygian rivers is not accelerated, but retarded, by the larger.

* Selgæ, a colony of the Lacedæmonians, had formerly numbered twenty thousand citizens; but in the age of Zosimus it was reduced to a *πολίχνη*, or small town. See Cellarius, *Geograph. Antiq.* tom. ii. p. 117.

† The Council of Eutropius, in Claudian, may be compared to that of Domitian in the fourth Satire of Juvenal. The principal members of the former were "juvenes protervi lascivique senes:" one of them had been a cook, a second a wool-comber. The language of their original profession exposes their assumed dignity; and their trifling conversation about tragedies, dancers, etc., is made still more ridiculous by the importance of the debate.

self the privilege of a veteran soldier, the eunuch intrusted the guard of Thrace and the Hellespont to Gainas the Goth, and the command of the Asiatic army to his favorite Leo; two generals who differently but effectually promoted the cause of the rebels. Leo,* who from the bulk of his body and the dulness of his mind was surnamed the Ajax of the East, had deserted his original trade of a wool-comber, to exercise with much less skill and success the military profession; and his uncertain operations were capriciously framed and executed with an ignorance of real difficulties and a timorous neglect of every favorable opportunity. The rashness of the Ostrogoths had drawn them into a disadvantageous position between the rivers Melas and Eurymedon, where they were almost besieged by the peasants of Pamphylia; but the arrival of an imperial army, instead of completing their destruction, afforded the means of safety and victory. Tribigild surprised the unguarded camp of the Romans in the darkness of the night, seduced the faith of the greater part of the barbarian auxiliaries, and dissipated without much effort the troops which had been corrupted by the relaxation of discipline and the luxury of the capital. The discontent of Gainas, who had so boldly contrived and executed the death of Rufinus, was irritated by the fortune of his unworthy successor; he accused his own dishonorable patience under the servile reign of a eunuch; and the ambitious Goth was convicted, at least in the public opinion, of secretly fomenting the revolt of Tribigild, with whom he was connected by a domestic as well as by a national alliance.** When Gainas passed the Hellespont, to unite under his standard the remains of the Asiatic troops, he skilfully adapted his motions to the wishes of the Ostrogoths, abandoning by his retreat the country which they desired to invade, or facilitating by his approach the desertion of the barbarian auxiliaries. To the imperial court he repeatedly magnified the valor,

* Claudian (l. ii 376-461) has branded him with infamy; and Zosimus, in more temperate language, confirms his reproaches (l. v. [c. 14] p. 805).

** The conspiracy of Gainas and Tribigild, which is attested by the Greek historian, had not reached the ears of Claudian, who attributes the revolt of the Ostrogoth to his own martial spirit and the advice of his wife.

the genius, the inexhaustible resources of Tribigild, confessed his own inability to prosecute the war, and extorted the permission of negotiating with his invincible adversary. The conditions of peace were dictated by the haughty rebel; and the peremptory demand of the head of Eutropius revealed the author and the design of this hostile conspiracy.

The bold satirist, who has indulged his discontent by the partial and passionate censure of the Christian emperors, violates the dignity rather than the truth of history by comparing the son of Theodosius to one of those harmless and simple animals who scarcely feel that they are the property of their shepherd. Two passions, however—fear and conjugal affection—awakened the languid soul of Arcadius. He was terrified by the threats of a victorious barbarian, and he yielded to the tender eloquence of his wife Eudoxia, who, with a flood of artificial tears, presenting her infant children to their father, implored his justice for some real or imaginary insult which she imputed to the audacious eunuch.²² The emperor's hand was directed to sign the condemnation of Eutropius; the magic spell which during four years had bound the prince and the people was instantly dissolved; and the acclamations that so lately hailed the merit and fortune of the favorite were converted into the clamors of the soldiers and people, who reproached his crimes and pressed his immediate execution. In this hour of distress and despair, his only refuge was in the sanctuary of the Church, whose privileges he had wisely or profanely attempted to circumscribe; and the most eloquent of the saints, John Chrysostom, enjoyed the triumph of protecting a prostrate minister whose choice had raised him to the ecclesiastical throne of Constantinople. The archbishop, ascending the pulpit of the cathedral, that he might be distinctly seen and heard by an innumerable crowd of either sex and of every age, pronounced a seasonable and pathetic discourse on the forgiveness of injuries

²² This anecdote, which Philostorgius alone has preserved (l. xi. c. 6, and Gothofred. Dissertat. p. 451–456), is curious and important, since it connects the revolt of the Goths with the secret intrigues of the palace.

and the instability of human greatness. The agonies of the pale and affrighted wretch, who lay grovelling under the table of the altar, exhibited a solemn and instructive spectacle; and the orator, who was afterwards accused of insulting the misfortunes of Eutropius, labored to excite the contempt, that he might assuage the fury, of the people." The powers of humanity, of superstition, and of eloquence prevailed. The Empress Eudoxia was restrained, by her own prejudices or by those of her subjects, from violating the sanctuary of the Church; and Eutropius was tempted to capitulate, by the milder arts of persuasion, and by an oath that his life should be spared.²⁰ Careless of the dignity of their sovereign, the new ministers of the palace immediately published an edict, to declare that his late favorite had disgraced the names of consul and patrician, to abolish his statues, to confiscate his wealth, and to inflict a perpetual exile in the island of Cyprus.²¹ A despicable and decrepit eunuch could no longer alarm the fears of his enemies; nor was he capable of enjoying what yet remained—the comforts of peace, of solitude, and of a happy climate. But their implacable revenge still envied him the last moments of a miserable life, and Eutropius had no sooner

²⁰ See the Homily [i. in Eutrop.] of Chrysostom, tom. iii. p. 381–386, of which the exordium is particularly beautiful; Sociates, l. vi. c. 5; Sozomen, l. viii. c. 7. Montfancon (in his Life of Chrysostom, tom. xiii. p. 135) too hastily supposes that Tribigild was *actually* in Constantinople, and that he commanded the soldiers who were ordered to seize Eutropius. Even Claudian, a pagan poet (Præfat. ad l. ii. in Eutrop. 27), has mentioned the flight of the eunuch to the sanctuary.

Suppliciterque pius humilis prostratus ad aras
Mitigat iratas voce temente nurus.

²¹ Chrysostom, in another homily [in Eutrop. ii. c. 1] (tom. iii. p. 386), affects to declare that Eutropius would not have been taken had he not deserted the church. Zosimus (l. v. [c. 18] p. 318), on the contrary, pretends that his enemies forced him (ἐκπράσαντες αὐτὸν) from the sanctuary. Yet the promise is an evidence of some treaty; and the strong assurance of Claudian (Præfat. ad l. ii. 46),

Sed tamen exemplo non feriere tuo,

may be considered as an evidence of some promise.

²² Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. xl. leg. 14 [leg. 17]. The date of that law (Jan. 17, A.D. 399) is erroneous and corrupt, since the fall of Eutropius could not happen till the autumn of the same year. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 780.

touched the shores of Cyprus than he was hastily recalled. The vain hope of eluding, by a change of place, the obligation of an oath engaged the empress to transfer the scene of his trial and execution from Constantinople to the adjacent suburb of Chalcedon. The consul Aurelian pronounced the sentence; and the motives of that sentence expose the jurisprudence of a despotic government. The crimes which Eutropius had committed against the people might have justified his death; but he was found guilty of harnessing to his chariot the *sacred* animals, who, from their breed or color, were reserved for the use of the emperor alone.²²

While this domestic revolution was transacted, Gainas²³ openly revolted from his allegiance, united his forces at Thyatira, in Lydia, with those of Tribigild, and still maintained his superior ascendant over the rebellious leader of the Ostrogoths. The confederate armies advanced without resistance to the straits of the Hellespont and the Bosphorus, and Arcadius was instructed to prevent the loss of his Asiatic dominions by resigning his authority and his person to the faith of the barbarians. The church of the holy martyr Euphemia, situate on a lofty eminence near Chalcedon,²⁴ was chosen for the place of the interview. Gainas bowed with reverence at the feet of the emperor, whilst he required the sacrifice of Aurelian and Saturninus, two ministers of consular rank; and their naked necks were exposed

Conspiracy
and fall of
Gainas.
A.D. 400.

²² Zosimus, l. v. [c. 18] p. 313. Philostorgius, l. xi. c. 6.*

²³ Zosimus (l. v. [c. 18–22] p. 313–323, Socrates (l. vi. c. 4 [6]), Sozomen (l. viii. c. 4), and Theodoret (l. v. c. 32, 33) represent, though with some various circumstances, the conspiracy, defeat, and death of Gainas.

²⁴ Ὁσίας Εὐφημίας μαρτύριον is the expression of Zosimus himself (l. v. [c. 18] p. 314), who inadvertently uses the fashionable language of the Christians. Evagrius describes (l. ii. c. 3) the situation, architecture, relics, and miracles of that celebrated church, in which the General Council of Chalcedon was afterwards held.

* Reading, in his edition of Philostorgius, prefers the reading of *κοσμήμασιν* to *βοσκήμασιν*, according to which the offence of Eutropius consisted in assuming the imperial purple, not in using the imperial horses. That the former is the correct reading is confirmed by Nicephorus (l. xii. c. 4), who gives the meaning of Philostorgius in the following words: *κόσμοις παρ' ἁγίων ἐχρησάτο, οὐς μόνον ἔχουσιν βασιλεὶ ἀμφιένυσθαι*.—S.

by the haughty rebel to the edge of the sword, till he condescended to grant them a precarious and disgraceful respite. The Goths, according to the terms of the agreement, were immediately transported from Asia into Europe; and their victorious chief, who accepted the title of master-general of the Roman armies, soon filled Constantinople with his troops, and distributed among his dependents the honors and rewards of the empire. In his early youth Gainas had passed the Danube as a suppliant and a fugitive. His elevation had been the work of valor and fortune, and his indiscreet or perfidious conduct was the cause of his rapid downfall. Notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of the archbishop, he inopportunely claimed for his Arian sectaries the possession of a peculiar church, and the pride of the Catholics was offended by the public toleration of heresy.³⁸ Every quarter of Constantinople was filled with tumult and disorder; and the barbarians gazed with such ardor on the rich shops of the jewellers, and the tables of the bankers which were covered with gold and silver, that it was judged prudent to remove those dangerous temptations from their sight. They resented the injurious precaution; and some alarming attempts were made during the night to attack and destroy with fire the imperial palace.³⁹ In this

July 20. state of mutual and suspicious hostility, the guards and the people of Constantinople shut the gates, and rose in arms to prevent or to punish the conspiracy of the Goths. During the absence of Gainas his troops were surprised and oppressed; seven thousand barbarians perished in this bloody massacre. In the fury of the pursuit, the Catholics uncovered the roof, and continued to throw down flaming logs of wood till they overwhelmed their adversaries, who had

³⁸ The pious remonstrances of Chrysostom, which do not appear in his own writings, are strongly urged by Theodoret; but his insinuation that they were successful is disproved by facts. Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 383) has discovered that the emperor, to satisfy the rapacious demands of Gainas, was obliged to melt the plate of the Church of the Apostles.

³⁹ The ecclesiastical historians, who sometimes guide and sometimes follow the public opinion, most confidently assert that the palace of Constantinople was guarded by legions of angels.

retreated to the church or conventicle of the Arians. Gainas was either innocent of the design or too confident of his success. He was astonished by the intelligence that the flower of his army had been ingloriously destroyed; that he himself was declared a public enemy; and that his countryman Fravitta, a brave and loyal confederate, had assumed the management of the war by sea and land. The enterprises of the rebel against the cities of Thrace were encountered by a firm and well-ordered defence. His hungry soldiers were soon reduced to the grass that grew on the margin of the fortifications; and Gainas, who vainly regretted the wealth and luxury of Asia, embraced a desperate resolution of forcing the passage of the Hellespont. He was destitute of vessels, but the woods of the Chersonesus afforded materials for rafts, and his intrepid barbarians did not refuse to trust themselves to the waves. But

Dec. 28. Fravitta attentively watched the progress of their undertaking. As soon as they had gained the middle of the stream, the Roman galleys," impelled by the full force of oars, of the current, and of a favorable wind, rushed forward in compact order and with irresistible weight, and the Hellespont was covered with the fragments of the Gothic shipwreck. After the destruction of his hopes and the loss of many thousands of his bravest soldiers, Gainas, who could no longer aspire to govern or to subdue the Romans, determined to resume the independence of a savage life. A light and active body of barbarian horse, disengaged from their infantry and baggage, might perform in eight or ten days a march of three hundred miles from the Hellespont to the Danube;" the

²⁷ Zosimus (l. v. [c. 20] p. 319) mentions these galleys by the name of *Liburnians*, and observes that they were as swift (without explaining the difference between them) as the vessels with fifty oars, but that they were far inferior in speed to the *triremes*, which had been long disused. Yet he reasonably concludes, from the testimony of Polybius, that galleys of a still larger size had been constructed in the Punic wars. Since the establishment of the Roman empire over the Mediterranean, the useless art of building large ships of war had probably been neglected, and at length forgotten.

²⁸ Chishull (Travels, p. 61-63, 72-76) proceeded from Gallipoli, through Hadrianople, to the Danube in about fifteen days. He was in the train of an English ambassador, whose baggage consisted of seventy-one wagons. That learned traveller has the merit of tracing a curious and unfrequented route.

garrisons of that important frontier had been gradually annihilated; the river in the month of December would be deep frozen; and the unbounded prospect of Scythia was open to the ambition of Gainas. This design was secretly communicated to the national troops, who devoted themselves to the fortunes of their leader; and before the signal of departure was given, a great number of provincial auxiliaries, whom he suspected of an attachment to their native country, were perfidiously massacred. The Goths advanced by rapid marches through the plains of Thrace, and they were soon delivered from the fear of a pursuit by the vanity of Fravitta,* who, instead of extinguishing the war, hastened to enjoy the popular applause, and to assume the peaceful honors of the consulship. But a formidable ally appeared in arms to vindicate the majesty of the empire, and to guard the peace and liberty of Scythia.† The superior forces of Uldin, King of the Huns, opposed the progress of Gainas; a hostile and ruined country prohibited his retreat; he disdained to capitulate; and, after repeatedly attempting to cut his way through the ranks of the enemy, he was slain, with his desperate followers, in the field of battle. Eleven days after the naval victory of the Hellespont, the head of Gainas, the inestimable gift of the conqueror, was received at Constantinople with the most liberal expressions of gratitude; and the public deliverance was celebrated by festivals and illuminations. The triumphs of Arcadius became the subject of epic poems;‡ and

A.D. 401.
Jan. 3.

* The narrative of Zosimus, who actually leads Gainas beyond the Danube, must be corrected by the testimony of Socrates [L. vi. c. 6] and Sozomen [L. vii. c. 4], that he was killed in *Thrace*, and by the precise and authentic dates of the Alexandrian or Paschal Chronicle, p. 307 [edit. Paris, tom. i. p. 567, edit. Bonn]. The naval victory of the Hellespont is fixed to the month Apellæus, the tenth of the calends of January (December 23); the head of Gainas was brought to Constantinople the third of the nones of January (January 8), in the month Audynæus.

† Ensebius Scholasticus acquired much fame by his poem on the Gothic war, in which he had served. Near forty years afterwards, Ammonius recited another

* Fravitta, according to Zosimus, though a pagan, received the honors of the

the monarch, no longer oppressed by any hostile terrors, resigned himself to the mild and absolute dominion of his wife, the fair and artful Eudoxia, who has sullied her fame by the persecution of St. John Chrysostom.

After the death of the indolent Nectarius, the successor of Gregory Nazianzen, the Church of Constantinople was distracted by the ambition of rival candidates, who were not ashamed to solicit, with gold or flattery, the suffrage of the people or of the favorite. On this occasion Eutropius seems to have deviated from his ordinary maxims; and his uncorrupted judgment was determined only by the superior merit of a stranger. In a late journey into the East he had admired the sermons of John, a native and presbyter of Antioch, whose name has been distinguished by the epithet of Chrysostom, or the Golden Mouth.⁴¹ A private order was despatched to the Governor of Syria; and as the people might be unwilling to resign their favorite preacher, he was transported, with speed and secrecy, in a post-chariot from Antioch to Constantinople. The unanimous and unsolicited consent of the court, the clergy, and the people ratified the choice of the minister; and, both as a saint and as an orator, the new archbishop surpassed the sanguine

Election and
merit of
Chrysostom.
A.D. 398.
Feb. 26.

poem on the same subject, in the presence of the Emperor Theodosius. See Socrates, l. vi. c. 6.

⁴¹ The sixth book of Socrates, the eighth of Sozomen, and the fifth of Theodoret afford curious and authentic materials for the Life of John Chrysostom. Besides those general historians, I have taken for my guides the four principal biographers of the saint:—1. The author of a partial and passionate Vindication of the Archbishop of Constantinople, composed in the form of a dialogue, and under the name of his zealous partisan, Palladius, Bishop of Hellenopolis (Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés. tom. xi. p. 500–538*). It is inserted among the works of Chrysostom, tom. xiii. p. 1–90, edit. Montfaucon. 2. The moderate Erasmus (tom. iii. *Epist. mcl. p. 1331–1347*, edit. Lugd. Bat.). His vivacity and good sense were his own; his errors, in the uncultivated state of ecclesiastical antiquity, were almost inevitable. 3. The learned Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclés. tom. xi. p. 1–405, 547–626*, etc., etc.), who compiles the Lives of the saints with incredible patience and religious accuracy. He has minutely searched the voluminous works of Chrysostom himself. 4. Father Montfaucon, who has perused those works with the curious diligence of an editor, discovered several new homilies, and again reviewed and composed the Life of Chrysostom (*Opera Chrysostom. tom. xiii. p. 91–177*).

expectations of the public. Born of a noble and opulent family in the capital of Syria, Chrysostom had been educated, by the care of a tender mother, under the tuition of the most skillful masters. He studied the art of rhetoric in the school of Libanius; and that celebrated sophist, who soon discovered the talents of his disciple, ingenuously confessed that John would have deserved to succeed him had he not been stolen away by the Christians. His piety soon disposed him to receive the sacrament of baptism, to renounce the lucrative and honorable profession of the law, and to bury himself in the adjacent desert, where he subdued the lusts of the flesh by an austere penance of six years. His infirmities compelled him to return to the society of mankind; and the authority of Meletius devoted his talents to the service of the Church; but in the midst of his family, and afterwards on the archiepiscopal throne, Chrysostom still persevered in the practice of the monastic virtues. The ample revenues, which his predecessors had consumed in pomp and luxury, he diligently applied to the establishment of hospitals; and the multitudes who were supported by his charity preferred the eloquent and edifying discourses of their archbishop to the amusements of the theatre or the circus. The monuments of that eloquence, which was admired near twenty years at Antioch and Constantinople, have been carefully preserved; and the possession of near one thousand sermons or homilies has authorized the critics⁴² of succeeding times to appreciate the genuine merit of Chrysostom. They unanimously attribute to the Christian orator the free command of an elegant and copious language; the judgment to conceal the advantages which he derived from the knowledge of rhetoric and philosophy; an inexhaustible fund of metaphors and similitudes, of ideas and images, to vary and illustrate the most familiar topics; the happy art of engaging

⁴² As I am *almost* a stranger to the voluminous sermons of Chrysostom, I have given my confidence to the two most judicious and moderate of the ecclesiastical critics, Erasmus (tom. iii. p. 1344) and Dupin (*Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique*, tom. iii. p. 38); yet the good taste of the former is sometimes vitiated by an excessive love of antiquity, and the good sense of the latter is always restrained by prudential considerations.

the passions in the service of virtue, and of exposing the folly as well as the turpitude of vice almost with the truth and spirit of a dramatic representation.

The pastoral labors of the Archbishop of Constantinople provoked and gradually united against him two sorts of enemies—the aspiring clergy, who envied his success, and the obstinate sinners, who were offended by his reproofs. When Chrysostom thundered from the pulpit of St. Sophia against the degeneracy of the Christians, his shafts were spent among the crowd, without wounding or even marking the character of any individual. When he declaimed against the peculiar vices of the rich, poverty might obtain a transient consolation from his invectives; but the guilty were still sheltered by their numbers, and the reproach itself was dignified by some ideas of superiority and enjoyment. But as the pyramid rose towards the summit, it insensibly diminished to a point; and the magistrates, the ministers, the favorite eunuchs, the ladies of the court,⁴³ the Empress Endoxia herself, had a much larger share of guilt to divide among a smaller proportion of criminals. The personal applications of the audience were anticipated or confirmed by the testimony of their own conscience; and the intrepid preacher assumed the dangerous right of exposing both the offence and the offender to the public abhorrence. The secret resentment of the court encouraged the discontent of the clergy and monks of Constantinople, who were too hastily reformed by the fervent zeal of their archbishop. He had condemned from the pulpit the domestic females of the clergy of Constantinople, who, under the name of servants or sisters, afforded a perpetual occasion either of sin or of scandal. The silent and soli-

⁴³ The females of Constantinople distinguished themselves by their enmity or their attachment to Chrysostom. Three noble and opulent widows—Marsa, Castricia, and Engraphia—were the leaders of the persecution (Pallad. Dialog. tom. xiii. p. 14 [c. 4, p. 35, edit. Paris, 1680]). It was impossible that they should forgive a preacher who reproached their affectation to conceal, by the ornaments of dress, their age and ugliness (Pallad. p. 27). Olympias, by equal zeal, displayed in a more pious cause, has obtained the title of saint. See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. xi. p. 416-440.

tary ascetics who had secluded themselves from the world were entitled to the warmest approbation of Chrysostom; but he despised and stigmatized, as the disgrace of their holy profession, the crowd of degenerate monks who, from some unworthy motives of pleasure or profit, so frequently infested the streets of the capital. To the voice of persuasion the archbishop was obliged to add the terrors of authority; and his ardor in the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction was not always exempt from passion; nor was it always guided by prudence. Chrysostom was naturally of a choleric disposition.⁴⁴ Although he struggled, according to the precepts of the Gospel, to love his private enemies, he indulged himself in the privilege of hating the enemies of God and of the Church; and his sentiments were sometimes delivered with too much energy of countenance and expression. He still maintained, from some considerations of health or abstinence, his former habits of taking his repasts alone; and this inhospitable custom,⁴⁵ which his enemies imputed to pride, contributed at least to nourish the infirmity of a morose and unsocial humor. Separated from that familiar intercourse which facilitates the knowledge and the despatch of business, he reposed an unsuspecting confidence in his deacon Serapion, and seldom applied his speculative knowledge of human nature to the particular characters either of his dependents or of his equals. Conscious of the purity of his intentions, and perhaps of the superiority of his genius, the Archbishop of Constantinople extended the jurisdiction of the imperial city, that he might enlarge the sphere of his pastoral labors; and the conduct which

⁴⁴ Sozomen, and more especially Socrates, have defined the real character of Chrysostom with a temperate and impartial freedom very offensive to his blind admirers. Those historians lived in the next generation, when party violence was abated, and had conversed with many persons intimately acquainted with the virtues and imperfections of the saint.

⁴⁵ Palladius (tom. xiii. p. 40, etc. [c. xi. p. 102, edit. Paris, 1680]) very seriously defends the archbishop. 1. He never tasted wine. 2. The weakness of his stomach required a peculiar diet. 3. Business or study or devotion often kept him fasting till sunset. 4. He detested the noise and levity of great dinners. 5. He saved the expense for the use of the poor. 6. He was apprehensive, in a capital like Constantinople, of the envy and reproach of partial invitations.

the profane imputed to an ambitious motive appeared to Chrysostom himself in the light of a sacred and indispensable duty. In his visitation through the Asiatic provinces he deposed thirteen bishops of Lydia and Phrygia, and indiscreetly declared that a deep corruption of simony and licentiousness had infected the whole episcopal order.⁴⁶ If those bishops were innocent, such a rash and unjust condemnation must excite a well-grounded discontent. If they were guilty, the numerous associates of their guilt would soon discover that their own safety depended on the ruin of the archbishop, whom they studied to represent as the tyrant of the Eastern Church.

This ecclesiastical conspiracy was managed by Theophilus,⁴⁷ Archbishop of Alexandria, an active and ambitious prelate, who displayed the fruits of rapine in monuments of ostentation. His national dislike to the rising greatness of a city which degraded him from the second to the third rank in the Christian world was exasperated by some personal disputes with Chrysostom himself.⁴⁸ By the private invitation of the empress, Theophilus landed at Constantinople, with a stout body of Egyptian mariners, to encounter the populace; and a train of dependent bishops to secure by their voices the majority of a synod. The synod⁴⁹ was convened in the suburb of Chalcedon surnamed the *Oak*,

Chrysostom
is persecuted
by the Em-
press Eu-
doxia.
A.D. 403.

⁴⁶ Chrysostom declares his free opinion (tom. ix. hom. iii. in Act. Apostol. p. 29) that the number of bishops who might be saved bore a very small proportion to those who would be damned.

⁴⁷ See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. xi. p. 441-500.

⁴⁸ I have purposely omitted the controversy which arose among the monks of Egypt concerning Origenism and Anthropomorphism, the dissimulation and violence of Theophilus, his artful management of the simplicity of Epiphanius, the persecution and flight of the *long* or tall brothers, the ambiguous support which they received at Constantinople from Chrysostom, etc., etc.

⁴⁹ Photius (p. 58-60 [p. 17 seq. edit. Bekk.]) has preserved the original acts of the Synod of the Oak, which destroy the false assertion that Chrysostom was condemned by no more than thirty-six bishops, of whom twenty-nine were Egyptians. Forty-five bishops subscribed his sentence. See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. xi. p. 595.^a

^a Tillemont argues strongly for the number of thirty-six.—M.

where Rufinus had erected a stately church and monastery, and their proceedings were continued during fourteen days or sessions. A bishop and a deacon accused the Archbishop of Constantinople; but the frivolous or improbable nature of the forty-seven articles which they presented against him may justly be considered as a fair and unexceptionable panegyric. Four successive summons were signified to Chrysostom; but he still refused to trust either his person or his reputation in the hands of his implacable enemies, who, prudently declining the examination of any particular charges, condemned his contumacious disobedience, and hastily pronounced a sentence of deposition. The Synod of the Oak immediately addressed the emperor to ratify and execute their judgment, and charitably insinuated that the penalties of treason might be inflicted on the audacious preacher, who had reviled, under the name of Jezebel, the Empress Eudoxia herself. The archbishop was rudely arrested, and conducted through the city by one of the imperial messengers, who landed him, after a short navigation, near the entrance of the Euxine, from whence, before the expiration of two days, he was gloriously recalled.

The first astonishment of his faithful people had been mute and passive: they suddenly rose with unanimous and irresistible fury. Theophilus escaped, but the promiscuous crowd of monks and Egyptian mariners was slaughtered without pity in the streets of Constantinople.⁵⁰ A seasonable earthquake justified the interposition of Heaven; the torrent of sedition rolled forward to the gates of the palace; and the empress, agitated by fear or remorse, threw herself at the feet of Arcadius, and confessed that the public safety could be purchased only by the restoration of Chrysostom. The Bosphorus was covered with innumerable

Popular tumults at Constantinople.

⁵⁰ Palladius owns (p. 30 [c. 8, p. 75] that if the people of Constantinople had found Theophilus, they would certainly have thrown him into the sea. Sociates mentions (l. vi. c. 17) a battle between the mob and the sailors of Alexandria, in which many wounds were given and some lives were lost. The massacre of the monks is observed only by the pagan Zosimus (l. v. [c. 28] p. 324), who acknowledges that Chrysostom had a singular talent to lead the illiterate multitude, ἦν γὰρ

vessels; the shores of Europe and Asia were profusely illuminated; and the acclamations of a victorious people accompanied, from the port to the cathedral, the triumph of the archbishop, who too easily consented to resume the exercise of his functions, before his sentence had been legally reversed by the authority of an ecclesiastical synod. Ignorant or careless of the impending danger, Chrysostom indulged his zeal, or perhaps his resentment; declaimed with peculiar asperity against *female* vices; and condemned the profane honors which were addressed, almost in the precincts of St. Sophia, to the statue of the empress. His imprudence tempted his enemies to inflame the haughty spirit of Eudoxia, by reporting, or perhaps inventing, the famous exordium of a sermon, "Herodias is again furious; Herodias again dances; she once more requires the head of John"—an insolent allusion, which, as a woman and a sovereign, it was impossible for her to forgive." The short interval of a perfidious truce was employed to concert more effectual measures for the disgrace and ruin of the archbishop. A numerous council of the Eastern prelates, who were guided from a distance by the advice of Theophilus, confirmed the validity, without examining the justice, of the former sentence; and a detachment of barbarian troops was introduced into the city to suppress the emotions of the people. On the vigil of Easter the solemn administration of baptism was rudely interrupted by the soldiers, who alarmed the modesty of the naked catechumens, and violated, by their presence, the awful mysteries of the Christian worship. Arsacius occupied the Church of St. Sophia and the archiepiscopal throne. The Catholics retreated to the baths of Constantine, and afterwards to the fields, where they were still pursued and insulted by the guards, the bishops, and the magistrates. The fatal day of the second and final exile of Chrysostom was marked by the conflagration of the cathedral, of the senate-house, and of the adjacent buildings; and this calamity was imputed,

⁸¹ See Socrates, l. vi. c. 18. Sozomen, l. viii. c. 20. Zosimus (l. v. [c. 24] p. 324, 327) mentions, in general terms, his invectives against Eudoxia. The homily which begins with those famous words is rejected as spurious. Montfaucon, tom. xiii. p. 151. Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. xi. p. 608.

without proof, but not without probability, to the despair of a persecuted faction.⁵³

Cicero might claim some merit if his voluntary banishment preserved the peace of the republic;⁵⁴ but the submission of Chrysostom was the indispensable duty of a Christian and a subject. Instead of listening to his humble prayer that he might be permitted to reside at

Exile of
Chrysostom.
A.D. 404.
June 20.

Cyzicus or Nicomedia, the inflexible empress assigned for his exile the remote and desolate town of Cucusus, among the ridges of Mount Taurus, in the Lesser Armenia. A secret hope was entertained that the archbishop might perish in a difficult and dangerous march of seventy days in the heat of summer, through the provinces of Asia Minor, where he was continually threatened by the hostile attacks of the Isaurians and the more implacable fury of the monks. Yet Chrysostom arrived in safety at the place of his confinement; and the three years which he spent at Cucusus and the neighboring town of Arabissus were the last and most glorious of his life. His character was consecrated by absence and persecution; the faults of his administration were no longer remembered; but every tongue repeated the praises of his genius and virtue; and the respectful attention of the Christian world was fixed on a desert spot among the mountains of Taurus. From that solitude the archbishop, whose active mind was invigorated by misfortunes, maintained a strict and frequent correspondence⁵⁵ with the most distant provinces; exhorted the separate congregation of his faithful adherents to persevere in their allegiance; urged the destruction of the temples of Phœnicia, and the extirpation of heresy in the isle of Cy-

⁵³ We might naturally expect such a charge from Zosimus (l. v. [c. 24] p. 327); but it is remarkable enough that it should be confirmed by Socrates, l. vi. c. 18, and the Paschal Chronicle, p. 307 [edit. Paris; tom. i. p. 568, edit. Bonn].

⁵⁴ He displays those specious motives (Post Reditum, c. 13, 14) in the language of an orator and a politician.

⁵⁵ Two hundred and forty-two of the epistles of Chrysostom are still extant (Opera, tom. iii. p. 528-736 [edit. Bened.]). They are addressed to a great variety of persons, and show a firmness of mind much superior to that of Cicero in his exile. The fourteenth epistle contains a curious narrative of the dangers of his journey.

prus; extended his pastoral care to the missions of Persia and Scythia; negotiated, by his ambassadors, with the Roman pontiff and the Emperor Honorius; and boldly appealed, from a partial synod, to the supreme tribunal of a free and general council. The mind of the illustrious exile was still independent; but his captive body was exposed to the revenge of the oppressors, who continued to abuse the name and authority of Arcadius.* An order was despatched for the instant removal of Chrysostom to the extreme desert of Pityus; and his guards so faithfully obeyed their cruel instructions that, before he

His death.
A.D. 407.
Sept. 14.

reached the sea-coast of the Euxine, he expired at Comana, in Pontus, in the sixtieth year of his age.

The succeeding generation acknowledged his innocence and merit. The archbishops of the East, who might blush that their predecessors had been the enemies of Chrysostom, were gradually disposed, by the firmness of the Roman pontiff, to restore the honors of that venerable name.** At

His relics
transported
to Constantinople.
A.D. 438.
Jan. 27.

the pious solicitation of the clergy and people of Constantinople, his relics, thirty years after his death, were transported from their obscure sepulchre to the royal city.** The Emperor Theodosius

advanced to receive them as far as Chalcedon; and, falling

* After the exile of Chrysostom, Theophilus published an *enormous* and *horrible* volume against him, in which he perpetually repeats the polite expressions of "hostem humanitatis, sacrilegorum principem, immundum dæmonem." He affirms that John Chrysostom had delivered his soul to be adulterated by the devil; and wishes that some further punishment, adequate (if possible) to the magnitude of his crimes, may be inflicted on him. St. Jerome, at the request of his friend Theophilus, translated this edifying performance from Greek into Latin. See Facundus Hermian. Defens. pro iii. Capitul. l. vi. c. 5 [p. 260, edit. Paris, 1629], published by Sirmond, Opera, tom. ii. p. 595, 596, 597.

** His name was inserted by his successor Atticus in the dyptics of the Church of Constantinople, A.D. 418. Ten years afterwards he was revered as a saint. Cyril, who inherited the place and the passions of his uncle Theophilus, yielded with much reluctance. See Facund. Hermian. l. iv. c. 1 [p. 142, edit. Par. 1629]; Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. xiv. p. 277-283.

** Socrates, l. vii. c. 45; Theoderet, l. v. c. 36. This event reconciled the Joannites, who had hitherto refused to acknowledge his successors. During his lifetime the Joannites were respected by the Catholics as the true and orthodox communion of Constantinople. Their obstinacy gradually drove them to the brink of schism.

prostrate on the coffin, implored, in the name of his guilty parents, Arcadius and Eudoxia, the forgiveness of the injured saint.⁵⁵

Yet a reasonable doubt may be entertained whether any stain of hereditary guilt could be derived from Arcadius to his successor. Endoxia was a young and beautiful woman, who indulged her passions and despised her husband: Count John enjoyed, at least, the familiar confidence of the empress; and the public named him as the real father of Theodosius the younger.⁵⁶ The birth of a son was accepted, however, by the pious husband as an event the most fortunate and honorable to himself, to his family, and to the Eastern world; and the royal infant, by an unprecedented favor, was invested with the titles of Cæsar and Augustus. In less than four years afterwards, Eudoxia, in the bloom of youth, was destroyed by the consequences of a miscarriage; and this untimely death confounded the prophecy of a holy bishop,⁵⁷ who, amidst the universal joy, had ventured to foretell that she should behold the long and auspicious reign of her glorious son. The Catholics applauded the justice of Heaven, which avenged the persecution of St. Chrysostom; and perhaps the emperor was the only person who sincerely bewailed the loss of the haughty and rapacious Eudoxia. Such a domestic misfortune afflicted *him* more deeply than the public calamities of the East⁵⁸ — the licentious excursions, from Pontus to Palestine, of the Isaurian robbers, whose impu-

⁵⁵ According to some accounts (Baronius, *Annal. Eccles.* A. D. 438, No. 9, 10), the emperor was forced to send a letter of invitation and excuses before the body of the ceremonious saint could be moved from Comana.

⁵⁶ Zosimus, l. v. [c. 18] p. 815. The chastity of an empress should not be impeached without producing a witness; but it is astonishing that the witness should write and live under a prince whose legitimacy he dared to attack. We must suppose that his history was a party libel, privately read and circulated by the pagans. Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 782) is not averse to brand the reputation of Eudoxia.

⁵⁷ Porphyry of Gaza. His zeal was transported by the order which he had obtained for the destruction of eight pagan temples of that city. See the curious details of his life (Baronius, A. D. 401, No. 17–51), originally written in Greek, or perhaps in Syriac, by a monk, one of his favorite deacons.

⁵⁸ Philostorg. l. xi. c. 8, and Godefroy, *Dissertat.* p. 457.

nity accused the weakness of the government; and the earthquakes, the conflagrations, the famine, and the flights of locusts," which the popular discontent was equally disposed to attribute to the incapacity of the monarch. At length, in the thirty-first year of his age, after a reign (if we may abuse that word) of thirteen years, three months, and fifteen days, Arcadius expired in the palace of Constantinople. It is impossible to delineate his character; since, in a period very copiously furnished with historical materials, it has not been possible to remark one action that properly belongs to the son of the great Theodosius.

The historian Procopius²² has indeed illuminated the mind of the dying emperor with a ray of human prudence or celestial wisdom. Arcadius considered with anxious fore-
His supposed testament. sight the helpless condition of his son Theodosius, who was no more than seven years of age, the dangerous factions of a minority, and the aspiring spirit of Jezdegerd, the Persian monarch. Instead of tempting the allegiance of an ambitious subject by the participation of supreme power, he boldly appealed to the magnanimity of a king, and placed, by a solemn testament, the sceptre of the East in the hands of Jezdegerd himself. The royal guardian accepted and discharged this honorable trust with unexampled fidelity; and the infancy of Theodosius was protected by the arms and councils of Persia. Such is the singular narrative of Procopius; and his veracity is not disputed by Agathias,²³ while he pre-

²² Jerome (tom. vi. p. 73, 76) describes in lively colors the regular and destructive march of the locusts, which spread a dark cloud between heaven and earth over the land of Palestine. Seasonable winds scattered them, partly into the Dead Sea and partly into the Mediterranean.

²³ Procopius, de Bell. Persic. l. i. c. 2, p. 8, edit. Louvre [tom i p. 14, edit. Bonn].

²⁴ Agathias, l. iv. [c. 26] p. 136, 137 [p. 264, edit. Bonn]. Although he confesses the prevalence of the tradition, he asserts that Procopius was the first who had committed it to writing. Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 597) argues very sensibly on the merits of this fable. His criticism was not warped by any ecclesiastical authority: both Procopius and Agathias are half pagans.*

* See St. Martin's article on Jezdegerd, in the Biographie Universelle de Michaud.—M.

sumes to dissent from his judgment, and to arraign the wisdom of a Christian emperor who so rashly, though so fortunately, committed his son and his dominions to the unknown faith of a stranger, a rival, and a heathen. At the distance of one hundred and fifty years, this political question might be debated in the court of Justinian; but a prudent historian will refuse to examine the *propriety*, till he has ascertained the *truth*, of the testament of Arcadius. As it stands without a parallel in the history of the world, we may justly require that it should be attested by the positive and unanimous evidence of contemporaries. The strange novelty of the event, which excites our distrust, must have attracted their notice; and their universal silence annihilates the vain tradition of the succeeding age.

The maxims of Roman jurisprudence, if they could fairly be transferred from private property to public dominion, would have adjudged to the Emperor Honorius the guardianship of his nephew, till he had attained at least the fourteenth year of his age. But the weakness of Honorius, and the calamities of his reign, disqualified him from prosecuting this natural claim; and such was the absolute separation of the two monarchies, both in interest and affection, that Constantinople would have obeyed with less reluctance the orders of the Persian than those of the Italian court. Under a prince whose weakness is disguised by the external signs of manhood and discretion, the most worthless favorites may secretly dispute the empire of the palace, and dictate to submissive provinces the commands of a master whom they direct and despise. But the ministers of a child, who is incapable of arming them with the sanction of the royal name, must acquire and exercise an independent authority. The great officers of the State and army, who had been appointed before the death of Arcadius, formed an aristocracy, which might have inspired them with the idea of a free republic; and the government of the Eastern empire was fortunately assumed by the præfect Anthemius,* who obtained, by his su-

Administra-
tion of An-
themius.
A.D. 408-415.

* Socrates, l. vii. c. 1. Anthemius was the grandson of Philip, one of the min-

perior abilities, a lasting ascendant over the minds of his equals. The safety of the young emperor proved the merit and integrity of Anthemius; and his prudent firmness sustained the force and reputation of an infant reign. Uldin, with a formidable host of barbarians, was encamped in the heart of Thrace. He proudly rejected all terms of accommodation; and, pointing to the rising sun, declared to the Roman ambassadors that the course of that planet should alone terminate the conquests of the Huns. But the desertion of his confederates, who were privately convinced of the justice and liberality of the imperial ministers, obliged Uldin to repossess the Danube. The tribe of the Scyrri, which composed his rear-guard, was almost extirpated; and many thousand captives were dispersed, to cultivate, with servile labor, the fields of Asia.⁶⁶ In the midst of the public triumph, Constantinople was protected by a strong enclosure of new and more extensive walls; the same vigilant care was applied to restore the fortifications of the Illyrian cities; and a plan was judiciously conceived which, in the space of seven years, would have secured the command of the Danube, by establishing on that river a perpetual fleet of two hundred and fifty armed vessels.⁶⁷

But the Romans had so long been accustomed to the authority of a monarch that the first, even among the females of the imperial family, who displayed any courage or capacity was permitted to ascend the vacant throne of Theodosius. His sister Pulcheria,⁶⁸

Character
and adminis-
tration of
Pulcheria.
A.D. 414-453.

isters of Constantius, and the grandfather of the Emperor Anthemius. After his return from the Persian embassy, he was appointed consul and Prætorian Præfect of the East, in the year 405; and held the præfecture about ten years. See his honors and praises in Godefroy, *Cod. Theod.* tom. vi. p. 350; Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* tom. vi. p. 1, etc.

⁶⁶ Sozomen, l. ix. c. 5. He saw some Scyrri at work near Mount Olympus, in Bithynia, and cherished the vain hope that those captives were the last of the nation.

⁶⁷ *Cod. Theod.* l. vii. tit. xvii; l. xv. tit. i. leg. 49.

⁶⁸ Sozomen has filled three chapters with a magnificent panegyric of Pulcheria (l. ix. c. 1, 2, 3); and Tillemont (*Mémoires Ecclés.* tom. xv. p. 171-184) has dedicated a separate article to the honor of St. Pulcheria, virgin and empress *

* The heathen Eunapius gives a flightful picture of the venality and injustice of the Court of Pulcheria. *Fragm. Eunap.* in Mai, ii. 298, in Niebuhr, 97.—M.

who was only two years older than himself, received at the age of sixteen the title of *Augusta*; and, though her favor might be sometimes clouded by caprice or intrigue, she continued to govern the Eastern empire near forty years—during the long minority of her brother, and, after his death, in her own name, and in the name of Marcian, her nominal husband. From a motive either of prudence or religion, she embraced a life of celibacy; and, notwithstanding some aspersions on the chastity of Pulcheria,⁶⁶ this resolution, which she communicated to her sisters Arcadia and Marina, was celebrated by the Christian world as the sublime effort of heroic piety. In the presence of the clergy and people, the three daughters of Arcadius⁶⁷ dedicated their virginity to God; and the obligation of their solemn vow was inscribed on a tablet of gold and gems, which they publicly offered in the great church of Constantinople. Their palace was converted into a monastery, and all males—except the guides of their conscience, the saints who had forgotten the distinction of sexes—were scrupulously excluded from the holy threshold. Pulcheria, her two sisters, and a chosen train of favorite damsels, formed a religious community: they renounced the vanity of dress, interrupted by frequent fasts their simple and frugal diet, allotted a portion of their time to works of embroidery, and devoted several hours of the day and night to the exercises of prayer and psalmody. The piety of a Christian virgin was adorned by the zeal and liberality of an empress. Ecclesiastical history describes the splendid churches which were built at the expense of Pulcheria in all the provinces of the East, her charitable foundations for the benefit of strangers and the poor, the ample donations which she assigned for the perpetual mainte-

⁶⁶ Suidas (Excerpta, p. 68, in Script. Byzant.) pretends, on the credit of the Nestorians, that Pulcheria was exasperated against their founder because he censured her connection with the beautiful Paulinus, and her incest with her brother Theodosius.

⁶⁷ See Ducange, Famil. Byzantin. p. 70 *. Flaccilla, the eldest daughter, either died before Arcadius, or, if *she* lived till the year 481 (Marcellin Chion.), some defect of mind or body must have excluded her from the honors of her rank.

* For a list of the children of Arcadius, see genealogical table, p. 161.—S.

nance of monastic societies, and the active severity with which she labored to suppress the opposite heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches. Such virtues were supposed to deserve the peculiar favor of the Deity; and the relics of martyrs, as well as the knowledge of future events, were communicated in visions and revelations to the imperial saint.⁷¹ Yet the devotion of Pulcheria never diverted her indefatigable attention from temporal affairs; and she alone, among all the descendants of the great Theodosius, appears to have inherited any share of his manly spirit and abilities. The elegant and familiar use which she had acquired both of the Greek and Latin languages was readily applied to the various occasions of speaking or writing on public business; her deliberations were maturely weighed; her actions were prompt and decisive; and while she moved without noise or ostentation the wheel of government, she discreetly attributed to the genius of the emperor the long tranquillity of his reign. In the last years of his peaceful life Europe was indeed afflicted by the arms of Attila; but the more extensive provinces of Asia still continued to enjoy a profound and permanent repose. Theodosius the younger was never reduced to the disgraceful necessity of encountering and punishing a rebellious subject; and since we cannot applaud the vigor, some praise may be due to the mildness and prosperity, of the administration of Pulcheria.

The Roman world was deeply interested in the education of its master. A regular course of study and exercise was judiciously instituted—of the military exercises of riding, and shooting with the bow; of the liberal studies of grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy. The most skilful masters of the East ambitiously solici-

Education
and character
of Theodo-
sius the
younger.

⁷¹ She was admonished, by repeated dreams, of the place where the relics of the forty martyrs had been buried. The ground had successively belonged to the house and garden of a woman of Constantinople, to a monastery of Macedonian monks, and to a church of St. Thyrsus, erected by Casarius, who was consul A.D. 897; and the memory of the relics was almost obliterated. Notwithstanding the charitable wishes of Dr. Jortin (*Remarks*, tom. iv. p. 234), it is not easy to acquit Pulcheria of some share in the pious fraud, which must have been transacted when she was more than five-and-thirty years of age.

ited the attention of their royal pupil, and several noble youth were introduced into the palace to animate his diligence by the emulation of friendship. Pulcheria alone discharged the important task of instructing her brother in the arts of government; but her precepts may countenance some suspicion of the extent of her capacity or of the purity of her intentions. She taught him to maintain a grave and majestic deportment; to walk, to hold his robes, to seat himself on his throne in a manner worthy of a great prince; to abstain from laughter, to listen with condescension, to return suitable answers; to assume by turns a serious or a placid countenance in a word, to represent with grace and dignity the external figure of a Roman emperor. But Theodosius⁷³ was never excited to support the weight and glory of an illustrious name and, instead of aspiring to imitate his ancestors, he degenerated (if we may presume to measure the degrees of incapacity below the weakness of his father and his uncle. Arcadius and Honorius had been assisted by the guardian care of a parent whose lessons were enforced by his authority and example. But the unfortunate prince who is born in the purple must remain a stranger to the voice of truth; and the son of Arcadius was condemned to pass his perpetual infancy encompassed only by a servile train of women and eunuchs. The ample leisure which he acquired by neglecting the essential duties of his high office was filled by idle amusements and unprofitable studies. Hunting was the only active pursuit that could tempt him beyond the limits of the palace; but he most assiduously labored, sometimes by the light of a midnight lamp, in the mechanic occupations of painting and carving

⁷³ There is a remarkable difference between the two ecclesiastical historians who in general bear so close a resemblance. Sozomen (l. ix. c. 1) ascribes to Pulcheria the government of the empire and the education of her brother, whom he scarcely condescends to praise. Socrates, though he affectedly disclaims all hopes of favor or fame, composes an elaborate panegyric on the emperor, and cautiously suppresses the merits of his sister (l. vii. c. 22, 42). Philostorgius (l. xii. c. 7) expresses the influence of Pulcheria in gentle and courtly language, *τὰς βασιλικὰς σημειώσεις ὑπερουμένη καὶ διεθύνουσα*. Suidas (Excerpt. p. 58) gives the true character of Theodosius; and I have followed the example of Tillemont

and the elegance with which he transcribed religious books entitled the Roman emperor to the singular epithet of *Calligraphes*, or a fair writer. Separated from the world by an impenetrable veil, Theodosius trusted the persons whom he loved; he loved those who were accustomed to amuse and flatter his indolence; and as he never perused the papers that were presented for the royal signature, the acts of injustice the most repugnant to his character were frequently perpetrated in his name. The emperor himself was chaste, temperate, liberal, and merciful; but these qualities—which can only deserve the name of virtues when they are supported by courage and regulated by discretion—were seldom beneficial, and they sometimes proved mischievous, to mankind. His mind, enervated by a royal education, was oppressed and degraded by abject superstition: he fasted, he sang psalms, he blindly accepted the miracles and doctrines with which his faith was continually nourished. Theodosius devoutly worshipped the dead and living saints of the Catholic Church; and he once refused to eat till an insolent monk, who had cast an excommunication on his sovereign, condescended to heal the spiritual wound which he had inflicted.”

The story of a fair and virtuous maiden, exalted from a private condition to the imperial throne, might be deemed an incredible romance, if such a romance had not been verified in the marriage of Theodosius. The celebrated Athenais⁷⁴ was educated by her father Leontius in the religion and sciences of the Greeks;

Character
and adventures
of the
Empress
Eudocia.
A.D. 421-460.

⁷³ Theodoret, l. v. c. 37. The Bishop of Cyrrhus, one of the first men of his age for his learning and piety, applauds the obedience of Theodosius to the divine laws.

⁷⁴ Socrates (l. vii. c. 21) mentions her name (Athenais, the daughter of Leontius, an Athenian sophist), her baptism, marriage, and poetical genius. The most ancient account of her history is in John Malala (part ii. p. 20, 21, edit. Venet. 1733 [p. 354, 355, edit. Bonn]) and in the Paschal Chronicle (p. 311, 312 [edit. Paris; tom. i. p. 576, 577, edit. Bonn]). Those authors had probably seen original pictures of the Empress Eudocia. The modern Greeks, Zonaras, Cedrenus, etc., have displayed the love, rather than the talent, of fiction. From Nicephorus, indeed, I have ventured to assume her age. The writer of a romance would not have imagined that Athenais was near twenty-eight years old when she inflamed the heart of a young emperor.

and so advantageous was the opinion which the Athenian philosopher entertained of his contemporaries that he divided his patrimony between his two sons, bequeathing to his daughter a small legacy of one hundred pieces of gold, in the lively confidence that her beauty and merit would be a sufficient portion. The jealousy and avarice of her brothers soon compelled Athenais to seek a refuge at Constantinople, and, with some hopes either of justice or favor, to throw herself at the feet of Pulcheria. That sagacious princess listened to her eloquent complaint, and secretly destined the daughter of the philosopher Leontius for the future wife of the Emperor of the East, who had now attained the twentieth year of his age. She easily excited the curiosity of her brother by an interesting picture of the charms of Athenais—large eyes, a well-proportioned nose, a fair complexion, golden locks, a slender person, a graceful demeanor, an understanding improved by study, and a virtue tried by distress. Theodosius, concealed behind a curtain in the apartment of his sister, was permitted to behold the Athenian virgin: the modest youth immediately declared his pure and honorable love, and the royal nuptials were celebrated amidst the acclamations of the capital and the provinces. Athenais, who was easily persuaded to renounce the errors of paganism, received at her baptism the Christian-name of Eudocia; but the cautious Pulcheria withheld the title of Augusta till the wife of Theodosius had approved her fruitfulness by the birth of a daughter, who espoused fifteen years afterwards the Emperor of the West. The brothers of Eudocia obeyed, with some anxiety, her imperial summons; but as she could easily forgive their fortunate unkindness, she indulged the tenderness, or perhaps the vanity, of a sister by promoting them to the rank of consuls and præfects. In the luxury of the palace she still cultivated those ingenuous arts which had contributed to her greatness, and wisely dedicated her talents to the honor of religion and of her husband. Eudocia composed a poetical paraphrase of the first eight books of the Old Testament and of the prophecies of Daniel and Zechariah; a cento of the verses of Homer, applied to the life and miracles of Christ; the legend of St. Cyprian; and a panegyric on the

encouraged the secret rumor that his guilt was that of a successful lover." As soon as the empress perceived that the affection of Theodosius was irretrievably lost, she requested the permission of retiring to the distant solitude of Jerusalem. She obtained her request, but the jealousy of Theodosius, or the vindictive spirit of Pulcheria, pursued her in her last retreat; and Saturninus, count of the domestics, was directed to punish with death two ecclesiastics, her most favored servants. Eudocia instantly revenged them by the assassination of the count: the furious passions which she indulged on this suspicious occasion seemed to justify the severity of Theodosius; and the empress, ignominiously stripped of the honors of her rank,⁷⁷ was disgraced, perhaps unjustly, in the eyes of the world. The remainder of the life of Eudocia, about sixteen years, was spent in exile and devotion; and the approach of age, the death of Theodosius, the misfortunes of her only daughter, who was led a captive from Rome to Carthage, and the society of the Holy Monks of Palestine, insensibly confirmed the religious temper of her mind. After a full experience of the vicissitudes of human life, the daughter of the philosopher Leontius expired at Jerusalem, in the sixty-seventh year of her age, protesting with her dying breath that she had never transgressed the bounds of innocence and friendship."

The gentle mind of Theodosius was never inflamed by the ambition of conquest or military renown; and the slight alarm

⁷⁷ In this short view of the disgrace of Eudocia, I have imitated the caution of Evagrius (l. i. c. 21) and Count Marcellinus (in Chron. A.D. 440 and 444 [p. 26]). The two authentic dates assigned by the latter overturn a great part of the Greek fictions; and the celebrated story of the *apple*, etc., is fit only for the Arabian Nights, where something not very unlike it may be found.

⁷⁸ Priscus (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 69 [edit. Paris; p. 208, edit. Bonn]), a contemporary and a courtier, dryly mentions her pagan and Christian names without adding any title of honor or respect.

⁷⁹ For the *two* pilgrimages of Eudocia, and her long residence at Jerusalem, her devotion, alms, etc., see Socrates (l. vii. c. 47) and Evagrius (l. i. c. 20, 21, 22). The Paschal Chronicle may sometimes deserve regard; and, in the domestic history of Antioch, John Malala becomes a writer of good authority. The Abbé Guénéé, in a memoir on the fertility of Palestine, of which I have only seen an extract, calculates the gifts of Eudocia at 20,488 pounds of gold, above 800,000 pounds sterling.

of a Persian war scarcely interrupted the tranquillity of the East. The motives of this war were just and honorable. In the last year of the reign of Jezdegerd, the supposed guardian of Theodosius, a bishop who aspired to the crown of martyrdom destroyed one of the fire-temples of Susa.* His zeal and obstinacy were revenged on his brethren. The Magi excited a cruel persecution; and the intolerant zeal of Jezdegerd was imitated by his son Varanes, or Bahram, who soon afterwards ascended the throne.* Some Christian fugitives who escaped to the Roman frontier were sternly demanded and generously refused; and the refusal, aggravated by commercial disputes, soon kindled a war between the rival monarchies. The mountains of Armenia and the plains of Mesopotamia were filled with hostile armies; but the operations of two successive campaigns were not productive of any decisive or memorable events. Some engagements were fought, some towns were besieged, with various and doubtful success; and if the Romans failed in their attempt to recover the long-lost possession of Nisibis, the Persians were repulsed from the walls of a Mesopotamian city by the valor of a martial bishop, who pointed his thundering engine in the name of St. Thomas the Apostle. Yet the splendid victories which the incredible speed of the messenger Palladius repeatedly announced to the palace of Constantinople were celebrated with festivals and panegyrics. From these panegyrics the historians¹¹ of the age might borrow their extraordinary, and perhaps fabulous, tales of the proud challenge of a Persian hero, who was entangled by the net, and despatched

¹⁰ Theodoret, l. v. c. 39. Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclé.* tom. xii. p. 356-364. Assemani, *Bibliot. Oriental.* tom. iii. p. 396, tom. iv. p. 61. Theodoret blames the rashness of Abdas, but extols the constancy of his martyrdom. Yet I do not clearly understand the casuistry which prohibits our repairing the damage which we have unlawfully committed.

¹¹ Socrates (l. vii. c. 18, 19, 20, 21) is the best author for the Persian war. We may likewise consult the three Chronicles, the Paschal and those of Marcellinus and Malala.

* The accession of Varanes and the commencement of the Persian war took place in 420. The peace was concluded in 422. See Clinton, *Fast. Rom.* vol. i. p. 596, 600.—S.

by the sword, of Areobindus the Goth; of the ten thousand *Immortals* who were slain in the attack of the Roman camp; and of the hundred thousand Arabs, or Saracens, who were impelled by a panic terror to throw themselves headlong into the Euphrates. Such events may be disbelieved or disregarded; but the charity of a bishop—Acacius of Amida—whose name might have dignified the saintly character, shall not be lost in oblivion. Boldly declaring that vases of gold and silver are useless to a God who neither eats nor drinks, the generous prelate sold the plate of the Church of Amida, employed the price in the redemption of seven thousand Persian captives, supplied their wants with affectionate liberality, and dismissed them to their native country to inform their king of the true spirit of the religion which he persecuted. The practice of benevolence in the midst of war must always tend to assuage the animosity of contending nations; and I wish to persuade myself that Acacius contributed to the restoration of peace. In the conference which was held on the limits of the two empires, the Roman ambassadors degraded the personal character of their sovereign by a vain attempt to magnify the extent of his power, when they seriously advised the Persians to prevent, by a timely accommodation, the wrath of a monarch who was yet ignorant of this distant war. A truce of one hundred years was solemnly ratified; and although the revolutions of Armenia might threaten the public tranquillity, the essential conditions of this treaty were respected near four-score years by the successors of Constantine and Artaxerxes.

Since the Roman and Parthian standards first encountered on the banks of the Euphrates, the kingdom of Armenia²² was alternately oppressed by its formidable protectors; and, in the course of this History, several events which inclined the bal-

²² This account of the ruin and division of the kingdom of Armenia is taken from the third book of the Armenian History of Moses of Chorene. Deficient as he is in every qualification of a good historian, his local information, his passions, and his prejudices are strongly expressive of a native and contemporary. Procopius (*de Edificiis*, l. iii. c. 1-5) relates the same facts in a very different manner; but I have extracted the circumstances the most probable in themselves and the least inconsistent with Moses of Chorene.

ance of peace and war have been already related. A disgraceful treaty had resigned Armenia to the ambition of Sapor, and the scale of Persia appeared to preponderate. But the royal race of Arsaces impatiently submitted to the House of Sassan; the turbulent nobles asserted, or betrayed, their hereditary independence; and the nation was still attached to the *Christian* princes of Constantinople. In the beginning of the fifth century Armenia was divided by the progress of war and faction,* and the unnatural division precipitated the downfall of that ancient monarchy. Chosroes, the Persian vassal, reigned over the eastern and most extensive portion of the country, while the western province acknowledged the jurisdiction of Arsaces and the supremacy of the Emperor Arcadius.† After the death of Arsaces, the Romans suppressed the regal government, and imposed on their allies the condition of subjects. The military command was delegated to the count of the Armenian frontier. The city of Theodosiopolis‡ was built and fortified in a strong situation, on a fertile and lofty ground, near the sources of the Euphrates; and the dependent territories were ruled by five satraps, whose dignity was marked by a peculiar habit of gold and purple. The less fortunate nobles, who lamented the loss of their king and envied the honors of their equals, were provoked to negotiate their peace

* The Western Armenians used the Greek language and characters in their religious offices; but the use of that hostile tongue was prohibited by the Persians in the Eastern provinces, which were obliged to use the Syriac till the invention of the Armenian letters by Mesrobes in the beginning of the fifth century, and the subsequent version of the Bible into the Armenian language—an event which relaxed the connection of the Church and nation with Constantinople.

† Moses Choren. l. iii. c. 59, p. 309 and 358 [edit. Whiston, Lond. 1736]. Procopius de *Ædificiis*, l. iii. c. 5. Theodosiopolis stands, or rather stood, about thirty-five miles to the east of Erzeroum, the modern capital of Turkish Armenia. See D'Anville, *Géographie Ancienne*, tom. ii. p. 98, 100.

‡ The division of Armenia, according to M. St. Martin, took place much earlier, A.D. 390. The Eastern, or Persian, division was four times as large as the Western, or Roman. This partition took place during the reigns of Theodosius I. and Varanes (Bahram) IV. St. Martin, *Notes to Le Beau*, iv. 429. This partition was but imperfectly accomplished, as both parts were afterwards reunited under Chosroes, who paid tribute both to the Roman emperor and to the Persian king, v. 433.—M.

and pardon at the Persian court; and, returning with their followers to the palace of Artaxata, acknowledged Chosroes^a for their lawful sovereign. About thirty years afterwards, Artasires, the nephew and successor of Chosroes, fell under the displeasure of the haughty and capricious nobles of Armenia; and they unanimously desired a Persian governor in the room of an unworthy king. The answer of the archbishop Isaac, whose sanction they earnestly solicited, is expressive of the character of a superstitious people. He deplored the manifest and inexcusable vices of Artasires; and declared that he should not hesitate to accuse him before the tribunal of a Christian emperor who would punish, without destroying, the sinner. "Our king," continued Isaac, "is too much addicted to licentious pleasures, but he has been purified in the holy waters of baptism. He is a lover of women, but he does not adore the fire or the elements. He may deserve the reproach of lewdness, but he is an undoubted Catholic; and his faith is pure, though his manners are flagitious. I will never consent to abandon my sheep to the rage of devouring wolves; and you would soon repent your rash exchange of the infirmities of a believer for the specious virtues of a heathen."^{ss} Exasperated by the firmness of Isaac, the factious nobles accused both the king and the archbishop as the secret adherents of the emperor; and absurdly rejoiced in the sentence

^{ss} Moses Choren. l. iii. c. 63, p. 316. According to the institution of St. Gregory, the Apostle of Armenia, the archbishop was always of the royal family—a circumstance which in some degree corrected the influence of the sacerdotal character, and united the mitre with the crown.

^a Chosroes, according to Procopius [*de Ædific.* l. iii. c. 1] (who calls him Arsaces, the common name of the Armenian kings) and the Armenian writers, bequeathed to his two sons, to Tigranes the Persian, to Arsaces the Roman, division of Armenia, A.D. 416. With the assistance of the discontented nobles, the Persian king placed his son Sapor on the throne of the Eastern division; the Western at the same time was united to the Roman empire and called the Greater Armenia. It was then that Theodosiopolis was built. Sapor abandoned the throne of Armenia to assert his rights to that of Persia. He perished in the struggle; and, after a period of anarchy, Bahram V., who had ascended the throne of Persia, placed the last native prince—Ardaschir, son of Bahram Schahpour—on the throne of the Persian division of Armenia. St. Martin, v. 506. This Ardaschir was the Artasires of Gibbon. The archbishop Isaac is called by the Armenians the patriarch Sahag. St. Martin, vi. 29.—M.

of condemnation, which, after a partial hearing, was solemnly pronounced by Bahram himself. The descendants of Arsaces were degraded from the royal dignity," which they had possessed above five hundred and sixty years;" and the dominions of the unfortunate Artasires, under the new and significant appellation of Persarmenia, were reduced into the form of a province. This usurpation excited the jealousy of the Roman government; but the rising disputes were soon terminated by an amicable, though unequal, partition of the ancient kingdom of Armenia; and a territorial acquisition, which Augustus might have despised, reflected some lustre on the declining empire of the younger Theodosius.

⁶⁶ A branch of the royal house of Arsaces still subsisted with the rank and possessions (as it should seem) of Armenian satraps. See Moses Choren. l. iii. c. 65, p. 321.

⁶⁷ Valarsaces was appointed king of Armenia by his brother, the Parthian monarch, immediately after the defeat of Antiochus Sidetes (Moses Choren. l. ii. c. 2, p. 85), one hundred and thirty years before Christ. Without depending on the various and contradictory periods of the reigns of the last kings, we may be assured that the ruin of the Armenian kingdom happened after the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 431 (l. iii. c. 61, p. 312), and under Varanes, or Bahram, King of Persia (l. iii. c. 64, p. 317), who reigned from A.D. 420 to 440. See Assemani, *Bibliot. Oriental.* tom. iii. p. 396.*

* According to St. Martin, the duration of the Armenian kingdom was about 580 years, from B.C. 149 to A.D. 428. See St. Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, vol. i. p. 410 seq.; Notes to Le Beau, vol. vi. p. 32.—S.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Death of Honorius.—Valentinian III. Emperor of the West.—Administration of his Mother Placidia.—Aëtius and Boniface.—Conquest of Africa by the Vandals.

Last years
and death of
Honorius.
A.D. 423.
August 27.

DURING a long and disgraceful reign of twenty-eight years, Honorius, Emperor of the West, was separated from the friendship of his brother, and afterwards of his nephew, who reigned over the East; and Constantinople beheld, with apparent indifference and secret joy, the calamities of Rome. The strange adventures of Placidia¹ gradually renewed and cemented the alliance of the two empires. The daughter of the great Theodosius had been the captive and the queen of the Goths; she lost an affectionate husband; she was dragged in chains by his insulting assassin; she tasted the pleasure of revenge, and was exchanged, in the treaty of peace, for six hundred thousand measures of wheat. After her return from Spain to Italy, Placidia experienced a new persecution in the bosom of her family. She was averse to a marriage which had been stipulated without her consent; and the brave Constantius, as a noble reward for the tyrants whom he had vanquished, received, from the hand of Honorius himself, the struggling and reluctant hand of the widow of Adolphus. But her resistance ended with the ceremony of the nuptials; nor did Placidia refuse to become the mother of Honoria and Valentinian the Third, or to assume and exercise an absolute dominion over the mind of her grateful husband. The generous soldier, whose time had hitherto been divided between social pleasure and military service, was taught new lessons of avarice and ambition. He extorted the title of Augustus; and the servant of Honorius was associated

¹ See p. 419 seq.

to the empire of the West. The death of Constantius in the seventh month of his reign,* instead of diminishing, seemed to increase, the power of Placidia; and the indecent familiarity* of her brother, which might be no more than the symptoms of a childish affection, were universally attributed to incestuous love. On a sudden, by some base intrigues of a steward and a nurse, this excessive fondness was converted into an irreconcilable quarrel; the debates of the emperor and his sister were not long confined within the walls of the palace; and as the Gothic soldiers adhered to their queen, the city of Ravenna was agitated with bloody and dangerous tumults, which could only be appeased by the forced or voluntary retreat of Placidia and her children. The royal exiles landed at Constantinople, soon after the marriage of Theodosius, during the festival of the Persian victories. They were treated with kindness and magnificence; but as the statues of the Emperor Constantius had been rejected by the Eastern court, the title of Augusta could not decently be allowed to his widow. Within a few months after the arrival of Placidia, a swift messenger announced the death of Honorius, the consequence of a dropsy; but the important secret was not divulged till the necessary orders had been despatched for the march of a large body of troops to the sea-coast of Dalmatia. The shops and the gates of Constantinople remained shut during seven days; and the loss of a foreign prince, who could neither be esteemed nor regretted, was celebrated with loud and affected demonstrations of the public grief.

While the ministers of Constantinople deliberated, the vacant throne of Honorius was usurped by the ambition of a

* Τὰ συνεχῇ κατὰ σόμα φιλήματα is the expression of Olympiodorus (apud Photium, p. 196 [p. 62 b, edit. Bekk.]), who means, perhaps, to describe the same caresses which Mahomet bestowed on his daughter Phatemah. “Quando” (says the prophet himself)—“quando subit mihi desiderium Paradisi, osculor eam, et ingero linguam meam in os ejus.” But this sensual indulgence was justified by miracle and mystery; and the anecdote has been communicated to the public by the Reverend Father Maracci, in his Version and Confutation of the Koran, tom. i. p. 82.

* Constantius married Placidia in A.D. 417, and died in 421.—S.

stranger. The name of the rebel was John ; he filled the confidential office of *Primicerius*, or principal secretary ; and history has attributed to his character more virtues than can easily be reconciled with the violation of the most sacred duty. Elated by the submission of Italy and the hope of an alliance with the Huns, John presumed to insult by an embassy the majesty of the Eastern emperor ; but when he understood that his agents had been banished, imprisoned, and at length chased away with deserved ignominy, John prepared to assert by arms the injustice of his claims. In such a cause the grandson of the great Theodosius should have marched in person ; but the young emperor was easily diverted by his physicians from so rash and hazardous a design ; and the conduct of the Italian expedition was prudently intrusted to Ardaburius and his son Aspar, who had already signalized their valor against the Persians. It was resolved that Ardaburius should embark with the infantry, whilst Aspar, at the head of the cavalry, conducted Placidia and her son Valentinian along the sea-coast of the Adriatic. The march of the cavalry was performed with such active diligence that they surprised without resistance the important city of Aquileia ; when the hopes of Aspar were unexpectedly confounded by the intelligence that a storm had dispersed the imperial fleet, and that his father, with only two galleys, was taken and carried a prisoner into the port of Ravenna. Yet this incident, unfortunate as it might seem, facilitated the conquest of Italy. Ardaburius employed, or abused, the courteous freedom which he was permitted to enjoy, to revive among the troops a sense of loyalty and gratitude ; and, as soon as the conspiracy was ripe for execution, he invited by private messages, and pressed, the approach of Aspar. A shepherd, whom the popular credulity transformed into an angel, guided the Eastern cavalry by a secret, and, it was thought, an impassable, road through the morasses of the Po. The gates of Ravenna, after a short struggle, were thrown open ; and the defenceless tyrant was delivered to the mercy, or rather to the cruelty, of the conquerors. His right hand was first cut off, and, after he had been exposed, mounted on an ass, to the

Elevation and
fall of the
usurper John.
A.D. 423-425.

public derision, John was beheaded in the circus of Aquileia. The Emperor Theodosius, when he received the news of the victory, interrupted the horse-races, and, singing, as he marched through the streets, a suitable psalm, conducted his people from the Hippodrome to the church, where he spent the remainder of the day in grateful devotion.*

In a monarchy which, according to various precedents, might be considered as elective or hereditary or patrimonial, it was impossible that the intricate claims of female and collateral succession should be clearly defined;† and Theodosius, by the right of consanguinity or conquest, might have reigned the sole legitimate emperor of the Romans. For a moment, perhaps, his eyes were dazzled by the prospect of unbounded sway; but his indolent temper gradually acquiesced in the dictates of sound policy. He contented himself with the possession of the East, and wisely relinquished the laborious task of waging a distant and doubtful war against the barbarians beyond the Alps, or of securing the obedience of the Italians and Africans, whose minds were alienated by the irreconcilable difference of language and interest. Instead of listening to the voice of ambition, Theodosius resolved to imitate the moderation of his grandfather, and to seat his cousin Valentinian on the throne of the West. The royal infant was distinguished at Constantinople by the title of *Nobilissimus*; he was promoted, before his departure from Thessalonica, to the rank and dignity of Cæsar; and after the conquest of Italy the patrician Helion, by the authority of Theodosius, and in the presence of the senate, saluted Valentinian the Third by the name of Augustus, and solemnly invest-

* For these revolutions of the Western empire, consult Olympiodor. apud Phot. p. 192, 198, 196, 197, 200 [p. 61-63, edit. Bekk.]; Sozomen, l. ix. c. 16; Socrates, l. vii. 23, 24; Philostorgius, l. xii. c. 10, 11 [12-14]; and Godefroy, Dissertat. p. 486; Procopius, de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 3, p. 182, 183 [edit. Paris; tom. i. p. 319 seq. edit. Bonn]; Theophanes, in Chronograph. p. 72, 73 [edit. Paris; tom. i. p. 129-131, edit. Bonn]; and the Chronicles.

† See Grotius de Jure Belli et Pacis, l. ii. c. 7. He has laboriously, but vainly, attempted to form a reasonable system of jurisprudence from the various and discordant modes of royal succession which have been introduced by fraud or force, by time or accident.

ed him with the diadem and the imperial purple.* By the agreement of the three females who governed the Roman world, the son of Placidia was betrothed to Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodosius and Athenais; and as soon as the lover and his bride had attained the age of puberty, this honorable alliance was faithfully accomplished. At the same time, as a compensation perhaps for the expenses of the war, the Western Illyricum was detached from the Italian dominions, and yielded to the throne of Constantinople.† The Emperor of the East acquired the useful dominion of the rich and maritime province of Dalmatia, and the dangerous sovereignty of Pannonia and Noricum, which had been filled and ravaged above twenty years by a promiscuous crowd of Huns, Ostrogoths, Vandals, and *Bavarians*. Theodosius and Valentinian continued to respect the obligations of their public and domestic alliance; but the unity of the Roman government was finally dissolved. By a positive declaration, the validity of all future laws was limited to the dominions of their peculiar author; unless he should think proper to communicate them, subscribed with his own hand, for the approbation of his independent colleague.‡

Administration of his mother Placidia.
A.D. 425-450.

Valentinian, when he received the title of Augustus, was no more than six years of age; and his long minority was intrusted to the guardian care of a mother who might assert a female claim to the succession of the Western empire. Placidia envied, but she could not equal, the reputation and virtues of the wife and sister of

* The original writers are not agreed (see Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. iv. p. 139) whether Valentinian received the imperial diadem at Rome or Ravenna. In this uncertainty I am willing to believe that some respect was shown to the senate.

† The Count de Buat (*Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. vii. p. 292-300) has established the reality, explained the motives, and traced the consequences of this remarkable cession.

‡ See the first *Novel* of Theodosius, by which he ratifies and communicates (A.D. 438) the Theodosian Code. About forty years before that time, the unity of legislation had been proved by an exception. The Jews, who were numerous in the cities of Apulia and Calabria, produced a law of the East to justify their exemption from municipal offices (Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. viii. leg. 13); and the Western emperor was obliged to invalidate, by a special edict, the law, "*quam constat meis partibus esse damnosam*." Cod. Theod. l. xi. [xii.] tit. i. leg. 158.

Theodosius; the elegant genius of Eudocia; the wise and successful policy of Pulcheria. The mother of Valentinian was jealous of the power which she was incapable of exercising.* She reigned twenty-five years in the name of her son; and the character of that unworthy emperor gradually countenanced the suspicion that Placidia had enervated his youth by a dissolute education, and studiously diverted his attention from every manly and honorable pursuit. Amidst the decay of military spirit, her armies were commanded by two generals, Aëtius[†] and Boniface,[‡] who may be deservedly named as the last of the Romans. Their union might have supported a sinking empire; their discord was the fatal and immediate cause of the loss of Africa. The invasion and defeat of Attila have immortalized the fame of Aëtius; and though time has thrown a shade over the exploits of his rival, the defence of Marseilles and the deliverance of Africa attest the military talents of Count Boniface. In the field of battle, in partial encounters, in single combats, he was still the terror of the barbarians; the clergy, and particularly his friend Augustine, were edified by the Christian piety which had once tempted him to retire from the world; the people applauded his spotless integrity; the army dreaded his equal and inexorable justice, which may be displayed in a very singular example. A peasant who complained of the criminal intimacy between his wife and a Gothic soldier was

Her two generals, Aëtius and Boniface.

* Cassiodorus (*Variar.* l. xi. *Epist.* i. p. 238 [p. 161, edit. Venet.]) has compared the regencies of Placidia and Amalasuntha. He arraigns the weakness of the mother of Valentinian, and praises the virtues of his royal mistress. On this occasion flattery seems to have spoken the language of truth.

† Philostorgius, l. xii. c. 12 [14], and Godefroy's *Dissertat.* p. 493, etc.; and Renatus Frigeridus, apud Gregor. Turon. l. ii. c. 8, in tom. ii. p. 163. The father of Aëtius was Gaudentius, an illustrious citizen of the province of Scythia and master-general of the cavalry; his mother was a rich and noble Italian. From his earliest youth Aëtius, as a soldier and a hostage, had conversed with the barbarians.

‡ For the character of Boniface see Olympiodorus, apud Phot. p. 196 [p. 62 b, edit. Bekk.]; and St. Augustine, apud Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclésiastiques* tom. xiii. p. 712-716, 886. The Bishop of Hippo at length deplored the fall of his friend, who, after a solemn vow of chastity, had married a second wife of the Arian sect, and who was suspected of keeping several concubines in his house.

directed to attend his tribunal the following day. In the evening the count, who had diligently informed himself of the time and place of the assignation, mounted his horse, rode ten miles into the country, surprised the guilty couple, punished the soldier with instant death, and silenced the complaints of the husband by presenting him, the next morning, with the head of the adulterer. The abilities of Aëtius and Boniface might have been usefully employed against the public enemies in separate and important commands; but the experience of their past conduct should have decided the real favor and confidence of the Empress Placidia. In the melancholy season of her exile and distress, Boniface alone had maintained her cause with unshaken fidelity; and the troops and treasures of Africa had essentially contributed to extinguish the rebellion. The same rebellion had been supported by the zeal and activity of Aëtius, who brought an army of sixty thousand Huns from the Danube to the confines of Italy for the service of the usurper. The untimely death of John compelled him to accept an advantageous treaty; but he still continued, the subject and the soldier of Valentinian, to entertain a secret, perhaps a treasonable, correspondence with his barbarian allies, whose retreat had been purchased by liberal gifts and more liberal promises. But Aëtius possessed an advantage of singular moment in a female reign. He was present: he besieged with artful and assiduous flattery the palace of Ravenna; disguised his dark designs with the mask of loyalty and friendship; and at length deceived both his mistress and his absent rival by a subtle conspiracy which a weak woman and a brave man could not easily suspect. He secretly persuaded¹¹ Placidia to recall Boniface from the government of Africa; he secretly advised Boniface to disobey the imperial summons. To the one he represented the order as a sentence of death; to the other he stated the

Error and revolt of Boniface in Africa. A.D. 427.

¹¹ Procopius (*de Bell. Vandal.* l. i. c. 3, 4, p. 182-186 [tom. i. p. 319-328, edit. Bonn]) relates the fraud of Aëtius, the revolt of Boniface, and the loss of Africa. This anecdote, which is supported by some collateral testimony (see Ruinart, *Hist. Persecut. Vandal.* p. 420, 421) seems agreeable to the practice of ancient and modern courts, and would be naturally revealed by the repentance of Boniface.

refusal as a signal of revolt; and when the credulous and unsuspectful count had armed the province in his defence, Aëtius applauded his sagacity in foreseeing the rebellion which his own perfidy had excited. A temperate inquiry into the real motives of Boniface would have restored a faithful servant to his duty and to the republic; but the arts of Aëtius still continued to betray and to inflame, and the count was urged by persecution to embrace the most desperate counsels. The success with which he eluded or repelled the first attacks could not inspire a vain confidence that, at the head of some loose disorderly Africans, he should be able to withstand the regular forces of the West, commanded by a rival whose military character it was impossible for him to despise. After some hesitation, the last struggles of prudence and loyalty, Boniface despatched a trusty friend to the court, or rather to the camp, of Gonderic, King of the Vandals, with the proposal of a strict alliance, and the offer of an advantageous and perpetual settlement.

After the retreat of the Goths the authority of Honorius had obtained a precarious establishment in Spain, except only in the province of Galicia, where the Suevi and the Vandals had fortified their camps in mutual discord and hostile independence. The Vandals prevailed, and their adversaries were besieged in the Nervasian hills, between Leon and Oviedo, till the approach of Count Asterius compelled, or rather provoked, the victorious barbarians to remove the scene of the war to the plains of Bætica. The rapid progress of the Vandals soon required a more effectual opposition, and the master-general Castinus marched against them with a numerous army of Romans and Goths. Vanquished in battle by an inferior enemy, Castinus fled with dishonor to Tarragona; and this memorable defeat, which has been represented as the punishment, was most probably the effect, of his rash presumption.¹² Seville and Carthagena became the re-

He invites the
Vandals.
A.D. 428.

¹² See the Chronicles of Prosper and Idatius [Sirmond. Op. tom. ii. p. 298]. Sal-
vian (de Gubernat. Dei, l. vii. p. 246, Paris, 1608) ascribes the victory of the Van-
dals to their superior piety. They fasted, they prayed, they carried a Bible in the

ward, or rather the prey, of the ferocious conquerors, and the vessels which they found in the harbor of Carthagera might easily transport them to the isles of Majorca and Minorca, where the Spanish fugitives, as in a secure recess, had vainly concealed their families and their fortunes. The experience of navigation, and perhaps the prospect of Africa, encouraged the Vandals to accept the invitation which they received from Count Boniface, and the death of Gonderic served only to forward and animate the bold enterprise. In the room of a prince not conspicuous for any superior powers of the mind or body, they acquired his bastard brother, the terrible Genser-

Genseric
King of the
Vandals.

ric¹³—a name which in the destruction of the Roman empire has deserved an equal rank with the names of Alaric and Attila. The King of the

Vandals is described to have been of a middle stature, with a lameness in one leg, which he had contracted by an accidental fall from his horse. His slow and cautious speech seldom declared the deep purposes of his soul; he disdained to imitate the luxury of the vanquished, but he indulged the sterner passions of anger and revenge. The ambition of Genseric was without bounds and without scruples, and the warrior could dexterously employ the dark engines of policy to solicit the allies who might be useful to his success, or to scatter among his enemies the seeds of hatred and contention. Almost in the moment of his departure he was informed that Hermanric, King of the Suevi, had presumed to ravage the Spanish territories which he was resolved to abandon. Impatient of the insult, Genseric pursued the hasty retreat of the Suevi as far as Merida, precipitated the king and his army into the river Anas, and calmly returned to the sea-shore to embark his vic-

front of the Host, with the design, perhaps, of reproaching the perfidy and sacrilege of their enemies.

¹³ Gizericus (his name is variously expressed) *staturâ mediocris et equi casti claudicans, animo profundus, sermone rarus, luxuriâ contemptor, irâ turbidus, habendi cupidus, ad sollicitandas gentes providentissimus, semina contentionum jacere, odia miscere paratus.*—Jornandes, de Rebus Geticis, c. 33, p. 657. This portrait, which is drawn with some skill and a strong likeness, must have been

torious troops. The vessels which transported the Vandals over the modern Straits of Gibraltar, a channel only twelve miles in breadth, were furnished by the Spaniards, who anxiously wished their departure, and by the African general, who had implored their formidable assistance.¹⁴

Our fancy, so long accustomed to exaggerate and multiply the martial swarms of barbarians that seemed to issue from the North, will perhaps be surprised by the account of the army which Genseric mustered on the coast of Mauritania. The Vandals, who in twenty years had penetrated from the Elbe to Mount Atlas, were united under the command of their warlike king; and he reigned with equal authority over the Alani, who had passed, within the term of human life, from the cold of Scythia to the excessive heat of an African climate. The hopes of the bold enterprise had excited many brave adventurers of the Gothic nation; and many desperate provincials were tempted to repair their fortunes by the same means which had occasioned their ruin. Yet this various multitude amounted only to fifty thousand effective men; and though Genseric artfully magnified his apparent strength by appointing eighty *chiliarchs*, or commanders of thousands, the fallacious increase of old men, of children, and of slaves would scarcely have swelled his army to the number of fourscore thousand persons.¹⁵ But his own dexterity and the discontents of Africa soon fortified the Vandal powers by the accession of numerous and active allies. The

He lands in Africa, A.D. 429, May:
and reviews his army. A.D. 429.

¹⁴ See the Chronicle of Idatius. That bishop, a Spaniard and a contemporary, places the passage of the Vandals in the month of May, of the year of Abraham (which commences in October) 2444. This date, which coincides with A.D. 429, is confirmed by Isidore, another Spanish bishop, and is justly preferred to the opinion of those writers who have marked for that event one of the two preceding years. See Pagi Critica, tom. ii. p. 205, etc.

¹⁵ Compare Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 5, p. 190 [tom. i. p. 384, edit. Bonn]) and Victor Vitensis (de Persecutione Vandal. l. i. c. 1, p. 3, edit. Ruinart). We are assured by Idatus that Genseric evacuated Spain, "*cum Vandalis omnibus eorumque familiis*" [Sirm. Op. tom. ii. p. 299]; and Possidius (in Vit. Augustin. c. 28, apud Ruinart, p. 427) describes his army as "*manus ingens immanium gentium Vandalorum et Alanorum, commixtam secum habens Gothorum gentem, aliarumque diversarum personas.*"

parts of Mauritania which border on the great desert and the

Atlantic Ocean were filled with a fierce and untrac-

The Moors. table race of men, whose savage temper had been exasperated rather than reclaimed by their dread of the Roman arms. The wandering Moors,¹⁶ as they gradually ventured to approach the sea-shore and the camp of the Vandals, must have viewed with terror and astonishment the dress, the armor, the martial pride and discipline of the unknown strangers who had landed on their coast; and the fair complexions of the blue-eyed warriors of Germany formed a very singular contrast with the swarthy or olive hue which is derived from the neighborhood of the torrid zone. After the first difficulties had in some measure been removed, which arose from the mutual ignorance of their respective language, the Moors, regardless of any future consequence, embraced the alliance of the enemies of Rome; and a crowd of naked savages rushed from the woods and valleys of Mount Atlas to satiate their revenge on the polished tyrants who had injuriously expelled them from the native sovereignty of the land.

The persecution of the Donatists¹⁷ was an event not less favorable to the designs of Genseric. Seventeen years before

The Donatists. he landed in Africa, a public conference was held at

Carthage by the order of the magistrate. The Catholics were satisfied that, after the invincible reasons which they had alleged, the obstinacy of the schismatics must be inexcusable and voluntary; and the Emperor Honorius was persuaded to inflict the most rigorous penalties on a faction which had so long abused his patience and clemency. Three hundred bishops,¹⁸ with many thousands of the inferior clergy, were

¹⁶ For the manners of the Moors, see Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. ii. c. 6, p. 249 [tom. i. p. 434, edit. Bonn]); for their figure and complexion, M. de Buffon (Histoire Naturelle, tom. iii. p. 480). Procopius says in general that the Moors had joined the Vandals before the death of Valentinian (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 5, p. 190 [tom. i. p. 334, edit. Bonn]); and it is probable that the independent tribes did not embrace any uniform system of policy.

¹⁷ See Tillemont, Mémoires Ecclésiastiques, tom. xiii. p. 516-558; and the whole series of the persecution, in the original monuments, published by Dupin at the end of Optatus, p. 323-515.

¹⁸ The Donatist bishops at the conference of Carthage amounted to 279; and

torn from their churches, stripped of their ecclesiastical possessions, banished to the islands, and proscribed by the laws if they presumed to conceal themselves in the provinces of Africa. Their numerous congregations, both in cities and in the country, were deprived of the rights of citizens and of the exercise of religious worship. A regular scale of fines, from ten to two hundred pounds of silver, was curiously ascertained, according to the distinctions of rank and fortune, to punish the crime of assisting at a schismatic conventicle; and if the fine had been levied five times without subduing the obstinacy of the offender, his future punishment was referred to the discretion of the imperial court.¹⁹ By these severities, which obtained the warmest approbation of St. Augustine,²⁰ great numbers of Donatists were reconciled to the Catholic Church; but the fanatics who still persevered in their opposition were provoked to madness and despair. The distracted country was filled with tumult and bloodshed; the armed troops of Circumcellions alternately pointed their rage against themselves or against their adversaries; and the calendar of martyrs received on both sides a considerable augmentation.²¹ Under these circumstances, Genserik—a Christian, but an enemy of the orthodox communion—showed himself to the Donatists as a powerful deliverer, from whom they might reasonably ex-

they asserted that their whole number was not less than 400. The Catholics had 286 present, 120 absent, besides 64 vacant bishoprics.

¹⁹ The fifth title of the sixteenth book of the Theodosian Code exhibits a series of the imperial laws against the Donatists, from the year 400 to the year 428. Of these, the 54th law, promulgated by Honorius, A.D. 414, is the most severe and effectual.

²⁰ St. Augustine altered his opinion with regard to the proper treatment of heretics. His pathetic declaration of pity and indulgence for the Manichæans has been inserted by Mr. Locke (vol. iii. p. 469) among the choice specimens of his commonplace book. Another philosopher, the celebrated Bayle (tom. ii. p. 445–496), has refuted, with superfluous diligence and ingenuity, the arguments by which the Bishop of Hippo justified, in his old age, the persecution of the Donatists.

²¹ See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. xiii. p. 586–592, 806. The Donatists boasted of *thousands* of these voluntary martyrs. Augustine asserts, and probably with truth, that these numbers were much exaggerated; but he sternly maintains that it was better that *some* should burn themselves in this world than that *all* should burn in hell flames.

pect the repeal of the odious and oppressive edicts of the Roman emperors.²² The conquest of Africa was facilitated by the active zeal or the secret favor of a domestic faction. The wanton outrages against the churches and the clergy, of which the Vandals are accused, may be fairly imputed to the fanaticism of their allies; and the intolerant spirit which disgraced the triumph of Christianity contributed to the loss of the most important province of the West.²³

The court and the people were astonished by the strange intelligence that a virtuous hero, after so many favors and so many services, had renounced his allegiance and invited the barbarians to destroy the province intrusted to his command. The friends of Boniface, who still believed that his criminal behavior might be excused by some honorable motive, solicited, during the absence of Aëtius, a free conference with the Count of Africa; and Darius, an officer of high distinction, was named for the important embassy.²⁴ In their first interview at Carthage, the imaginary provocations were mutually explained; the opposite letters of Aëtius were produced and compared, and the fraud was easily detected. Placidia and Boniface lamented their fatal error; and the count had sufficient magnanimity to confide in the forgiveness of his sovereign, or to expose his head to her

Tardy repentance of Boniface.
A.D. 480.

²² According to St. Augustine and Theodoret, the Donatists were inclined to the principles, or at least to the party, of the Arians, which Genseric supported. Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vi. p. 68.

²³ See Baronius, *Annal. Eccles.* A.D. 428, No. 7, A.D. 439, No. 85. The cardinal, though more inclined to seek the cause of great events in heaven than on the earth, has observed the apparent connection of the Vandals and the Donatists. Under the reign of the barbarians, the schismatics of Africa enjoyed an obscure peace of one hundred years, at the end of which we may again trace them by the light of the imperial persecutions. See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vi. p. 192, etc.

²⁴ In a confidential letter to Count Boniface, St. Augustine, without examining the grounds of the quarrel, piously exhorts him to discharge the duties of a Christian and a subject; to extricate himself without delay from his dangerous and guilty situation; and even, if he could obtain the consent of his wife, to embrace a life of celibacy and penance (Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. xiii. p. 890). The bishop was intimately connected with Darius, the minister of peace (*id.* tom. xiii. p. 928).

future resentment. His repentance was fervent and sincere; but he soon discovered that it was no longer in his power to restore the edifice which he had shaken to its foundations. Carthage and the Roman garrisons returned with their general to the allegiance of Valentinian, but the rest of Africa was still distracted with war and faction; and the inexorable King of the Vandals, disdaining all terms of accommodation, sternly refused to relinquish the possession of his prey. The band of veterans who marched under the standard of Boniface, and his hasty levies of provincial troops, were defeated with considerable loss. The victorious barbarians insulted the open country; and Carthage, Cirta, and Hippo Regius were the only cities that appeared to rise above the general inundation.

The long and narrow tract of the African coast was filled with frequent monuments of Roman art and magnificence; Desolation of Africa. and the respective degrees of improvement might be accurately measured by the distance from Carthage and the Mediterranean. A simple reflection will impress every thinking mind with the clearest idea of fertility and cultivation: the country was extremely populous; the inhabitants reserved a liberal subsistence for their own use; and the annual exportation, particularly of wheat, was so regular and plentiful that Africa deserved the name of the common granary of Rome and of mankind. On a sudden, the seven fruitful provinces, from Tangier to Tripoli, were overwhelmed by the invasion of the Vandals, whose destructive rage has perhaps been exaggerated by popular animosity, religious zeal, and extravagant declamation. War in its fairest form implies a perpetual violation of humanity and justice; and the hostilities of barbarians are inflamed by the fierce and lawless spirit which incessantly disturbs their peaceful and domestic society. The Vandals, where they found resistance, seldom gave quarter; and the deaths of their valiant countrymen were expiated by the ruin of the cities under whose walls they had fallen. Careless of the distinctions of age or sex or rank, they employed every species of indignity and torture to force from the captives a discovery of their hidden wealth. The stern policy of Genseric justified his frequent examples of military

execution. He was not always the master of his own passions or of those of his followers; and the calamities of war were aggravated by the licentiousness of the Moors and the fanaticism of the Donatists. Yet I shall not easily be persuaded that it was the common practice of the Vandals to extirpate the olives and other fruit-trees of a country where they intended to settle; nor can I believe that it was a usual stratagem to slaughter great numbers of their prisoners before the walls of a besieged city for the sole purpose of infecting the air and producing a pestilence, of which they themselves must have been the first victims.²⁶

The generous mind of Count Boniface was tortured by the exquisite distress of beholding the ruin which he had occasioned, and whose rapid progress he was unable to check. After the loss of a battle, he retired into Hippo Regius, where he was immediately besieged by an enemy who considered him as the real bulwark of Africa. The maritime colony of *Hippo*,²⁷ about two hundred miles westward of Carthage, had formerly acquired the distinguishing epithet of *Regius* from the residence of Numidian kings; and some remains of trade and populousness still adhere to the modern city, which is known in Europe by the corrupted name of Bona. The military labors and anxious reflections of Count Boniface were alleviated by the edifying conversation of his friend St. Augustine;²⁸ till that bishop, the light and

Siege of
Hippo.
A.D. 480.
May.

²⁶ The original complaints of the desolation of Africa are contained—1. In a letter from Capreolus, Bishop of Carthage, to excuse his absence from the Council of Ephesus (apud Ruinart, p. 428); 2. In the Life of St. Augustine by his friend and colleague Possidius (apud Ruinart, p. 427); 3. In the History of the Vandalic Persecution, by Victor Vitensis (l. i. c. 1, 2, 3, edit. Ruinart). The last picture, which was drawn sixty years after the event, is more expressive of the author's passions than of the truth of facts.

²⁷ See Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii. part ii. p. 112. Leo African. in Ramusio, tom. i. fol. 70. L'Afrique de Marmol, tom. ii. p. 484, 487. Shaw's Travels, p. 46, 47. The old Hippo Regius was finally destroyed by the Arabs in the seventh century; but a new town, at the distance of two miles, was built with the materials, and it contained in the sixteenth century about three hundred families of industrious but turbulent manufacturers. The adjacent territory is renowned for a pure air, a fertile soil, and plenty of exquisite fruits.

²⁸ The Life of St. Augustine by Tillemont fills a quarto volume (Mém. Ecclési.

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The generous mind of Count Boniface was tortured by the exquisite distress of beholding the ruin which he had occasioned, and whose rapid progress he was unable to check. After the loss of a battle, he retired into Hippo Regius, where he was immediately besieged by an enemy who considered him as the real bulwark of Africa.

The maritime colony of *Hippo*," about two hundred miles westward of Carthage, had formerly acquired the distinguished epithet of *Regius* from the residence of Numidian kings; and some remains of trade and populousness still adhere to the modern city, which is known in Europe by the corrupted name of Bona. The military labors and anxious reflections of Count Boniface were alleviated by the edifying conversation of his friend St. Augustine;" till that bishop, the light and

The original complaints of the desolation of Africa are contained—1. In a letter from Capreolus, Bishop of Carthage, to excuse his absence from the Council of Ephesus (apud Ruinart, p. 428); 2. In the Life of St. Augustine by his friend and colleague Possidius (apud Ruinart, p. 427); 3. In the History of the Vandalic Occupation, by Victor Vitensis (l. i. c. 1, 2, 3, edit. Ruinart). The last picture, which was drawn sixty years after the event, is more expressive of the author's opinions than of the truth of facts.

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tempted to defend some strong fortresses erected on his patrimonial estate, the imperial power soon compelled him to retire into Pannonia, to the tents of his faithful Huns. The republic was deprived, by their mutual discord, of the service of her two most illustrious champions.³³

It might naturally be expected, after the retreat of Boniface that the Vandals would achieve without resistance or delay the conquest of Africa. Eight years, however, elapsed from the evacuation of Hippo to the reduction of Carthage. In the midst of that interval the ambitious Genseric, in the full tide of apparent prosperity, negotiated a treaty of peace, by which he gave his son Hunner for a hostage, and consented to leave the Western emperor in the undisturbed possession of the three Mauritanias.³⁴ The moderation, which cannot be imputed to the justice, must be ascribed to the policy, of the conqueror. His throne was encompassed with domestic enemies, who accused the baseness of his birth, and asserted the legitimate claims of his nephews, the sons of Gonderic. Those nephews, indeed, he sacrificed to his safety; and their mother, the widow of the deceased king, was precipitated by his order into the river Ampsaga. But the public discontent burst forth in dangerous and frequent conspiracies; and the warlike tyrant is supposed to have shed more Vandal blood by the hand of the executioner than in the field of battle.³⁵ The convulsions of Africa, which have favored his attack, opposed the firm establishment of his power

³³ Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 3, p. 185 [tom. i. p. 325, edit. Bonn]) continues the history of Boniface no further than his return to Italy. His death is mentioned by Prosper [Ann. 432] and Marcellinus; the expression of the latter that Aetius the day before had provided himself with a *longer* spear, implies something like a regular duel.

³⁴ See Procopius de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 4, p. 183 [tom. i. p. 327, edit. Bonn]. Valentinian published several humane laws to relieve the distress of his Numidian and Mauritanian subjects. He discharged them, in a great measure, from the payment of their debts, reduced their tribute to one eighth, and gave them a right of appeal from their provincial magistrates to the Præfect of Rome. Cod. Theod. tom. vi. Novell. p. 11, 12.

³⁵ Victor Vitensis de Persecut. Vandal. l. ii. c. 5, p. 26. The cruelties of Genseric towards his subjects are strongly expressed in Prosper's Chronicle, A.D. 442

er; and the various seditions of the Moors and Germans, the Donatists and Catholics, continually disturbed or threatened the unsettled reign of the conqueror. As he advanced towards Carthage, he was forced to withdraw his troops from the Western provinces; the sea-coast was exposed to the naval enterprises of the Romans of Spain and Italy; and, in the heart of Numidia, the strong inland city of Cirta still persisted in obstinate independence.³⁶ These difficulties were gradually subdued by the spirit, the perseverance, and the cruelty of Genseric, who alternately applied the arts of peace and war to the establishment of his African kingdom. He subscribed a solemn treaty, with the hope of deriving some advantage from the term of its continuance and the moment of its violation. The vigilance of his enemies was relaxed by the protestations of friendship which concealed his hostile approach; and Carthage was at length surprised by the Vandals, five hundred and eighty-five years after the destruction of the city and republic by the younger Scipio.³⁷

A new city had arisen from its ruins, with the title of a colony; and though Carthage might yield to the royal prerogatives of Constantinople, and perhaps to the trade of Alexandria or the splendor of Antioch, she still maintained the second rank in the West—as the *Rome* (if we may use the style of contemporaries) of the African world. That wealthy and opulent metropolis³⁸ displayed, in a dependent condition, the image of a flourishing republic. Carthage contained the manufactures, the arms, and the treasures of the six provinces. A regular subordination of civil honors gradually ascended from the procurators of the streets and quarters of the city to the tribunal of the supreme magis-

They surprise
Carthage.
A.D. 439.
Oct. 9.

³⁶ Possidius, in Vit. Augustin. c. 28, apud Ruinart, p. 428.

³⁷ See the Chronicles of Idatius, Isidore, Prosper, and Marcellinus. They mark the same year, but different days, for the surprisal of Carthage.

³⁸ The picture of Carthage as it flourished in the fourth and fifth centuries is taken from the *Expositio Totius Mundi*, p. 17, 18, in the third volume of Hudson's *Minor Geographes*; from *Ausonius de Claris Urbibus*, p. 228, 229; and principally from *Salvian, de Gubernatione Dei*, l. vii. p. 257, 258. I am surprised that the *Notitia* should not place either a mint or an arsenal at Carthage, but only a gynæcæum, or female manufacture.

trate, who, with the title of proconsul, represented the state and dignity of a consul of ancient Rome. Schools and *gymnasias* were instituted for the education of the African youth; and the liberal arts and manners, grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy were publicly taught in the Greek and Latin languages. The buildings of Carthage were uniform and magnificent. A shady grove was planted in the midst of the capital; the *new* port, a secure and capacious harbor, was subservient to the commercial industry of citizens and strangers; and the splendid games of the circus and theatre were exhibited almost in the presence of the barbarians. The reputation of the Carthaginians was not equal to that of their country, and the reproach of Punic faith still adhered to their subtle and faithless character.³⁹ The habits of trade and the abuse of luxury had corrupted their manners; but their impious contempt of monks and the shameless practice of unnatural lusts are the two abominations which excite the pious vehemence of Salvian, the preacher of the age.⁴⁰ The King of the Vandals severely reformed the vices of a voluptuous people; and the ancient, noble, ingenuous freedom of Carthage (these expressions of Victor are not without energy) was reduced by Genseric into a state of ignominious servitude. After he had permitted his licentious troops to satiate their rage and avarice, he instituted a more regular system of rapine and oppression. An edict was promulgated which enjoined all persons, without fraud or delay, to deliver their gold, silver, jewels, and valuable furniture or apparel to the royal officers; and the attempt to se-

³⁹ The anonymous author of the *Expositio Totius Mundi* compares, in his barbarous Latin, the country and the inhabitants, and, after stigmatizing their want of faith, he coolly concludes, "Difficile autem inter eos invenitur bonus, tamen in multis pauci boni esse possunt" (p. 18).

⁴⁰ He declares that the peculiar vices of each country were collected in the sink of Carthage (l. vii. p. 257). In the indulgence of vice the Africans applauded their manly virtue "Et illi se magis virilis fortitudinis esse crederent, qui maxime viros femine usus probrostate fregissent" (p. 268). The streets of Carthage were polluted by effeminate wretches who publicly assumed the countenance, the dress, and the character of women (p. 264). If a monk appeared in the city, the holy man was pursued with impious scorn and ridicule—"detestantibus identium cachinnis" (p. 289).

crete any part of their patrimony was inexorably punished with death and torture as an act of treason against the State. The lands of the proconsular province, which formed the immediate district of Carthage, were accurately measured and divided among the barbarians; and the conqueror reserved for his peculiar domain the fertile territory of Byzacium and the adjacent parts of Numidia and Gætulia.⁴¹

It was natural enough that Genseric should hate those whom he had injured. The nobility and senators of Carthage were exposed to his jealousy and resentment; and all those who refused the ignominious terms which their honor and religion forbade them to accept were compelled by the Arian tyrant to embrace the condition of perpetual banishment. Rome, Italy, and the provinces of the East were filled with a crowd of exiles, of fugitives, and of ingenuous captives, who solicited the public compassion; and the benevolent epistles of Theodoret still preserve the names and misfortunes of Cælestian and Maria.⁴² The Syrian bishop deploras the misfortunes of Cælestian, who, from the state of a noble and opulent senator of Carthage, was reduced, with his wife and family and servants, to beg his bread in a foreign country; but he applauds the resignation of the Christian exile, and the philosophic temper which, under the pressure of such calamities, could enjoy more real happiness than was the ordinary lot of wealth and prosperity. The story of Maria, the daughter of the magnificent Eudæmon, is singular and interesting. In the sack of Carthage, she was purchased from the Vandals by some merchants of Syria, who afterwards sold her as a slave in their native country. A female attendant, transported in the same ship, and sold in the same family, still continued to respect a mistress whom fortune had reduced to the common level of servitude; and the daughter of Eudæmon received from her grateful affection the domestic services which she had once required from her obedience. This

⁴¹ Compare Procopius de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 5, p. 189, 190 [tom. i. p. 332 seq., edit. Bonn]; and Victor Vitensis de Persecut. Vandal. l. i. c. 4.

⁴² Ruinart (p. 444-457) has collected from Theodoret and other authors the misfortunes, real and fabulous, of the inhabitants of Carthage.

remarkable behavior divulged the real condition of Maria, who, in the absence of the Bishop of Cyrrhus, was redeemed from slavery by the generosity of some soldiers of the garrison. The liberality of Theodoret provided for her decent maintenance; and she passed ten months among the deaconesses of the Church, till she was unexpectedly informed that her father, who had escaped from the ruin of Carthage, exercised an honorable office in one of the Western provinces. Her filial impatience was seconded by the pious bishop. Theodoret, in a letter still extant, recommends Maria to the Bishop of *Ægæ*, a maritime city of Cilicia, which was frequented, during the annual fair, by the vessels of the West, most earnestly requesting that his colleague would use the maiden with a tenderness suitable to her birth; and that he would intrust her to the care of such faithful merchants as would esteem it a sufficient gain if they restored a daughter, lost beyond all human hope, to the arms of her afflicted parent.

Among the insipid legends of ecclesiastical history, I am tempted to distinguish the memorable fable of the SEVEN SLEEPERS,⁴³ whose imaginary date corresponds with the reign of the younger Theodosius and the conquest of Africa by the Vandals.⁴⁴ When the Emperor Decius persecuted the Christians, seven noble youths of Ephesus concealed themselves in a spacious cavern in the side of an adjacent mountain, where they were doomed to perish by the tyrant, who gave orders that the entrance should be

Fable of the
Seven Sleep-
ers.

⁴³ The choice of fabulous circumstances is of small importance; yet I have confined myself to the narrative which was translated from the Syriac by the care of Gregory of Tours (*de Gloriâ Martyrûm*, l. i. c. 95, in *Max. Bibliothecâ Patrum*, tom. xl. p. 856), to the Greek acts of their martyrdom (*apud Photium*, p. 1400, 1401 [p. 467, edit. Bekk.]), and to the Annals of the Patriarch Eutychius (tom. i. p. 391, 531, 532, 535, vers. Pocock [Oxon. 1658]).

⁴⁴ Two Syriac writers, as they are quoted by Assemani (*Bibhot. Oriental.* tom. i. p. 336, 338), place the resurrection of the Seven Sleepers in the year 736 (A. D. 425) or 748 (A. D. 437) of the era of the Seleucides. Their Greek acts, which Photius had read, assign the date of the thirty-eighth year of the reign of Theodosius, which may coincide either with A. D. 439 or 446. The period which had elapsed since the persecution of Decius is easily ascertained; and nothing less than the ignorance of Mahomet or the legendaries could suppose an interval of three or four hundred years.

firmly secured with a pile of huge stones. They immediately fell into a deep slumber, which was miraculously prolonged, without injuring the powers of life, during a period of one hundred and eighty-seven years. At the end of that time, the slaves of Adolius, to whom the inheritance of the mountain had descended, removed the stones to supply materials for some rustic edifice. The light of the sun darted into the cavern, and the Seven Sleepers were permitted to awake. After a slumber, as they thought of a few hours, they were pressed by the calls of hunger; and resolved that Jamblichus, one of their number, should secretly return to the city to purchase bread for the use of his companions. The youth (if we may still employ that appellation) could no longer recognize the once familiar aspect of his native country; and his surprise was increased by the appearance of a large cross, triumphantly erected over the principal gate of Ephesus. His singular dress and obsolete language confounded the baker, to whom he offered an ancient medal of Decius as the current coin of the empire; and Jamblichus, on the suspicion of a secret treasure, was dragged before the judge. Their mutual inquiries produced the amazing discovery that two centuries were almost elapsed since Jamblichus and his friends had escaped from the rage of a pagan tyrant. The Bishop of Ephesus, the clergy, the magistrates, the people, and, as it is said, the Emperor Theodosius himself, hastened to visit the cavern of the Seven Sleepers, who bestowed their benediction, related their story, and at the same instant peaceably expired. The origin of this marvellous fable cannot be ascribed to the pious fraud and credulity of the *modern* Greeks, since the authentic tradition may be traced within half a century of the supposed miracle. James of Sarug, a Syrian bishop, who was born only two years after the death of the younger Theodosius, has devoted one of his two hundred and thirty homilies to the praise of the young men of Ephesus.⁴⁶ Their legend,

⁴⁶ James, one of the orthodox fathers of the Syrian Church, was born A.D. 452; he began to compose his sermons A.D. 474; he was made bishop of Batna, in the district of Sarug and province of Mesopotamia, A.D. 519, and died A.D. 521. (Assemani, tom. i. p. 288, 289.) For the homily *de Pueris Ephesinis*, see p. 385-

before the end of the sixth century, was translated from the Syriac into the Latin language, by the care of Gregory of Tours. The hostile communions of the East preserve their memory with equal reverence; and their names are honorably inscribed in the Roman, the Abyssinian, and the Russian calendar.⁴⁶ Nor has their reputation been confined to the Christian world. This popular tale, which Mahomet might learn when he drove his camels to the fairs of Syria, is introduced, as a divine revelation, into the Koran.⁴⁷ The story of the Seven Sleepers has been adopted and adorned by the nations, from Bengal to Africa, who profess the Mahometan religion;⁴⁸ and some vestiges of a similar tradition have been discovered in the remote extremities of Scandinavia.⁴⁹ This easy and universal belief, so expressive of the sense of mankind, may be ascribed to the genuine merit of the fable itself. We imperceptibly advance from youth to age without observing the gradual, but incessant, change of human affairs; and even in our larger experience of history, the imagination is accustomed, by a perpetual series of causes and effects, to unite the most

339: though I could wish that Assemani had translated the text of James of Sarug instead of answering the objections of Baronius.

⁴⁶ See the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists (Mensis Julii, tom. vi. p. 375-397). This immense calendar of saints, in one hundred and twenty-six years (1644-1770), and in fifty volumes in folio, has advanced no further than the 7th day of October. The suppression of the Jesuits has most probably checked an undertaking which, through the medium of fable and superstition, communicates much historical and philosophical instruction.

⁴⁷ See Maiacci *Alcoran. sura xviii* tom. ii. p. 420-427, and tom. i. part. iv. p. 108. With such an ample privilege Mahomet has not shown much taste or ingenuity. He has invented the dog (Al Rakim) of the Seven Sleepers; the respect of the sun, who altered his course twice a day that he might not shine into the cavern; and the care of God himself, who preserved their bodies from putrefaction by turning them to the right and left.

⁴⁸ See D'Habelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 139; and Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin.* p. 39, 40.

⁴⁹ Paul, the deacon of Aquileia (*de Gestis Langobardorum*, l. i. c. 4, p. 715, 746, edit. Grot.), who lived towards the end of the eighth century, has placed in a cavern under a rock on the shore of the ocean the Seven Sleepers of the North, whose long repose was respected by the barbarians. Their dress declared them to be Romans; and the deacon conjectures that they were reserved by Providence as the future apostles of those unbelieving countries.

distant revolutions. But if the interval between two memorable eras could be instantly annihilated; if it were possible, after a momentary slumber of two hundred years, to display the *new* world to the eyes of a spectator who still retained a lively and recent impression of the *old*, his surprise and his reflections would furnish the pleasing subject of a philosophical romance. The scene could not be more advantageously placed than in the two centuries which elapsed between the reigns of Decius and of Theodosius the Younger. During this period the seat of government had been transported from Rome to a new city on the banks of the Thracian Bosphorus; and the abuse of military spirit had been suppressed by an artificial system of tame and ceremonious servitude. The throne of the persecuting Decius was filled by a succession of Christian and orthodox princes, who had extirpated the fabulous gods of antiquity; and the public devotion of the age was impatient to exalt the saints and martyrs of the Catholic Church on the altars of Diana and Hercules. The union of the Roman empire was dissolved; its genius was humbled in the dust; and armies of unknown barbarians, issuing from the frozen regions of the North, had established their victorious reign over the fairest provinces of Europe and Africa.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

The Character, Conquests, and Court of Attila, King of the Huns.—Death of Theodosius the Younger.—Elevation of Marcian to the Empire of the East.

THE Western world was oppressed by the Goths and Vandals, who fled before the Huns; but the achievements of the Huns themselves were not adequate to their power and prosperity. Their victorious hordes had spread from the Volga to the Danube; but the public force was exhausted by the discord of independent chieftains; their valor was idly consumed in obscure and predatory excursions; and they often degraded their national dignity by condescending, for the hopes of spoil, to enlist under the banners of their fugitive enemies. In the reign of ATTILA¹ the Huns again be-

The Huns.
A.D. 376-483.

¹ The authentic materials for the history of Attila may be found in Jornandes (de Rebus Geticis, c. 34-50, p. 660-688, edit. Grot.) and Priscus (Excerpta de Legationibus, p. 38-76, Paris, 1648 [p. 140-220, edit. Bonn]). I have not seen the Lives of Attila composed by Juvenius Cælius Calanus Dalmatinus, in the twelfth century, and by Nicolas Olahus, Archbishop of Gran, in the sixteenth. See Mascou's History of the Germans, ix. 23, and Maffei, Osservazioni Letterarie, tom. i. p. 88, 89. Whatever the modern Hungarians have added must be fabulous; and they do not seem to have excelled in the art of fiction. They suppose that when Attila invaded Gaul and Italy, married innumerable wives, etc., he was one hundred and twenty years of age. Thevocz, Chron. p. i. c. 22, in Script. Hungar. tom. i. p. 76.^a

^a Attila, in German *Etzel*, is the hero of a vast number of German and Scandinavian poems, of which the most perfect is the celebrated *Nibelunge Noth*, or *Nibelungen Lied*. This poem, in its present form, is probably not earlier than the twelfth century, and has been maintained by Lachmann and other modern critics to have been made up of several separate lays, some of which were, no doubt, of greater antiquity, and had been handed down by tradition from a much earlier period. Although the Nibelungen Lied and similar poems cannot, of course, be regarded as of any historical authority, they show the impression which Attila made upon his contemporaries and succeeding ages, and therefore deserve mention in connection with the history of the King of the Huns. In these poems Etzel appears in conflict with the Burgundians and Franks; and the destruction of Gundicarus, King of the Burgundians, by the Huns in 486 is supposed to be represented by the catastrophe of the Nibelungen Lied. Theodoric the Ostrogoth,

came the terror of the world; and I shall now describe the character and actions of that formidable barbarian, who alternately insulted and invaded the East and the West, and urged the rapid downfall of the Roman empire.

In the tide of emigration which impetuously rolled from the confines of China to those of Germany, the most powerful and populous tribes may commonly be found on the verge of the Roman provinces. The accumulated weight was sustained for a while by artificial barriers; and the easy condescension of the emperors invited, without satisfying, the insolent demands of the barbarians, who had acquired an eager appetite for the luxuries of civilized life. The Hungarians, who ambitiously insert the name of Attila among their native kings, may affirm with truth that the hordes which were subject to his uncle Roas, or Rugilas, had formed their encampments within the limits of modern Hungary,* in a fertile country, which liberally supplied the wants of a nation of hunters and shepherds. In this advantageous situation, Rugilas, and his valiant brothers, who continually added to their power and reputation, commanded the alternative of peace or war with the two empires. His alliance with the Romans of the West was cemented by his personal friendship for the great Aëtius, who was always secure

* Hungary has been successively occupied by three Scythian colonies: 1. The Huns of Attila; 2. The Abares, in the sixth century; and, 3. The Turks or Magyars, A.D. 889, the immediate and genuine ancestors of the modern Hungarians, whose connection with the two former is extremely faint and remote. The *Prodromus* and *Notitia* of Matthew Belius appear to contain a rich fund of information concerning ancient and modern Hungary. I have seen the extracts in *Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne*, tom. xxii. p. 1-51, and *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*, tom. xvi. p. 127-175.^a

under the name of Dietrich of Bern, that is, Theodoric of Verona, is represented as the contemporary of Attila, though he was not born till two years after the death of Attila; and Siegfried, whose adventures form so prominent a part of the poem, is identified with much probability with Sigebert, King of Austrasia, who was assassinated in 575. See Lachmann, *Nibelungen Noth und die Klage, nach der ältesten Ueberlieferung*, etc., Berlin, 1841; *The Fall of the Nibelungs*, a translation of the *Nibelunge Nôt* or *Nibelungenlied*, London, 1850; Mr. Herbert's *Notes to his Poem on Attila*, 1838; Grimm, *Die deutsche Heldensage*, p. 63 seq.—S.

^a It has been shown in previous notes (p. 109, 113) that the Magyars are a Finnish race, and are not connected with the Huns, who were most probably of the Turkish stock.—S.

of finding in the barbarian camp a hospitable reception and a powerful support. At his solicitation, and in the name of John the usurper, sixty thousand Huns advanced to the confines of Italy; their march and their retreat were alike expensive to the State; and the grateful policy of Aëtius abandoned the possession of Pannonia to his faithful confederates. The Romans of the East were not less apprehensive of the arms of Rugilas, which threatened the provinces, or even the capital. Some ecclesiastical historians have destroyed the barbarians with lightning and pestilence;* but Theodosius was reduced to the more humble expedient of stipulating an annual payment of three hundred and fifty pounds of gold, and of disguising this dishonorable tribute by the title of general, which the King of the Huns condescended to accept. The public tranquillity was frequently interrupted by the fierce impatience of the barbarians and the perfidious intrigues of the Byzantine court. Four dependent nations, among whom we may distinguish the Bavarians, disclaimed the sovereignty of the Huns; and their revolt was encouraged and protected by a Roman alliance, till the just claims and formidable power of Rugilas were effectually urged by the voice of Eslaw, his ambassador. Peace was the unanimous wish of the senate: their decree was ratified by the emperor; and two ambassadors were named—Plinthus, a general of Scythian extraction, but of consular rank; and the quæstor Epigenes, a wise and experienced statesman, who was recommended to that office by his ambitious colleague.

The death of Rugilas suspended the progress of the treaty. His two nephews, Attila^a and Bleda,^b who succeeded to the throne of their uncle, consented to a personal interview with

* Socrates, l. vii. c. 43; Theodoret, l. v. c. 37. Tillemont, who always depends on the faith of his ecclesiastical authors, strenuously contends (*Hist. des Emp. rom.* vi. p. 136, 607) that the wars and personages were not the same.

^a As the Huns were probably Turks, it has been conjectured that the name of Attila, who came to the throne on the death of his uncle, probably as guardian, may have been derived from *atalik*, which means, in Turkish, guardian or regent. See Prichard, *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, vol. iv. p. 327.—S.

^b Called in the legends Blodel.—S.

the ambassadors of Constantinople; but as they proudly refused to dismount, the business was transacted on horseback, in a spacious plain near the city of Margus, in the Upper Mæsia. The kings of the Huns assumed the solid benefits as well as the vain honors of the negotiation. They dictated the conditions of peace, and each condition was an insult on the majesty of the empire. Besides the freedom of a safe and plentiful market on the banks of the Danube, they required that the annual contribution should be augmented from three hundred and fifty to seven hundred pounds of gold; that a fine or ransom of eight pieces of gold should be paid for every Roman captive who had escaped from his barbarian master; that the emperor should renounce all treaties and engagements with the enemies of the Huns; and that all the fugitives who had taken refuge in the court or provinces of Theodosius should be delivered to the justice of their offended sovereign. This justice was rigorously inflicted on some unfortunate youths of a royal race. They were crucified on the territories of the empire, by the command of Attila; and, as soon as the King of the Huns had impressed the Romans with the terror of his name, he indulged them in a short and arbitrary respite, whilst he subdued the rebellious or independent nations of Scythia and Germany.*

Attila, the son of Mundzuk, deduced his noble, perhaps his regal, descent[†] from the ancient Huns, who had formerly contended with the monarchs of China. His features, according to the observation of a Gothic historian, bore the stamp of his national origin; and the portrait of Attila exhibits the genuine deformity of a modern Calmuck[‡]—a large head, a swarthy complexion, small deep-

His figure
and char-
acter.

* See Priscus, p. 47, 48 [edit. Paris; p. 166-170, edit. Bonn], and *Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. vii. c. xii. xiii. xiv. xv.

† Priscus, p. 89 [p. 150, edit. Bonn]. The modern Hungarians have deduced his genealogy, which ascends, in the thirty-fifth degree, to Ham the son of Noah; yet they are ignorant of his father's real name. (De Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. ii. p. 297.)

‡ Compare Jornandes (c. 35, p. 661) with Buffon, *Hist. Naturelle*, tom. iii. p. 380. The former had a right to observe, "originis suæ signa restituens." The character and portrait of Attila are probably transcribed from Cassiodorus.

seated eyes, a flat nose, a few hairs in the place of a beard, broad shoulders, and a short square body, of nervous strength, though of a disproportioned form. The haughty step and demeanor of the King of the Huns expressed the consciousness of his superiority above the rest of mankind; and he had a custom of fiercely rolling his eyes, as if he wished to enjoy the terror which he inspired. Yet this savage hero was not inaccessible to pity; his suppliant enemies might confide in the assurance of peace or pardon; and Attila was considered by his subjects as a just and indulgent master. He delighted in war; but, after he had ascended the throne in a mature age, his head, rather than his hand, achieved the conquest of the North; and the fame of an adventurous soldier was usefully exchanged for that of a prudent and successful general. The effects of personal valor are so inconsiderable, except in poetry or romance, that victory, even among barbarians, must depend on the degree of skill with which the passions of the multitude are combined and guided for the service of a single man. The Scythian conquerors Attila and Zingis surpassed their rude countrymen in art rather than in courage; and it may be observed that the monarchies both of the Huns and of the Moguls were erected by their founders on the basis of popular superstition. The miraculous conception which fraud and credulity ascribed to the virgin-mother of Zingis raised him above the level of human nature; and the naked prophet who, in the name of the Deity, invested him with the empire of the earth pointed the valor of the Moguls with irresistible enthusiasm.* The religious arts of Attila were not less skilfully adapted to the character of his age and country. It was natural enough that the Scythians should adore, with peculiar devotion, the god of war; but as they were incapable of forming either an abstract idea or a corporeal representation, they wor-

* Abulpharag. *Dynast. vers.* Pocock, p. 281 [edit. Oxon. 1663]; *Genealogical History of the Tartars*, by Abulghazi Bahader Khan, part iii. c. 15, part iv. c. 8; *Vie de Gengiscan*, par Petit de la Croix, l. i. c. 1, 6. The relations of the missionaries who visited Tartary in the thirteenth century (see the seventh volume of the *Histoire des Voyages*) express the popular language and opinions; Zingis is styled the son of God, etc., etc.

shipped their tutelar deity under the symbol of an iron scimitar.* One of the shepherds of the Huns perceived that a heifer who was grazing had wounded herself in the foot, and curiously followed the track of the blood, till he discovered among the long grass the point of an ancient sword, which he dug out of the ground and presented to Attila. That magnanimous, or rather that artful, prince accepted with pious gratitude this celestial favor; and, as the rightful possessor of the *sword of Mars*, asserted his divine and indefeasible claim to the dominion of the earth.⁹ If the rites of Scythia were practised on this solemn occasion, a lofty altar, or rather pile of fagots, three hundred yards in length and in breadth, was raised in a spacious plain; and the sword of Mars was placed erect on the summit of this rustic altar, which was annually consecrated by the blood of sheep, horses, and of the hundredth captive.¹⁰ Whether human sacrifices formed any part of the worship of Attila, or whether he propitiated the god of war with the victims which he continually offered in the field of battle, the favorite of Mars soon acquired a sacred character, which rendered his conquests more easy and more permanent; and the barbarian princes confessed, in the language of devotion or flattery, that they could not presume to gaze with a steady eye on the divine majesty of the King of the Huns.¹¹ His brother Bleda, who reigned over a

* Nec templum apud eos visitur, aut delubrum, ne tugurium quidem culmo tectum cerni usquam potest; sed *gladius* barbarico ritu humi figitur nudus, eumque ut Martem regionum quas circumcitant præseculum verecundius colunt.—Amian. Marcellin. xxxi. 2, and the learned Notes of Lindenbrogius and Valesius.

⁹ Priscus relates this remarkable story, both in his own text (p. 65 [p. 201, edit. Bonn]) and in the quotation made by Jornandes (c. 35, p. 662). He might have explained the tradition, or fable, which characterized this famous sword, and the name as well as attributes of the Scythian deity whom he has translated into the Mars of the Greeks and Romans.

¹⁰ Herodot. l. iv. c. 62. For the sake of economy, I have calculated by the smallest stadium. In the human sacrifices, they cut off the shoulder and arm of the victim, which they threw up into the air, and drew omens and presages from the manner of their falling on the pile.

¹¹ Priscus, p. 55 [p. 182, edit. Bonn]. A more civilized hero, Augustus himself, was pleased if the person on whom he fixed his eyes seemed unable to support their divine lustre. Sueton, in August. c. 79.

considerable part of the nation, was compelled to resign his sceptre and his life. Yet even this cruel act was attributed to a supernatural impulse; and the vigor with which Attila wielded the sword of Mars convinced the world that it had been reserved alone for his invincible arm.¹² But the extent of his empire affords the only remaining evidence of the number and importance of his victories; and the Scythian monarch, however ignorant of the value of science and philosophy, might perhaps lament that his illiterate subjects were destitute of the art which could perpetuate the memory of his exploits.

If a line of separation were drawn between the civilized and the savage climates of the globe—between the inhabitants of cities, who cultivated the earth, and the hunters and shepherds, who dwelt in tents—Attila might aspire to the title of supreme and sole monarch of the barbarians.¹³ He alone, among the conquerors of ancient and modern times, united the two mighty kingdoms of Germany and Scythia; and those vague appellations, when they are applied to his reign, may be understood with an ample latitude. Thuringia, which stretched beyond its actual limits as far as the Danube, was in the number of his provinces; he interposed, with the weight of a powerful neighbor, in the domestic affairs of the Franks; and one of his lieutenants chastised and almost exterminated the Burgundians of the Rhine. He subdued the islands of the ocean, the kingdoms of Scandinavia, encompassed and divided by the waters of the Baltic; and the Huns might derive a tribute of furs from that northern region, which has been protected from all other conquerors by the severity of the climate and the courage of the natives. Towards the East, it is difficult to circumscribe the dominion of Attila over the Scythian deserts; yet we may be assured that he

and acquires
the empire of
Scythia and
Germany.

¹² The Count de Buat (*Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. vii. p. 428, 429) attempts to clear Attila from the murder of his brother, and is almost inclined to reject the concurrent testimony of Jornandes and the contemporary Chronicles.

¹³ *Fortissimarum gentium dominus, qui inauditâ ante se potentiâ, solus Scythica et Germanica regna possedit.*—Jornandes, c. 49, p. 684; Priscus, p. 64, 65 [p. 199–201, edit. Bonn]. M. de Guignes, by his knowledge of the Chinese, has acquired (tom. ii. p. 295–301) an adequate idea of the empire of Attila.

reigned on the banks of the Volga; that the King of the Huns was dreaded, not only as a warrior, but as a magician;¹⁴ that he insulted and vanquished the khan of the formidable Geougen; and that he sent ambassadors to negotiate an equal alliance with the empire of China. In the proud review of the nations who acknowledged the sovereignty of Attila, and who never entertained, during his lifetime, the thought of a revolt, the Gepidæ and the Ostrogoths were distinguished by their numbers, their bravery, and the personal merit of their chiefs. The renowned Ardaric, King of the Gepidæ, was the faithful and sagacious counsellor of the monarch, who esteemed his intrepid genius, whilst he loved the mild and discreet virtues of the noble Walamir, King of the Ostrogoths. The crowd of vulgar kings, the leaders of so many martial tribes, who served under the standard of Attila, were ranged in the submissive order of guards and domestics round the person of their master. They watched his nod; they trembled at his frown; and at the first signal of his will they executed, without murmur or hesitation, his stern and absolute commands. In time of peace, the dependent princes, with their national troops, attended the royal camp in regular succession; but when Attila collected his military force, he was able to bring into the field an army of five, or, according to another account, of seven hundred thousand barbarians.¹⁵

¹⁴ See *Hist. des Huns*, tom. ii. p. 296. The Geougen believed that the Huns could excite at pleasure storms of wind and rain. This phenomenon was produced by the stone *Gezi*, to whose magic power the loss of a battle was ascribed by the Mahometan Tartars of the fourteenth century. See Cherefeddin Ali, *Hist. de Timur Bec*, tom. i. p. 82, 83.

¹⁵ Jornandes, c. 35, p. 661; c. 37, p. 667. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. vi. p. 129, 138. Corneille has represented the pride of Attila to his subject kings, and his tragedy opens with these two ridiculous lines:

Ils ne sont pas venus, nos deux rois! qu'on leur die
Qu'ils se font trop attendre, et qu'Attila s'ennuie.

The two kings of the Gepidæ and the Ostrogoths are profound politicians and sentimental lovers; and the whole piece exhibits the defects, without the genius, of the poet.

¹⁶ Niebuhr remarks (*Lectures on the History of Rome*, vol. iii. p. 350) that "Gibbon's description of Attila's power is one of the weak parts of his work;" and there are strong reasons for believing that the extent of Attila's power and dominions has been overstated. It must be recollected that the halo of fiction

The ambassadors of the Huns might awaken the attention of Theodosius by reminding him that they were his neighbors both in Europe and Asia; since they touched the Danube on one hand, and reached with the other as far as the Tanais. In the reign of his father, Arcadius, a band of adventurous Huns had ravaged the provinces of the East, from whence they brought away rich spoils and innumerable captives.¹⁸ They advanced by a secret path along the shores of the Caspian Sea; traversed the snowy mountains of Armenia; passed the Tigris, the Euphrates, and the Halys; recruited their weary cavalry with the generous breed of Cappadocian horses; occupied the hilly country of Cilicia; and disturbed the festal songs and dances of the citizens of Antioch. Egypt trembled at their approach; and the monks and pilgrims of the Holy Land prepared to escape their fury by a speedy embarkation. The memory of this invasion was still recent in the minds of the Orientals. The subjects

The Huns invade Persia
A. D. 430-440.

18

— alii per Caspia claustra

Armeniasque nives, inopino tramite ducti
Invadunt Orientis opes: jam pascua fumant
Cappadocum, volucrumque parens Argæus equorum.
Jam rubet altus Halys, nec se defendit iniquo
Monte Cilix; Syriæ tractus vastantur amœni;
Assuetumque chois, et lætâ plebe canorum,
Proterit imbellem sonipes hostilis Orontem.

Claudian, in Rufin. l. ii. 28-35.

See likewise in Eutop. l. i. 243-251, and the strong description of Jerome, who wrote from his feelings, tom. i. p. 26, ad Heliodor. p. 200, ad Ocean. [p. 342 and 460, edit. Vallars.]. Philostorgius (l. ix. c. 8 [17]) mentions this irruption.

around Attila is exclusively German; and as Attila was the conqueror of the Germans, there was a natural tendency on the part of this people to exaggerate the power of the monarch by whom they had been subdued. Our chief authority for the extent of Attila's dominions is Jornandes, who was himself a Goth. It is very probable that many of the peoples mentioned in the list of Attila's hosts may have been simple confederates, or a portion of them may have been incorporated in his army as he passed through their country. Some notion may be formed of the real magnitude of Attila's kingdom by the extent of the kingdoms which were formed out of his dominions at the time of his death. Of these an account is given in ch. xxxv.; and it is sufficient to state here that the area out of which they grew was limited to Pannonia, Western Dacia, Eastern Rætia, and Northern Mœsia. It is probable that the sovereign sway of Attila was bounded by the eastern frontier of Bohemia on the west, and by the Mæotis, or thereabouts, on the east. The northern boundary was uncertain, but it certainly did not extend so far northwards as Jornandes would lead us to suppose. See Smith's Dict. of Greek and Rom. Geography, vol. i. p. 1093.—S.

of Attila might execute, with superior forces, the design which these adventurers had so boldly attempted; and it soon became the subject of anxious conjecture whether the tempest would fall on the dominions of Rome or of Persia. Some of the great vassals of the King of the Huns, who were themselves in the rank of powerful princes, had been sent to ratify an alliance and society of arms with the Emperor, or rather with the General, of the West. They related, during their residence at Rome, the circumstances of an expedition which they had lately made into the East. After passing a desert and a morass, supposed by the Romans to be the lake Mæotis, they penetrated through the mountains, and arrived, at the end of fifteen days' march, on the confines of Media, where they advanced as far as the unknown cities of Basic and Cursic.* They encountered the Persian army in the plains of Media; and the air, according to their own expression, was darkened by a cloud of arrows. But the Huns were obliged to retire before the numbers of the enemy. Their laborious retreat was effected by a different road; they lost the greatest part of their booty; and at length returned to the royal camp, with some knowledge of the country and an impatient desire of revenge. In the free conversation of the imperial ambassadors, who discussed, at the court of Attila, the character and designs of their formidable enemy, the ministers of Constantinople expressed their hope that his strength might be diverted and employed in a long and doubtful contest with the princes of the House of Sassan. The more sagacious Italians admonished their Eastern brethren of the folly and danger of such a hope; and convinced them *that* the Medes and Persians were incapable of resisting the arms of the Huns; and *that* the easy and important acquisition would exalt the pride as well as power of the conqueror. Instead of contenting himself with a moderate contribution and a military title, which equalled him only to the generals of Theodosius, Attila would proceed to

* Gibbon has made a curious mistake; Basic and Cursic were the names of the commanders of the Huns. Παρεληλυθέναι δὲ ἐς τὴν Μήδων τὸν τε Βασίχ καὶ Κουρσίχ . . . ἀνδρας τῶν Βασιλείων Σκυθῶν καὶ πολλοῦ πλῆθους ἀρχοντας. Priscus, edit Bonn, p. 200.—M.

impose a disgraceful and intolerable yoke on the necks of the prostrate and captive Romans, who would then be encompassed on all sides by the empire of the Huns.¹⁷

While the powers of Europe and Asia were solicitous to avert the impending danger, the alliance of Attila maintained the Vandals in the possession of Africa. An enterprise had been concerted between the courts of Ravenna and Constantinople for the recovery of that valuable province; and the ports of Sicily were already filled with the military and naval forces of Theodosius. But the subtle Genseric, who spread his negotiations round the world, prevented their designs by exciting the King of the Huns to invade the Eastern empire; and a trifling incident soon became the motive or pretence of a destructive war.¹⁸ Under the faith of the treaty of Margus, a free market was held on the northern side of the Danube, which was protected by a Roman fortress surnamed Constantia. A troop of barbarians violated the commercial security, killed or dispersed the unsuspecting traders, and levelled the fortress with the ground. The Huns justified this outrage as an act of reprisal, alleged that the Bishop of Margus had entered their territories to discover and steal a secret treasure of their king's, and sternly demanded the guilty prelate, the sacrilegious spoil, and the fugitive subjects who had escaped from the justice of Attila. The refusal of the Byzantine court was the signal of war; and the Mæssians at first applauded the generous firmness of their sovereign. But they were soon intimidated by the destruction of Viminacum and the adjacent towns; and the people was persuaded to adopt the convenient maxim that a pri-

They attack
the Eastern
empire.
A.D. 441, etc.;

¹⁷ See the original conversation in Priscus, p. 64, 65 [edit. Paris, p. 198-201, edit. Bonn].

¹⁸ Priscus, p. 381. His history contained a copious and elegant account of the war (Evagrius, l. i. c. 17); but the extracts which relate to the embassies are the only parts that have reached our times. The original work was accessible, however, to the writers from whom we borrow our imperfect knowledge—Jornandes, Theophanes, Count Marcellinus, Prosper Tyro, and the author of the *Alexandrian*, or *Paschal Chronicle*. M. de Buat (*Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. vii. ch. xv.) has examined the cause, the circumstances, and the duration of this war; and will not allow it to extend beyond the year 444.



ATTILLA'S HUNS PILLAGING A ROMAN COUNTRY HOUSE ON THE ILLYRIAN FRONTIER

Page 529

"They destroyed with fire and sword, the populous cities of Sumlum and Sigdunum, of Ratiaria and Marcianopolis, &c."
Painting by Georges Rochegrosse

Gibbon's Rome, Vol. III.

vate citizen, however innocent or respectable, may be justly sacrificed to the safety of his country. The Bishop of Margus, who did not possess the spirit of a martyr, resolved to prevent the designs which he suspected. He boldly treated with the princes of the Huns; secured, by solemn oaths, his pardon and reward; posted a numerous detachment of barbarians, in silent ambush, on the banks of the Danube; and, at the appointed hour, opened, with his own hand, the gates of his episcopal city. This advantage, which had been obtained by treachery, served as a prelude to more honorable and decisive victories. The Illyrian frontier was covered by a line of castles and fortresses; and though the greatest part of them consisted only of a single tower with a small garrison, they were commonly sufficient to repel or to intercept the inroads of an enemy who was ignorant of the art and impatient of the delay of a regular siege. But these slight obstacles were instantly swept away by the inundation of the Huns.¹⁰ They destroyed, with fire and sword, the populous cities of Sirmium and Singidunum, of Ratiaria and Marcianopolis, of Naissus and Sardica, where every circumstance in the discipline of the people and the construction of the buildings had been gradually adapted to the sole purpose of defence. The whole breadth of Europe, as it extends above five hundred miles from the Euxine to the Adriatic, was at once invaded and occupied and desolated by the myriads of barbarians whom Attila led into the field. The public danger and distress could not, however, provoke Theodosius to interrupt his amusements and devotion, or to appear in person at the head of the Roman legions. But the troops which had been sent against Genseric were hastily recalled from Sicily; the garrisons, on the side of Persia, were exhausted; and a military force was collected in Europe, formidable by their arms and numbers, if the generals had understood the science of command and their soldiers the duty of obedience. The

and ravage
Europe as far
as Constanti-
nople.

¹⁰ Procopius de *Ædificiis*, l. iv. c. 5 [tom. iii p. 286, edit. Bonn]. These fortresses were afterwards restored, strengthened, and enlarged by the Emperor Justinian; but they were soon destroyed by the Abares, who succeeded to the power and possessions of the Huns.

armies of the Eastern empire were vanquished in three successive engagements; and the progress of Attila may be traced by the fields of battle. The two former, on the banks of the Utus and under the walls of Marcianopolis, were fought in the extensive plains between the Danube and Mount Hæmus. As the Romans were pressed by a victorious enemy, they gradually and unskilfully retired towards the Chersonesus of Thrace; and that narrow peninsula, the last extremity of the land, was marked by their third and irreparable defeat. By the destruction of this army, Attila acquired the indisputable possession of the field. From the Hellespont to Thermopylæ and the suburbs of Constantinople, he ravaged, without resistance and without mercy, the provinces of Thrace and Macedonia. Heraclea and Hadrianople might perhaps escape this dreadful irruption of the Huns; but the words the most expressive of total extirpation and erasure are applied to the calamities which they inflicted on seventy cities of the Eastern empire.²⁰ Theodosius, his court, and the unwarlike people were protected by the walls of Constantinople; but those walls had been shaken by a recent earthquake, and the fall of fifty-eight towers had opened a large and tremendous breach. The damage, indeed, was speedily repaired; but this accident was aggravated by a superstitious fear that Heaven itself had delivered the imperial city to the shepherds of Scythia, who were strangers to the laws, the language, and the religion of the Romans.²¹

In all their invasions of the civilized empires of the South, the Scythian shepherds have been uniformly actuated by a savage and destructive spirit. The laws of war that restrain the exercise of national rapine and murder are founded on two principles of substantial interest—the knowledge of the permanent benefits which may be

The Scythian, or Tatar, wars.

²⁰ "Septuaginta civitates" (says Prosper Tyro) "deprædatione vastatæ." The language of Count Marcellinus is still more forcible: "Pene totam Europam, invasus excoisique civitatibus atque castellis, conrasit."

²¹ Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 106, 107) has paid great attention to this memorable earthquake, which was felt as far from Constantinople as Antioch and Alexandria, and is celebrated by all the ecclesiastical writers. In the hands of a popular preacher, an earthquake is an engine of admirable effect.

obtained by a moderate use of conquest, and a just apprehension lest the desolation which we inflict on the enemy's country may be retaliated on our own. But these considerations of hope and fear are almost unknown in the pastoral state of nations. The Huns of Attila may without injustice be compared to the Moguls and Tartars before their primitive manners were changed by religion and luxury; and the evidence of Oriental history may reflect some light on the short and imperfect annals of Rome. After the Moguls had subdued the northern provinces of China, it was seriously proposed—not in the hour of victory and passion, but in calm, deliberate council—to exterminate all the inhabitants of that populous country, that the vacant land might be converted to the pasture of cattle. The firmness of a Chinese mandarin,²² who insinuated some principles of rational policy into the mind of Zingis, diverted him from the execution of this horrid design. But in the cities of Asia which yielded to the Moguls the inhuman abuse of the rights of war was exercised with a regular form of discipline, which may, with equal reason, though not with equal authority, be imputed to the victorious Huns. The inhabitants who had submitted to their discretion were ordered to evacuate their houses and to assemble in some plain adjacent to the city, where a division was made of the vanquished into three parts. The first class consisted of the soldiers of the garrison and of the young men capable of bearing arms, and their fate was instantly decided: they were either enlisted among the Moguls or they were massacred on the spot by the troops, who, with pointed spears and bended bows, had formed a circle round the captive multitude. The second class, composed of the young and beautiful women, of

²² He represented to the Emperor of the Moguls that the four provinces—Petcheli, Chantong, Chansi, and Leaotong—which he already possessed might annually produce, under a mild administration, 500,000 ounces of silver, 400,000 measures of rice, and 800,000 pieces of silk. Gaubil, *Hist. de la Dynastie des Mongous*, p. 58, 59. Yelutchousay (such was the name of the mandarin) was a wise and virtuous minister, who saved his country and civilized the conquerors.^a See p. 102, 103.

^a Compare the life of this remarkable man, translated from the Chinese by M. Abel Rémusat, *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, tom. ii. p. 64.—M.

the artificers of every rank and profession, and of the more wealthy or honorable citizens, from whom a private ransom might be expected, was distributed in equal or proportionable lots. The remainder, whose life or death was alike useless to the conquerors, were permitted to return to the city, which in the meanwhile had been stripped of its valuable furniture; and a tax was imposed on those wretched inhabitants for the indulgence of breathing their native air. Such was the behavior of the Moguls when they were not conscious of any extraordinary rigor.²² But the most casual provocation, the slightest motive of caprice or convenience, often provoked them to involve a whole people in an indiscriminate massacre; and the ruin of some flourishing cities was executed with such unrelenting perseverance that, according to their own expression, horses might run without stumbling over the ground where they had once stood. The three great capitals of Khorasan—Maru, Neisabour, and Herat—were destroyed by the armies of Zingis; and the exact account which was taken of the slain amounted to four million three hundred and forty-seven thousand persons.²⁴ Timour, or Tamerlane, was educated in a less barbarous age and in the profession of the Mahometan religion; yet, if Attila equalled the hostile ravages of Tamerlane,²⁵ either the Tartar or the Hun might deserve the epithet of the SCOURGE OF GOD.²⁶

²² Particular instances would be endless: but the curious reader may consult the *Life of Gengiscan* by Petit de la Croix, the *Histoire des Mongous*, and the fifteenth book of the *History of the Huns*.

²⁴ At Maru, 1,800,000; at Herat, 1,600,000; at Neisabour, 1,747,000. D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 380, 381. I use the orthography of D'Anville's maps. It must, however, be allowed that the Persians were disposed to exaggerate their losses, and the Moguls to magnify their exploits.

²⁵ Chæfegeddin Ali, his servile panegyrist, would afford us many horrid examples. In his camp before Delhi, Timour massacred 100,000 Indian prisoners who had *smiled* when the army of their countrymen appeared in sight (*Hist. de Timur Bec*, tom. iii. p. 90). The people of Ispahan supplied 70,000 human skulls for the structure of several lofty towers (*id.* tom. i. p. 434). A similar tax was levied on the revolt of Bagdad (tom. iii. p. 370); and the exact account, which Chæfegeddin was not able to procure from the proper officers, is stated by another historian (*Ahmed Arabsiada*, tom. ii. p. 175, vers. Manger) at 90,000 heads.

²⁶ The ancients—Jornandes, Priscus, etc.—are ignorant of this epithet. The

It may be affirmed with bolder assurance that the Huns depopulated the provinces of the empire by the number of Roman subjects whom they led away into captivity.

State of the
captives.

In the hands of a wise legislator, such an industrious colony might have contributed to diffuse through the deserts of Scythia the rudiments of the useful and ornamental arts; but these captives, who had been taken in war, were accidentally dispersed among the hordes that obeyed the empire of Attila. The estimate of their respective value was formed by the simple judgment of unenlightened and unprejudiced barbarians. Perhaps they might not understand the merit of a theologian profoundly skilled in the controversies of the Trinity and the Incarnation; yet they respected the ministers of every religion; and the active zeal of the Christian missionaries, without approaching the person or the palace of the monarch, successfully labored in the propagation of the Gospel.²⁷ The pastoral tribes, who were ignorant of the distinction of landed property, must have disregarded the use as well as the abuse of civil jurisprudence; and the skill of an eloquent lawyer could excite only their contempt or their abhorrence.²⁸ The perpetual intercourse of the Huns and the Goths had communicated the familiar knowledge of the two national dialects; and the barbarians were ambitious of conversing in Latin, the military idiom even of the Eastern empire.²⁹ But they disdained the language and the sciences of

modern Hungarians have imagined that it was applied by a hermit of Gaul to Attila, who was pleased to insert it among the titles of his royal dignity. Mascon, ix. 23, and Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. vi. p. 143.

²⁷ The missionaries of St. Chrysostom had converted great numbers of the Scythians, who dwelt beyond the Danube in tents and wagons. Theodoret, l. v. c. 81; Photius, p. 1517 [p. 508 b, edit. Bekker]. The Mahometans, the Nestorians, and the Latin Christians thought themselves secure of gaining the sons and grandsons of Zingis, who treated the rival missionaries with impartial favor.

²⁸ The Germans who exterminated Varus and his legions had been particularly offended with the Roman laws and lawyers. One of the barbarians, after the effectual precautions of cutting out the tongue of an advocate and sewing up his mouth, observed with much satisfaction that the viper could no longer hiss. Florus, iv. 12.

²⁹ Priscus, p. 59 [p. 190, edit. Bonn]. It should seem that the Huns preferred

the Greeks; and the vain sophist or grave philosopher who had enjoyed the flattering applause of the schools was mortified to find that his robust servant was a captive of more value and importance than himself. The mechanic arts were encouraged and esteemed, as they tended to satisfy the wants of the Huns. An architect in the service of Onegesius, one of the favorites of Attila, was employed to construct a bath; but this work was a rare example of private luxury; and the trades of the smith, the carpenter, the armorer, were much more adapted to supply a wandering people with the useful instruments of peace and war. But the merit of the physician was received with universal favor and respect. The barbarians, who despised death, might be apprehensive of disease; and the haughty conqueror trembled in the presence of a captive to whom he ascribed, perhaps, an imaginary power of prolonging or preserving his life.³⁰ The Huns might be provoked to insult the misery of their slaves, over whom they exercised a despotic command;³¹ but their manners were not susceptible of a refined system of oppression, and the efforts of courage and diligence were often recompensed by the gift of freedom. The historian Priscus, whose embassy is a source of curious instruction, was accosted in the camp of Attila by a stranger, who saluted him in the Greek language, but whose dress and figure displayed the appearance of a wealthy Scythian. In the siege of Viminacium he had lost, according to his own account, his fortune and liberty; he became the slave of Onegesius; but his faithful services against the Romans and the

the Gothic and Latin languages to their own, which was probably a harsh and barren idiom.

³⁰ Philip de Comines, in his admirable picture of the last moments of Louis XI. (*Mémoires*, l. vi. c. 12), represents the insolence of his physician, who, in five months, extorted 54,000 crowns and a rich bishopric from the stern, avaricious tyrant.

³¹ Priscus (p. 61 [p. 194, edit. Bonn]) extols the equity of the Roman laws, which protected the life of a slave. *Occidere solent (says Tacitus of the Germans) non disciplinâ et severitate, sed impetu et irâ, ut inimicum, nisi quod impune.*—*De Moribus Germ.* c. 25. The Heruli, who were the subjects of Attila, claimed and exercised the power of life and death over their slaves. See a remarkable instance in the second book of *Agathias*.

Acatzires had gradually raised him to the rank of the native Huns, to whom he was attached by the domestic pledges of a new wife and several children. The spoils of war had restored and improved his private property; he was admitted to the table of his former lord; and the apostate Greek blessed the hour of his captivity, since it had been the introduction to a happy and independent state, which he held by the honorable tenure of military service. This reflection naturally produced a dispute on the advantages and defects of the Roman government, which was severely arraigned by the apostate, and defended by Priscus in a prolix and feeble declamation. The freedman of Onegesius exposed in true and lively colors the vices of a declining empire of which he had so long been the victim; the cruel absurdity of the Roman princes, unable to protect their subjects against the public enemy, unwilling to trust them with arms for their own defence; the intolerable weight of taxes, rendered still more oppressive by the intricate or arbitrary modes of collection; the obscurity of numerous and contradictory laws; the tedious and expensive forms of judicial proceedings; the partial administration of justice; and the universal corruption which increased the influence of the rich and aggravated the misfortunes of the poor. A sentiment of patriotic sympathy was at length revived in the breast of the fortunate exile, and he lamented with a flood of tears the guilt or weakness of those magistrates who had perverted the wisest and most salutary institutions."

The timid or selfish policy of the Western Romans had abandoned the Eastern empire to the Huns." The loss of armies and the want of discipline or virtue were not supplied by the personal character of the monarch. Theodosius might still affect the style as well as the title of *Invincible Augustus*, but he was reduced to solicit the clemency of Attila, who imperiously dictated these harsh and humiliating conditions of

Treaty of
peace be-
tween Attila
and the East-
ern empire.
A.D. 446.

²² See the whole conversation in Priscus, p. 59-62 [p. 189-197, edit. Bonn].

²³ "Nova iterum Orienti assurgit ruina . . . quum nulla ab Occidentalibus ferrentur auxilia." Prosper Tyro composed his Chronicle in the West; and his observation implies a censure.

peace. I. The Emperor of the East resigned, by an express or tacit convention, an extensive and important territory which stretched along the southern banks of the Danube, from Singidunum, or Belgrade, as far as Novæ, in the diocese of Thrace. The breadth was defined by the vague computation of fifteen * days' journey; but, from the proposal of Attila to remove the situation of the national market, it soon appeared that he comprehended the ruined city of Naissus within the limits of his dominions. II. The King of the Huns required and obtained that his tribute or subsidy should be augmented from seven hundred pounds of gold to the annual sum of two thousand one hundred; and he stipulated the immediate payment of six thousand pounds of gold to defray the expenses, or to expiate the guilt, of the war. One might imagine that such a demand, which scarcely equalled the measure of private wealth, would have been readily discharged by the opulent empire of the East; and the public distress affords a remarkable proof of the impoverished, or at least of the disorderly, state of the finances. A large proportion of the taxes extorted from the people was detained and intercepted in their passage through the foulest channels to the treasury of Constantinople. The revenue was dissipated by Theodosius and his favorites in wasteful and profuse luxury, which was disguised by the names of imperial magnificence or Christian charity. The immediate supplies had been exhausted by the unforeseen necessity of military preparations. A personal contribution, rigorously but capriciously imposed on the members of the senatorian order, was the only expedient that could disarm without loss of time the impatient avarice of Attila; and the poverty of the nobles compelled them to adopt the scandalous resource of exposing to public auction the jewels of their wives and the hereditary ornaments of their palaces." III. The King

* According to the description, or rather invective, of Chrysostom, an auction of Byzantine luxury must have been very productive. Every wealthy house possessed a semicircular table of massy silver, such as two men could scarcely lift, a vase of solid gold of the weight of forty pounds, cups, dishes, of the same metal, etc.

* Five in the last edition of Priscus. Niebuhr, *Byz. Hist.* p. 147.—M.

of the Huns appears to have established as a principle of national jurisprudence that he could never lose the property which he had once acquired in the persons who had yielded either a voluntary or reluctant submission to his authority. From this principle he concluded, and the conclusions of Attila were irrevocable laws, that the Huns who had been taken prisoners in war should be released without delay and without ransom; that every Roman captive who had presumed to escape should purchase his right to freedom at the price of twelve pieces of gold; and that all the barbarians who had deserted the standard of Attila should be restored without any promise or stipulation of pardon. In the execution of this cruel and ignominious treaty, the imperial officers were forced to massacre several loyal and noble deserters who refused to devote themselves to certain death; and the Romans forfeited all reasonable claims to the friendship of any Scythian people by this public confession that they were destitute either of faith or power to protect the suppliant who had embraced the throne of Theodosius.*

The firmness of a single town, so obscure that except on this occasion it has never been mentioned by any historian or geographer, exposed the disgrace of the emperor and Spirit of the Asimuntines. empire. Azimus, or Azimuntium, a small city of Thrace on the Illyrian borders,** had been distinguished by the

* The articles of the treaty, expressed without much order or precision, may be found in Priscus (p. 34, 35, 36, 37, 53, etc [edit. Pal.; p. 142-148, 178, etc., edit. Bonn]). Count Marcellinus dispenses some comfort by observing—1. *That Attila himself solicited the peace and presents which he had formerly refused; and,* 2. *That, about the same time, the ambassadors of India presented a fine large tame tiger to the Emperor Theodosius.*

** Priscus, p. 35, 36 [p. 143, 144, edit. Bonn]. Among the hundred and eighty-two forts or castles of Thrace enumerated by Procopius (*de Edificiis*, l. iv. c. xi. tom. ii. p. 92, edit. Paris [tom. iii. p. 306, edit. Bonn]), there is one of the name of *Esimontou*, whose position is doubtfully marked, in the neighborhood of Anchialus and the Euxine Sea. The name and walls of Azimuntium might subsist till the reign of Justinian; but the race of its brave defenders had been carefully exterminated by the jealousy of the Roman princes.*

* Azimus, or Azimuntium, is mentioned in the reign of Maurice (Theophylact,

martial spirit of its youth, the skill and reputation of the leaders whom they had chosen, and their daring exploits against the innumerable host of the barbarians. Instead of tamely expecting their approach, the Azimuntines attacked, in frequent and successful sallies, the troops of the Huns, who gradually declined the dangerous neighborhood, rescued from their hands the spoil and the captives, and recruited their domestic force by the voluntary association of fugitives and deserters. After the conclusion of the treaty, Attila still menaced the empire with implacable war, unless the Azimuntines were persuaded or compelled to comply with the conditions which their sovereign had accepted. The ministers of Theodosius confessed, with shame and with truth, that they no longer possessed any authority over a society of men who so bravely asserted their natural independence; and the King of the Huns condescended to negotiate an equal exchange with the citizens of Azimus. They demanded the restitution of some shepherds, who with their cattle had been accidentally surprised. A strict though fruitless inquiry was allowed; but the Huns were obliged to swear that they did not detain any prisoners belonging to the city before they could recover two surviving countrymen whom the Azimuntines had reserved as pledges for the safety of their lost companions. Attila, on his side, was satisfied and deceived by their solemn asseveration that the rest of the captives had been put to the sword; and that it was their constant practice immediately to dismiss the Romans and the deserters who had obtained the security of the public faith. This prudent and officious dissimulation may be condemned or excused by the casuists as they incline to the rigid decree of St. Augustine, or to the milder sentiment of St. Jerome and St. Chrysostom; but every soldier, every statesman, must acknowledge that if the race of the Azimuntines had been encouraged and multiplied, the barba-

L vii. c. 8). Gibbon, in quoting this passage, remarks (ch. xli. note 36). "On the evidence of this fact, which had not occurred to my memory, the candid reader will correct and excuse a note in ch. xxxiv. note 36, of this History, which hastens the decay of Azimus or Azimuntium, another century of patriotism and valor is cheaply purchased by such a confession."—S.

rians would have ceased to trample on the majesty of the empire.⁸⁷

It would have been strange, indeed, if Theodosius had purchased, by the loss of honor, a secure and solid tranquillity, or if his tameness had not invited the repetition of injuries. The Byzantine court was insulted by five or six successive embassies;⁸⁸ and the ministers of Attla were uniformly instructed to press the tardy or imperfect execution of the last treaty; to produce the names of fugitives and deserters who were still protected by the empire; and to declare, with seeming moderation, that unless their sovereign obtained complete and immediate satisfaction, it would be impossible for him, were it even his wish, to check the resentment of his warlike tribes. Besides the motives of pride and interest which might prompt the King of the Huns to continue this train of negotiation, he was influenced by the less honorable view of enriching his favorites at the expense of his enemies. The imperial treasury was exhausted to procure the friendly offices of the ambassadors and their principal attendants, whose favorable report might conduce to the maintenance of peace. The barbarian monarch was flattered by the liberal reception of his ministers; he computed with pleasure the value and splendor of their gifts, rigorously exacted the performance of every promise which would contribute to their private emolument, and treated as an important business of State the marriage of his secretary Constantius.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ The peevish dispute of St. Jerome and St. Augustine, who labored by different expedients to reconcile the *seeming* quarrel of the two apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, depends on the solution of an important question (Middleton's Works, vol. ii. p. 5-10), which has been frequently agitated by Catholic and Protestant divines, and even by lawyers and philosophers of every age.

⁸⁸ Montesquieu (*Considérations sur la Grandeur*, etc., ch. xix.) has delineated, with a bold and easy pencil, some of the most striking circumstances of the pride of Attla and the disgrace of the Romans. He deserves the praise of having read the *Fragments of Priscus*, which have been too much disregarded.

⁸⁹ See Priscus, p. 69, 71, 72, etc. [p. 208, 213, edit. Bonn]. I would fain believe that this adventurer was afterwards crucified by the order of Attla, on a suspicion of treasonable practices; but Priscus (p. 57 [p. 185, 186, edit. Bonn]) has too plainly distinguished *two* persons of the name of Constantius, who, from the similar events of their lives, might have been easily confounded.

That Gallic adventurer, who was recommended by Aëtius to the King of the Huns, had engaged his service to the ministers of Constantinople for the stipulated reward of a wealthy and noble wife; and the daughter of Count Saturninus was chosen to discharge the obligations of her country. The reluctance of the victim, some domestic troubles, and the unjust confiscation of her fortune cooled the ardor of her interested lover; but he still demanded, in the name of Attila, an equivalent alliance; and, after many ambiguous delays and excuses, the Byzantine court was compelled to sacrifice to this insolent stranger the widow of Armatius, whose birth, opulence, and beauty placed her in the most illustrious rank of the Roman matrons. For these importunate and oppressive embassies Attila claimed a suitable return: he weighed, with suspicious pride, the character and station of the imperial envoys; but he condescended to promise that he would advance as far as Sardica to receive any ministers who had been invested with the consular dignity. The council of Theodosius eluded this proposal by representing the desolate and ruined condition of Sardica; and even ventured to insinuate that every officer of the army or household was qualified to treat with the most powerful princes of Scythia. Maximin,⁴⁰ a respectable courtier, whose abilities had been long exercised in civil and military employments, accepted with reluctance the troublesome, and perhaps dangerous, commission of reconciling the angry spirit of the King of the Huns. His friend the historian Priscus⁴¹ embraced the opportunity of observing the barbarian hero in the peaceful and domestic scenes of life; but

⁴⁰ In the Persian treaty, concluded in the year 422, the wise and eloquent Maximin had been the assessor of Aídabuius (Socrates, l vii c. 20). When Marcian ascended the throne, the office of Great Chamberlain was bestowed on Maximin, who is ranked in a public edict among the four principal ministers of State (Novell. ad calc. Cod. Theod. p. 81 [tit. ii.]). He executed a civil and military commission in the Eastern provinces, and his death was lamented by the savages of Æthiopia, whose incursions he had repressed. See Priscus, p. 40, 41 [p. 153, 154, edit. Bonn].

⁴¹ Priscus was a native of Panium, in Thrace, and deserved by his eloquence an honorable place among the sophists of the age. His Byzantine History, which related to his own times, was comprised in seven books. See Fabricius, Biblioth.

the secret of the embassy, a fatal and guilty secret, was intrusted only to the interpreter Vigilius. The two last ambassadors of the Huns—Orestes, a noble subject of the Pannonian province, and Edecon, a valiant chieftain of the tribe of the Scyrri—returned at the same time from Constantinople to the royal camp. Their obscure names were afterwards illustrated by the extraordinary fortune and the contrast of their sons; the two servants of Attila became the fathers of the last Roman Emperor of the West, and of the first barbarian King of Italy.

The ambassadors, who were followed by a numerous train of men and horses, made their first halt at Sardica, at the distance of three hundred and fifty miles, or thirteen days' journey, from Constantinople. As the remains of Sardica were still included within the limits of the empire, it was incumbent on the Romans to exercise the duties of hospitality. They provided, with the assistance of the provincials, a sufficient number of sheep and oxen, and invited the Huns to a splendid, or, at least, a plentiful supper. But the harmony of the entertainment was soon disturbed by mutual prejudice and indiscretion. The greatness of the emperor and the empire was warmly maintained by their ministers; the Huns, with equal ardor, asserted the superiority of their victorious monarch; the dispute was inflamed by the rash and unseasonable flattery of Vigilius, who passionately rejected the comparison of a mere mortal with the divine Theodosius; and it was with extreme difficulty that Maximin and Priscus were able to divert the conversation or to soothe the angry minds of the barbarians. When they rose from table, the imperial ambassador presented Edecon and Orestes with rich gifts of silk robes and Indian pearls, which they thankfully accepted. Yet Orestes could not forbear insinuating that *he* had not always been treated with such respect and liberality; and the offensive distinction which was implied between his civil office and

The embassy
of Maximin
to Attila.
A. D. 448.

Græc. tom. vi. p. 285, 286. Notwithstanding the charitable judgment of the critics, I suspect that Priscus was a pagan.*

* Niebuhr concurs in this opinion. Life of Priscus in the new edition of the Byzantine Historians.—M.

the hereditary rank of his colleague seems to have made Edecon a doubtful friend and Orestes an irreconcilable enemy. After this entertainment, they travelled about one hundred miles from Sardica to Naissus. That flourishing city, which had given birth to the great Constantine, was levelled with the ground, the inhabitants were destroyed or dispersed, and the appearance of some sick persons, who were still permitted to exist among the ruins of the churches, served only to increase the horror of the prospect. The surface of the country was covered with the bones of the slain; and the ambassadors, who directed their course to the northwest, were obliged to pass the hills of modern Servia before they descended into the flat and marshy grounds which are terminated by the Danube. The Huns were masters of the great river; their navigation was performed in large canoes, hollowed out of the trunk of a single tree. The ministers of Theodosius were safely landed on the opposite bank; and their barbarian associates immediately hastened to the camp of Attila, which was equally prepared for the amusements of hunting or of war. No sooner had Maximin advanced about two miles^a from the Danube than he began to experience the fastidious insolence of the conqueror. He was sternly forbidden to pitch his tents in a pleasant valley, lest he should infringe the distant awe that was due to the royal mansion.^b The ministers of Attila pressed him to communicate the business and the instructions which he reserved for the ear of their sovereign. When Maximin temperately urged the contrary practice of nations, he was still more confounded to find that the resolutions of the Sacred Consistory, those secrets (says Priscus) which should not be revealed to the gods themselves, had been treacherously disclosed to the public enemy. On his refusal to comply with such ignominious terms, the imperial envoy was commanded instantly to depart; the order was recalled; it was again repeated; and the Huns renewed their ineffectual attempts to subdue the patient firmness of Maximin. At length, by the

^a Seventy stadia. Priscus, p. 173.—M.

^b He was forbidden to pitch his tents on an eminence, because Attila's were below or the plain. Ibid.—M.

intercession of Scotta, the brother of Onegesius, whose friendship had been purchased by a liberal gift, he was admitted to the royal presence; but, instead of obtaining a decisive answer, he was compelled to undertake a remote journey towards the North, that Attila might enjoy the proud satisfaction of receiving in the same camp the ambassadors of the Eastern and Western empires. His journey was regulated by the guides, who obliged him to halt, to hasten his march, or to deviate from the common road, as it best suited the convenience of the king. The Romans who traversed the plains of Hungary suppose that they passed *several* navigable rivers, either in canoes or portable boats; but there is reason to suspect that the winding stream of the Theiss, or Tibiscus, might present itself in different places under different names. From the contiguous villages they received a plentiful and regular supply of provisions; mead instead of wine, millet in the place of bread, and a certain liquor named *camus*, which, according to the report of Priscus, was distilled from barley.⁴² Such fare might appear coarse and indelicate to men who had tasted the luxury of Constantinople; but, in their accidental distress, they were relieved by the gentleness and hospitality of the same barbarians, so terrible and so merciless in war. The ambassadors had encamped on the edge of a large morass. A violent tempest of wind and rain, of thunder and lightning, overturned their tents, immersed their baggage and furniture in the water, and scattered their retinue, who wandered in the darkness of the night, uncertain of their road and apprehensive of some unknown danger, till they awakened by their cries the inhabitants of a neighboring village, the property of the widow of Bleda. A bright illumination, and in a few moments a comfortable fire of reeds, was kindled by their officious benevo-

⁴² The Huns themselves still continued to despise the labors of agriculture; they abused the privilege of a victorious nation; and the Goths, their industrious subjects, who cultivated the earth, dreaded their neighborhood, like that of so many ravenous wolves (Priscus, p. 45 [p. 163, edit Bonn]). In the same manner the Sarts and Tadjics provide for their own subsistence, and for that of the Usbec Tartars, their lazy and rapacious sovereigns. See Genealogical History of the Tartars, p. 423, 455, etc.

lence; the wants, and even the desires, of the Romans were liberally satisfied; and they seem to have been embarrassed by the singular politeness of Bleda's widow, who added to her other favors the gift, or at least the loan, of a sufficient number of beautiful and obsequious damsels. The sunshine of the succeeding day was dedicated to repose, to collect and dry the baggage, and to the refreshment of the men and horses; but in the evening, before they pursued their journey, the ambassadors expressed their gratitude to the bounteous lady of the village by a very acceptable present of silver cups, red fleeces, dried fruits, and Indian pepper. Soon after this adventure, they rejoined the march of Attila, from whom they had been separated about six days; and slowly proceeded to the capital of an empire which did not contain, in the space of several thousand miles, a single city.

As far as we may ascertain the vague and obscure geography of Priscus, this capital appears to have been seated between the Danube, the Theiss, and the Carpathian hills, in the plains of Upper Hungary, and most probably in the neighborhood of Jazberin, Agria, or Tokay.*

The royal
village and
palace.

In its origin it could be no more than an accidental camp, which, by the long and frequent residence of Attila, had insensibly swelled into a huge village, for the reception of his court, of the troops who followed his person, and of the va-

* It is evident that Priscus passed the Danube and the Theiss, and that he did not reach the foot of the Carpathian hills. Agria, Tokay, and Jazberin are situated in the plains circumscribed by this definition. M. de Buat (*Histoire des Peuples*, etc., tom. vii p. 461) has chosen Tokay; Otrokosci (p. 180, apud Maceon ix. 23), a learned Hungarian, has preferred Jazberin, a place about thirty-six miles westward of Buda and the Danube.*

* M. St. Martin considers the narrative of Priscus—the only authority of M. de Buat and of Gibbon—too vague to fix the position of Attila's camp. "It is worthy of remark that, in the Hungarian traditions collected by Thevroc, l. ii. c. 17, precisely on the left branch of the Danube where Attila's residence was situated, in the same parallel stands the present city of Buda, in Hungarian, Budavur. It is for this reason that this city has retained for a long time among the Germans of Hungary the name of Etzelnburg or Etzela-burg, i. e. the city of Attila. The distance of Buda from the place where Priscus crossed the Danube, on his way from Naisus, is equal to that which he traversed to reach the residence of the King of the Huns. I see no good reason for not acceding to the relations of the Hungarian historians." St. Martin, vi. 191.—M.

rious multitude of idle or industrious slaves and retainers.⁴⁴ The baths, constructed by Onegesius, were the only edifice of stone; the materials had been transported from Pannonia; and since the adjacent country was destitute even of large timber, it may be presumed that the meaner habitations of the royal village consisted of straw, of mud, or of canvas. The wooden houses of the more illustrious Huns were built and adorned with rude magnificence, according to the rank, the fortune, or the taste of the proprietors. They seem to have been distributed with some degree of order and symmetry; and each spot became more honorable as it approached the person of the sovereign. The palace of Attila, which surpassed all other houses in his dominions, was built entirely of wood, and covered an ample space of ground. The outward enclosure was a lofty wall, or palisade, of smooth square timber, intersected with high towers, but intended rather for ornament than defence. This wall, which seems to have encircled the declivity of a hill, comprehended a great variety of wooden edifices, adapted to the uses of royalty. A separate house was assigned to each of the numerous wives of Attila, and, instead of the rigid and illiberal confinement imposed by Asiatic jealousy, they politely admitted the Roman ambassadors to their presence, their table, and even to the freedom of an innocent embrace. When Maximin offered his presents to Cerca,^a the principal queen, he admired the singular architecture of her mansion, the height of the round columns, the size and beauty of the wood, which was curiously shaped or turned, or polished or carved; and his attentive eye was able to discover some

⁴⁴ The royal village of Attila may be compared to the city of Karacorum, the residence of the successors of Zingis, which, though it appears to have been a more stable habitation, did not equal the size or splendor of the town and abbey of St. Denys in the 18th century (see Rubruquis, in the *Histoire Générale des Voyages*, tom. vii. p. 286). The camp of Aurengezebe, as it is so agreeably described by Bernier (tom. ii. p. 217-235), blended the manners of Scythia with the magnificence and luxury of Hindostan.

^a The name of this queen occurs in Priscus in the form of Cerca (*Κρεια*, p. 197, edit. Bonn), and Rhecan (*Ρικαν*, p. 207). She is the Helche, Hariche, or Henske of the legends. See Grimm, *Die Deutsche Heldensage*, p. 68, 345.—S.

taste in the ornaments, and some regularity in the proportions. After passing through the guards who watched before the gate, the ambassadors were introduced into the private apartment of Cerca. The wife of Attila received their visit sitting, or rather lying, on a soft couch; the floor was covered with a carpet; the domestics formed a circle round the queen; and her damsels, seated on the ground, were employed in working the variegated embroidery which adorned the dress of the barbaric warriors. The Huns were ambitious of displaying those riches which were the fruit and evidence of their victories; the trappings of their horses, their swords, and even their shoes were studded with gold and precious stones; and their tables were profusely spread with plates and goblets and vases of gold and silver, which had been fashioned by the labor of Grecian artists. The monarch alone assumed the superior pride of still adhering to the simplicity of his Scythian ancestors.⁴⁶ The dress of Attila, his arms, and the furniture of his horse were plain, without ornament, and of a single color. The royal table was served in wooden cups and platters; flesh was his only food; and the conqueror of the North never tasted the luxury of bread.

When Attila first gave audience to the Roman ambassadors on the banks of the Danube, his tent was encompassed with a formidable guard. The monarch himself was seated in a wooden chair. His stern countenance, angry gestures, and impatient tone astonished the firmness of Maximin; but Vigilius had more reason to tremble, since he distinctly understood the menace that if Attila did not respect the law of nations, he would nail the deceitful interpreter to a cross, and leave his body to the vultures. The barbarian condescended, by producing an accurate list, to expose the bold falsehood of Vigilius, who had affirmed that no more than seventeen deserters could be found. But he arrogantly declared that he apprehended only the disgrace of contending with his

The behavior
of Attila to
the Roman
ambassadors.

⁴⁶ When the Moguls displayed the spoils of Asia in the diet of Toncal, the throne of Zingis was still covered with the original black felt carpet on which he had been seated when he was raised to the command of his warlike countrymen. See *Vie de Gengiscan*, l. iv. ch. 9.

fugitive slaves, since he despised their impotent efforts to defend the provinces which Theodosius had intrusted to their arms. "For what fortress" (added Attila), "what city, in the wide extent of the Roman empire, can hope to exist secure and impregnable if it is our pleasure that it should be erased from the earth?" He dismissed, however, the interpreter, who returned to Constantinople with his peremptory demand of more complete restitution and a more splendid embassy. His anger gradually subsided, and his domestic satisfaction in a marriage which he celebrated on the road with the daughter of Eslam^a might perhaps contribute to mollify the native fierceness of his temper. The entrance of Attila into the royal village was marked by a very singular ceremony. A numerous troop of women came out to meet their hero and their king. They marched before him, distributed into long and regular files; the intervals between the files were filled by white veils of thin linen, which the women on either side bore aloft in their hands, and which formed a canopy for a chorus of young virgins, who chanted hymns and songs in the Scythian language. The wife of his favorite Onegesius, with a train of female attendants, saluted Attila at the door of her own house, on his way to the palace, and offered, according to the custom of the country, her respectful homage, by entreating him to taste the wine and meat which she had prepared for his reception. As soon as the monarch had graciously accepted her hospitable gift, his domestics lifted a small silver table to a convenient height, as he sat on horseback; and Attila, when he had touched the goblet with his lips, again saluted

^a Escam — *ἐν τῇ γαμῶν θυγάτρεα Ἑσκάμ ἐβούλετο, πλείστας μὲν ἔχων γαμετάς, ἀγόμενος δὲ καὶ ταύτην κατὰ νόμον τὸν Σκυθικόν* [Priscus, p. 183, edit. Bonn]. Was this his own daughter, or the daughter of a person named Escam? (Gibbon has written incorrectly Eslam, an unknown name. The officer of Attila, called Eslam, is spelled Ἑσλας) In either case the construction is imperfect: a good Greek writer would have introduced an article to determine the sense, either *τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγάτρεα*, or *τὴν τοῦ Ἑσκάμ θυγάτρεα*. Nor is it quite clear whether Scythian usage is adduced to excuse the polygamy, or a marriage which would be considered incestuous in other countries. The Latin version has carefully preserved the ambiguity, "*filiam Escam uxorem*." I am not inclined to construe it "his own daughter," though I have too little confidence in the uniformity of the grammatical idioms of the Byzantines (though Priscus is one of the best) to express myself without hesitation.—M.

the wife of Onegesius, and continued his march. During his residence at the seat of empire his hours were not wasted in the recluse idleness of a seraglio; and the King of the Huns could maintain his superior dignity without concealing his person from the public view. He frequently assembled his council, and gave audience to the ambassadors of the nations; and his people might appeal to the supreme tribunal, which he held at stated times, and, according to the Eastern custom, before the principal gate of his wooden palace. The Romans, both of the East and of the West, were twice invited to the banquets where Attila feasted with the princes and nobles of

The royal feast. Scythia. Maximin and his colleagues were stopped on the threshold, till they had made a devout libation to the health and prosperity of the King of the Huns; and were conducted, after this ceremony, to their respective seats in a spacious hall. The royal table and couch, covered with carpets and fine linen, were raised by several steps in the midst of the hall; and a son, an uncle, or perhaps a favorite king, was admitted to share the simple and homely repast of Attila. Two lines of small tables, each of which contained three or four guests, were ranged in order on either hand; the right was esteemed the most honorable, but the Romans ingenuously confess that they were placed on the left, and that Beric, an unknown chieftain, most probably of the Gothic race, preceded the representatives of Theodosius and Valentinian. The barbarian monarch received from his cupbearer a goblet filled with wine, and courteously drank to the health of the most distinguished guest, who rose from his seat and expressed in the same manner his loyal and respectful vows. This ceremony was successively performed for all, or at least for the illustrious persons of the assembly; and a considerable time must have been consumed, since it was thrice repeated as each course or service was placed on the table. But the wine still remained after the meat had been removed; and the Huns continued to indulge their intemperance long after the sober and decent ambassadors of the two empires had withdrawn themselves from the nocturnal banquet. Yet before they retired, they enjoyed a singular opportunity of observing

the manners of the nation in their convivial amusements. Two Scythians stood before the couch of Attila, and recited the verses which they had composed to celebrate his valor and his victories. A profound silence prevailed in the hall, and the attention of the guests was captivated by the vocal harmony which revived and perpetuated the memory of their own exploits. A martial ardor flashed from the eyes of the warriors, who were impatient for battle; and the tears of the old men expressed their generous despair that they could no longer partake the danger and glory of the field.* This entertainment, which might be considered as a school of military virtue, was succeeded by a farce that debased the dignity of human nature. A Moorish and a Scythian buffoon^a successively excited the mirth of the rude spectators by their deformed figure, ridiculous dress, antic gestures, absurd speeches, and the strange unintelligible confusion of the Latin, the Gothic, and the Hunnic languages; and the hall resounded with loud and licentious peals of laughter. In the midst of this intemperate riot, Attila alone, without a change of countenance, maintained his steadfast and inflexible gravity, which was never relaxed, except on the entrance of Irnac, the youngest of his sons. He embraced the boy with a smile of paternal tenderness, gently pinched him by the cheek, and betrayed a partial affection, which was justified by the assurance of his prophets that Irnac would be the future support of his family and empire. Two days afterwards the ambassadors received a second invitation; and they had reason to praise the politeness as well as the hospitality of Attila. The King of the Huns held a long and familiar conversation with Maximin; but his civility was interrupted by rude expressions and haughty reproaches; and he was provoked, by a motive of in-

* If we may believe Plutarch (in Demetrio, tom v [c. 19] p 24), it was the custom of the Scythians, when they indulged in the pleasures of the table, to awaken their languid courage by the martial harmony of twanging their bow-strings.

^a The Moorish buffoon was called Zercon; and, as we learn from Priscus, in a passage preserved by Suidas (s v. Ζέρκων), that this buffoon was a dwarf, it is not improbable that Priscus mistook the German word *Zwerg* (a dwarf) for a proper name.—S.

terest, to support with unbecoming zeal the private claims of his secretary Constantius. "The emperor" (said Attila) "has long promised him a rich wife: Constantius must not be disappointed; nor should a Roman emperor deserve the name of liar." On the third day the ambassadors were dismissed; the freedom of several captives was granted, for a moderate ransom, to their pressing entreaties; and, besides the royal presents, they were permitted to accept from each of the Scythian nobles the honorable and useful gift of a horse. Maximin returned by the same road to Constantinople; and though he was involved in an accidental dispute with Beric, the new ambassador of Attila, he flattered himself that he had contributed, by the laborious journey, to confirm the peace and alliance of the two nations.⁴⁷

But the Roman ambassador was ignorant of the treacherous design which had been concealed under the mask of the public faith. The surprise and satisfaction of Edecon, when he contemplated the splendor of Constantinople, had encouraged the interpreter Vigilius to procure for him a secret interview with the eunuch Chrysaphius,⁴⁸ who governed the emperor and the empire. After some previous conversation, and a mutual oath of secrecy, the eunuch, who had not, from his own feelings or experience, imbibed any exalted notions of ministerial virtue, ventured to propose the death of Attila, as an important service, by which Edecon might deserve a liberal share of the wealth and luxury which he admired. The ambassador of the Huns listened to the

Conspiracy of
the Romans
against the
life of Attila.

⁴⁷ The curious narrative of this embassy, which required few observations, and was not susceptible of any collateral evidence, may be found in Priscus, p. 49-70 [edit. Paris; p. 170-209, edit. Bonn]. But I have not confined myself to the same order; and I had previously extracted the historical circumstances, which were less intimately connected with the journey and business of the Roman ambassadors.

⁴⁸ M. de Tillemont has very properly given the succession of chamberlains who reigned in the name of Theodosius. Chrysaphius was the last, and, according to the unanimous evidence of history, the worst of these favorites (see *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. vi. p. 117-119; *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. xv. p. 488). His partiality for his godfather, the heresiarch Eutyches, engaged him to persecute the orthodox party.

tempting offer ; and professed, with apparent zeal, his ability as well as readiness to execute the bloody deed. The design was communicated to the master of the offices, and the devout Theodosius consented to the assassination of his invincible enemy. But this perfidious conspiracy was defeated by the dissimulation or the repentance of Edecon ; and though he might exaggerate his inward abhorrence for the treason which he seemed to approve, he dexterously assumed the merit of an early and voluntary confession. If we *now* review the embassy of Maximin and the behavior of Attila, we must applaud the barbarian, who respected the laws of hospitality and generously entertained and dismissed the minister of a prince who had conspired against his life. But the rashness of Vigilius will appear still more extraordinary, since he returned, conscious of his guilt and danger, to the royal camp, accompanied by his son, and carrying with him a weighty purse of gold, which the favorite eunuch had furnished, to satisfy the demands of Edecon and to corrupt the fidelity of the guards. The interpreter was instantly seized and dragged before the tribunal of Attila, where he asserted his innocence with specious firmness, till the threat of inflicting instant death on his son extorted from him a sincere discovery of the criminal transaction. Under the name of ransom, or confiscation, the rapacious King of the Huns accepted two hundred pounds of gold for the life of a traitor whom he disdained to punish. He pointed his just indignation against a nobler object. His ambassadors, Eslaw and Orestes, were immediately despatched to Constantinople with a peremptory instruction which it was much safer for them to execute than to disobey. They boldly entered the imperial presence with the fatal purse hanging down from the neck of Orestes, who interrogated the eunuch Chrysaphius, as he stood beside the throne, whether he recognized the evidence of his guilt. But the office of reproof was reserved for the superior dignity of his colleague Eslaw, who gravely addressed the Emperor of the East in the following words : “ Theodosius is the son of an illustrious and respectable parent ; Attila likewise is descended from a noble race ; and *he* has supported by his

He reprimands and forgives the emperor.

actions the dignity which he inherited from his father Munduk. But Theodosius has forfeited his paternal honors, and, by consenting to pay tribute, has degraded himself to the condition of a slave. It is therefore just that he should reverence the man whom fortune and merit have placed above him, instead of attempting, like a wicked slave, clandestinely to conspire against his master." The son of Arcadius, who was accustomed only to the voice of flattery, heard with astonishment the severe language of truth: he blushed and trembled; nor did he presume directly to refuse the head of Chrysaphius, which Eslaw and Orestes were instructed to demand. A solemn embassy, armed with full powers and magnificent gifts, was hastily sent to deprecate the wrath of Attila; and his pride was gratified by the choice of Nominus and Anatolius, two ministers of consular or patrician rank, of whom the one was great treasurer, and the other was master-general of the armies of the East. He condescended to meet these ambassadors on the banks of the river Drengo; and though he at first affected a stern and haughty demeanor, his anger was insensibly mollified by their eloquence and liberality. He condescended to pardon the emperor, the eunuch, and the interpreter; bound himself by an oath to observe the conditions of peace; released a great number of captives; abandoned the fugitives and deserters to their fate; and resigned a large territory, to the south of the Danube, which he had already exhausted of its wealth and inhabitants. But this treaty was purchased at an expense which might have supported a vigorous and successful war; and the subjects of Theodosius were compelled to redeem the safety of a worthless favorite by oppressive taxes which they would more cheerfully have paid for his destruction."

The Emperor Theodosius did not long survive the most hu-

" This secret conspiracy, and its important consequences, may be traced in the fragments of Priscus, p. 37, 38, 39, 54, 70, 71, 72 [p. 146-150, 180, 210-214, edit. Bonn]. The chronology of that historian is not fixed by any precise date; but the series of negotiations between Attila and the Eastern empire must be included within the three or four years which are terminated, A.D. 450, by the death of Theodosius,

miliating circumstance of an inglorious life. As he was riding or hunting in the neighborhood of Constantinople, he was thrown from his horse into the river Lycus: the spine of the back was injured by the fall; and he expired some days afterwards, in the fiftieth year of his age and the forty-third of his reign.* His sister Pulcheria, whose authority had been controlled both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs by the pernicious influence of the eunuchs, was unanimously proclaimed empress of the East; and the Romans, for the first time, submitted to a female reign. No sooner had Pulcheria ascended the throne than she indulged her own and the public resentment by an act of popular justice. Without any legal trial, the eunuch Chrysaphius was executed before the gates of the city; and the immense riches which had been accumulated by the rapacious favorite served only to hasten and to justify his punishment." Amidst the general acclamations of the clergy and people, the empress did not forget the prejudice and disadvantage to which her sex was exposed; and she wisely resolved to prevent their murmurs by the choice of a colleague who would always respect the superior rank and virgin chastity of his wife. She gave her hand to Marcian, a senator, about sixty years of age; and the nominal husband of Pulcheria was solemnly invested with the imperial purple. The zeal which he displayed for the orthodox creed, as it was established by the Council of Chalcedon, would alone have inspired the grateful eloquence of the Catholics. But the behavior of Marcian in a private life, and afterwards on the throne, may support a more rational belief that he was quali-

Theodosius
the younger
dies,
A.D. 450,
July 28;

and is suc-
ceeded by
Marcian,
August 25.

* Theodorus the Reader (see Vales. Hist. Eccles. tom. iii. p. 563) and the Paschal Chronicle mention the fall without specifying the injury; but the consequence was so likely to happen, and so unlikely to be invented, that we may safely give credit to Nicephorus Callistus, a Greek of the fourteenth century.

"*"Pulcheriæ nutū"* (says Count Marcellinus) "*suâ cum avaritiâ interemptus est.*" She abandoned the eunuch to the pious revenge of a son whose father had suffered at his instigation."

* Might not the execution of Chrysaphius have been a sacrifice to avert the anger of Attila, whose assassination the eunuch had attempted to contrive?—M.

fied to restore and invigorate an empire which had been almost dissolved by the successive weakness of two hereditary monarchs. He was born in Thrace, and educated to the profession of arms; but Marcian's youth had been severely exercised by poverty and misfortune, since his only resource, when he first arrived at Constantinople, consisted in two hundred pieces of gold which he had borrowed of a friend. He passed nineteen years in the domestic and military service of Aspar, and his son Ardaburius; followed those powerful generals to the Persian and African wars; and obtained, by their influence, the honorable rank of tribune and senator. His mild disposition and useful talents, without alarming the jealousy, recommended Marcian to the esteem and favor, of his patrons. He had seen, perhaps he had felt, the abuses of a venal and oppressive administration; and his own example gave weight and energy to the laws which he promulgated for the reformation of manners.⁵²

⁵² Procopius de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 4 [tom. i. p. 325 seq. edit. Bonn]; Evagrius, l. ii. c. 1; Theophanes, p. 90, 91 [edit. Paris; tom. i. p. 161-164, edit. Bonn]; Novell. ad calcem Cod. Theod. tom. vi. p. 30. The praises which St. Leo and the Catholics have bestowed on Marcian are diligently transcribed by Baronius, as an encouragement for future princes.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Invasion of Gaul by Attila.—He is Repulsed by Aëtius and the Visigoths.—Attila Invades and Evacuates Italy.—The Deaths of Attila, Aetius, and Valentinian the Third.

It was the opinion of Marcian that war should be avoided as long as it is possible to preserve a secure and honorable peace; but it was likewise his opinion that peace cannot be honorable or secure if the sovereign betrays a pusillanimous aversion to war. This temperate courage dictated his reply to the demands of Attila, who insolently pressed the payment of the annual tribute. The emperor signified to the barbarians that they must no longer insult the majesty of Rome by the mention of a tribute; that he was disposed to reward, with becoming liberality, the faithful friendship of his allies; but that if they presumed to violate the public peace, they should feel that he possessed troops and arms and resolution to repel their attacks. The same language, even in the camp of the Huns, was used by his ambassador Apollonius, whose bold refusal to deliver the presents till he had been admitted to a personal interview displayed a sense of dignity and a contempt of danger which Attila was not prepared to expect from the degenerate Romans.¹ He threatened to chastise the rash successor of Theodosius; but he hesitated whether he should first direct his invincible arms against the Eastern or the Western empire. While mankind awaited his decision with awful suspense, he sent an equal defiance to the courts of Ravenna and Constantinople; and his ministers saluted the two emperors with the same haughty declaration—"Attila, *my* lord, and *thy* lord, commands thee to provide a palace for his immediate recep-

Attila threatens both empires, and prepares to invade Gaul. A.D. 450.

¹ See Priscus, p. 39, 72 [p. 213, 214, edit. Bonn].

tion.”* But as the barbarian despised, or affected to despise, the Romans of the East, whom he had so often vanquished, he soon declared his resolution of suspending the easy conquest till he had achieved a more glorious and important enterprise. In the memorable invasions of Gaul and Italy, the Huns were naturally attracted by the wealth and fertility of those provinces; but the particular motives and provocations of Attila can only be explained by the state of the Western empire under the reign of Valentinian, or, to speak more correctly, under the administration of Aëtius.*

After the death of his rival Boniface, Aëtius had prudently retired to the tents of the Huns; and he was indebted to their alliance for his safety and his restoration. Instead of the suppliant language of a guilty exile, he solicited his pardon at the head of sixty thousand barbarians; and the Empress Placidia confessed, by a feeble resistance, that the condescension which might have been ascribed to clemency was the effect of weakness or fear. She delivered herself, her son Valentinian, and the Western empire into the hands of an insolent subject; nor could Placidia protect the son-in-law of Boniface, the virtuous and faithful Sebastian,⁴ from the implacable persecution which urged him from one kingdom to another, till he miserably perished in the service of the Vandals. The fortunate Aëtius, who was immediately promoted to the rank of patrician and thrice

Character
and adminis-
tration of
Aëtius
A.D. 432-454.

* The Alexandrian or Paschal Chronicle, which introduces this haughty message during the lifetime of Theodosius, may have anticipated the date; but the dull annalist was incapable of inventing the original and genuine style of Attila.

* The second book of the *Histoire Critique de l'Établissement de la Monarchie Française*, tom. i. p. 189-424, throws great light on the state of Gaul when it was invaded by Attila; but the ingenious author, the Abbé Dubos, too often bewilders himself in system and conjecture.

⁴ Victor Vitensis (*de Persecut. Vandal.* l. i. c. 6, p. 8, edit. Ruinart) calls him “acer consilio et strenuus in bello:” but his courage, when he became unfortunate, was censured as desperate rashness; and Sebastian deserved, or obtained, the epithet of *præceps* (Sidon. Apollinar. *Carmen* ix. 281). His adventures at Constantinople, in Sicily, Gaul, Spain, and Africa are faintly marked in the *Chronicles* of Marcellinus and Idatius. In his distress he was always followed by a numerous train, since he could ravage the Hellespont and Propontis and seize the city of Barcelona.

invested with the honors of the consulship, assumed, with the title of master of the cavalry and infantry, the whole military power of the State; and he is sometimes styled by contemporary writers the duke, or general, of the Romans of the West. His prudence rather than his virtue engaged him to leave the grandson of Theodosius in the possession of the purple; and Valentinian was permitted to enjoy the peace and luxury of Italy, while the patrician appeared in the glorious light of a hero and a patriot, who supported near twenty years the ruins of the Western empire. The Gothic historian ingenuously confesses that Aëtius was born for the salvation of the Roman republic;^a and the following portrait, though it is drawn in the fairest colors, must be allowed to contain a much larger proportion of truth than of flattery.* “His mother was a wealthy and noble Italian, and his father Gaudentius, who held a distinguished rank in the province of Scythia, gradually rose from the station of a military *domestic* to the dignity of master of the cavalry. Their son, who was enrolled almost in his infancy in the guards, was given as a hostage, first to Alaric,

^a Reipublicæ Romanæ singulariter natus, qui superbiam Suevorum, Francorumque barbariem immensis cædibus servire Imperio Romano coegisset.—Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, c. 34, p. 660.

* Some valuable fragments of a poetical panegyric on Aëtius by Merobaudes, a Spaniard, have been recovered from a palimpsest MS. by the sagacity and industry of Niebuhr. They have been reprinted in the new edition of the Byzantine Historians. The poet speaks in glowing terms of the long (“annosa”) peace enjoyed under the administration of Aëtius. The verses are very spirited. The poet was rewarded by a statue publicly dedicated to his honor in Rome.

Danuvii cum pace redit, Tanaimque furore
Exiit, et nigro candentes æthere terras
Marte suo caruisse jubet. Dedit otia ferro
Caucasus, et sævi condemnant proelia reges.
Addidit hiberni famulantia fœdera Rhenus
Orbis . . .
Lustrat Aremoricos jam mitior incola saltus;
Perdidit et mores tellus, adsuetaque sævo
Crimine quæsitæ silvis celare rapinas,
Discit inexpertis Cererem committere campis:
Cæsareoque diu manus oblectata labori
Sustinet acceptas nostro sub consule leges;
Et quamvis Geticis sulcum confundat aratris,
Barbara vicinæ refugit consortia gentis.

Merobaudes, Panegyri. p. 11.—M.

and afterwards to the Huns;^a and he successively obtained the civil and military honors of the palace, for which he was equally qualified by superior merit. The graceful figure of Ætius was not above the middle stature; but his manly limbs were admirably formed for strength, beauty, and agility; and he excelled in the martial exercises of managing a horse, drawing the bow, and darting the javelin. He could patiently endure the want of food or of sleep; and his mind and body were alike capable of the most laborious efforts. He possessed the genuine courage that can despise not only dangers, but injuries; and it was impossible either to corrupt, or deceive, or intimidate the firm integrity of his soul."^b The barbarians who had seated themselves in the Western provinces were insensibly taught to respect the faith and valor of the patrician Ætius. He soothed their passions, consulted their prejudices, balanced their interests, and checked their ambition.^b A seasonable treaty which he concluded with Genseric protected Italy from the depredations of the Vandals; the independent

^a This portrait is drawn by Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus, a contemporary historian, known only by some extracts which are preserved by Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 8, in tom. ii. p. 163). It was probably the duty, or at least the interest, of Renatus to magnify the virtues of Ætius; but he would have shown more dexterity if he had not insisted on his patient, *forgiving* disposition.

—cum Scythicis succumberet ensibus orbis,
Telaque Tæpeias premerent Arctoa secures,
Hostilem fregit rabiem, pignusque superbi
Fœderis et mundi pretium fuit. Hinc modo voti
Rata fides, validis quod dux premat impiger armis
Edomuit quos pace puer, bellumque repressit,
Ignarus quid bella forent. Stupere feoces
In tenero jam membra Getæ. Rex ipse, verendum
Miratus pueri decus et prodentia fatum
Lumina, pumævas dederat gestare faretas,
Laudabatque manus librantem et tela gerentem
Oblitus quod noster erat. Pro nescia regis
Corda, feris quanto populis discrimine constet
Quod Latium docet arma ducem!

Merobaudes, p. 15.—M.

Insessor Libyes, quamvis, fatalibus armis
Ausus Ehasi solum rescindere regni,
Milibus Arctois Tyrias compleverat arces,
Nunc hostem exutus pactis propriis arsit
Romanam vincere fidem, Latiosque parentes
Adnumerare sibi, sociamque intexere prolem.

Merobaudes, p. 12.—M.

Britons implored and acknowledged his salutary aid; the imperial authority was restored and maintained in Gaul and Spain; and he compelled the Franks and the Suevi, whom he had vanquished in the field, to become the useful confederates of the republic.

From a principle of interest as well as gratitude, Aëtius assiduously cultivated the alliance of the Huns. While he resided in their tents as a hostage or an exile, he had familiarly conversed with Attila himself, the nephew of his benefactor; and the two famous antagonists appear to have been connected by a personal and military friendship, which they afterwards confirmed by mutual gifts, frequent embassies, and the education of Carpilio, the son of Aëtius, in the camp of Attila. By the specious professions of gratitude and voluntary attachment, the patrician might disguise his apprehensions of the Scythian conqueror, who pressed the two empires with his innumerable armies. His demands were obeyed or eluded. When he claimed the spoils of a vanquished city, some vases of gold, which had been fraudulently embezzled, the civil and military governors of Noricum were immediately despatched to satisfy his complaints;⁷ and it is evident, from their conversation with Maximin and Priscus in the royal village, that the valor and prudence of Aëtius had not saved the Western Romans from the common ignominy of tribute. Yet his dexterous policy prolonged the advantages of a salutary peace; and a numerous army of Huns and Alani, whom he had attached to his person, was employed in the defence of Gaul. Two colonies of these barbarians were judiciously fixed in the territories of Valence and Orleans;⁸ and their active cavalry secured the important

⁷ The embassy consisted of Count Romulus, of Promotus, President of Noricum; and of Romanus, the military duke. They were accompanied by Tatullus, an illustrious citizen of Petovio, in the same province, and father of Orestes, who had married the daughter of Count Romulus. See Priscus, p. 57, 65 [p. 185, 198, edit Bonn]. Cassiodorus (*Variar. i. 4*) mentions another embassy which was executed by his father and Carpilio, the son of Aëtius; and, as Attila was no more, he could safely boast of their manly, intrepid behavior in his presence.

⁸ *Deserta Valentinae urbis rura Alanis partienda traduntur.*—Prosper. Tyronis *Chron. in Historiens de France, tom. i. p. 639.* A few lines afterwards, Prosper

passages of the Rhone and of the Loire. These savage allies were not indeed less formidable to the subjects than to the enemies of Rome. Their original settlement was enforced with the licentious violence of conquest; and the province through which they marched was exposed to all the calamities of a hostile invasion.* Strangers to the emperor or the republic, the Alani of Gaul were devoted to the ambition of Aëtius; and though he might suspect that, in a contest with Attila himself, they would revolt to the standard of their national king, the patrician labored to restrain, rather than to excite, their zeal and resentment against the Goths, the Burgundians, and the Franks.

The kingdom established by the Visigoths in the southern provinces of Gaul had gradually acquired strength and maturity; and the conduct of those ambitious barbarians, either in peace or war, engaged the perpetual vigilance of Aëtius. After the death of Wallia, the Gothic sceptre devolved to Theodoric, the son of the great Alaric;³⁰ and his prosperous reign of more than

The Visigoths in Gaul under the reign of Theodoric.
A.D. 419-451.

observes that lands in the *ulterior* Gaul were assigned to the Alani. Without admitting the correction of Dubos^a (tom. i. p. 300), the reasonable supposition of two colonies or garrisons of Alani will confirm his arguments and remove his objections.

* See Prosper Tyro, p. 639. Sidonius (Panegy. Avit. 246) complains, in the name of Auvergne, his native country—

Litorius Scythicos equites tunc forte, subacto
Celsus Aremorico, Geticum rapiebat in agmen
Per terras, Arverne, tuas; qui proxima quæque
Discussu, flammis, ferro, feritate, rapinis,
Delebant; pacis fallentes nomen inane.

Another poet, Paulinus of Périgord, confirms the complaint:

Nam socium vix ferre queas, qui durior hoste.

See Dubos, tom. i. p. 330.

³⁰ Theodoric II., the son of Theodoric I., declares to Avitus his resolution of repairing, or expiating, the fault which his *grandfather* had committed.

Quæ noster peccavit avus, quem fuscet id unum,
Quod te, Roma, capit.

Sidon. Panegyric. Avit. 505.

^a The correction of Dubos is, however, approved by the editors of the *Hist. de France*, who remark, “*Abbas supra citatus emendandum putat Aureliana urbis: atque emendationem suam non contemnendis firmat argumentis. Primum enim constat Alanos non ad Rhodanum sed ad Ligerim sedes habuisse; secundò, Valentia Gallie ulteriori attribui nullo modo potest.*”—S.

thirty years over a turbulent people may be allowed to prove that his prudence was supported by uncommon vigor, both of mind and body. Impatient of his narrow limits, Theodoric aspired to the possession of Arles, the wealthy seat of government and commerce; but the city was saved by the timely approach of Aëtius; and the Gothic king, who had raised the siege with some loss and disgrace, was persuaded, for an adequate subsidy, to divert the martial valor of his subjects in a Spanish war. Yet Theodoric still watched, and eagerly seized, the favorable moment of renewing his hostile attempts. The

A.D. 435-439. Goths besieged Narbonne, while the Belgic provinces were invaded by the Burgundians; and the public safety was threatened on every side by the apparent union of the enemies of Rome. On every side, the activity of Aëtius and his Scythian cavalry opposed a firm and successful resistance. Twenty thousand Burgundians were slain in battle; and the remains of the nation humbly accepted a dependent seat in the mountains of Savoy.¹ The walls of Narbonne had been shaken by the battering engines, and the inhabitants had endured the last extremities of famine, when Count Litorius, approaching in silence, and directing each horseman to carry behind him two sacks of flour, cut his way through the intrenchments of the besiegers. The siege was immediately raised; and the more decisive victory, which is ascribed to the personal conduct of Aëtius himself, was marked with the blood of eight thousand Goths. But in the absence of the patrician, who was hastily summoned to Italy by some public or private interest, Count Litorius succeeded to the com-

This character, applicable only to the great Alaic, establishes the genealogy of the Gothic kings, which has hitherto been unnoticed *

¹ The name of *Sapaudia*, the origin of *Savoy*, is first mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus [xv. c. 11], and two military posts are ascertained by the Notitia within the limits of that province; a cohort was stationed at Grenoble, in Dauphiné; and Ebredunum, or Iverdun, sheltered a fleet of small vessels which commanded the lake of Neufchâtel. See Valesius, Notit. Galliarum, p. 503. D'Anville, Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 284, 579.

* Aschbach does not accept this genealogy, on the ground that there is no authority for it in any historian, and that the word *avus* is used by Sidonius merely in a poetical sense. Geschichte der Westgothen, p. 118.—S.

mand; and his presumption soon discovered that far different talents are required to lead a wing of cavalry or to direct the operations of an important war. At the head of an army of Huns, he rashly advanced to the gates of Toulouse, full of careless contempt for an enemy whom his misfortunes had rendered prudent and his situation made desperate. The predictions of the augurs had inspired Litorius with the profane confidence that he should enter the Gothic capital in triumph; and the trust which he reposed in his pagan allies encouraged him to reject the fair conditions of peace which were repeatedly proposed by the bishops in the name of Theodoric. The King of the Goths exhibited in his distress the edifying contrast of Christian piety and moderation; nor did he lay aside his sackcloth and ashes till he was prepared to arm for the combat. His soldiers, animated with martial and religious enthusiasm, assaulted the camp of Litorius. The conflict was obstinate; the slaughter was mutual. The Roman general, after a total defeat, which could be imputed only to his unskilful rashness, was actually led through the streets of Toulouse, not in his own, but in a hostile triumph; and the misery which he experienced, in a long and ignominious captivity, excited the compassion of the barbarians themselves.¹² Such a loss in a country whose spirit and finances were long since exhausted could not easily be repaired; and the Goths, assuming, in their turn, the sentiments of ambition and revenge, would have planted their victorious standards on the banks of the Rhone if the presence of Aëtius had not restored strength and discipline to the Romans.¹³ The two armies expected the signal

¹² Salvian has attempted to explain the moral government of the Deity—a task which may be readily performed by supposing that the calamities of the wicked are judgments, and those of the righteous trials.

¹³

Capto terrarum damna patebant
Litorio: in Rhodanum proprios producere fines,
Theodorici fixum; nec erat pugnare necesse,
Sed migrare Getis. Rabidam trux asperat iram
Victor, quod sensit Scythicum sub mœnibus hostem
Impuat, et nihil est gravius, si forsitan unquam
Vincere contingat, trepido.

Panegy. Avit. 800, etc.

Sidonius then proceeds, according to the duty of a panegyrist, to transfer the whole merit from Aëtius to his minister Avitus.

of a decisive action ; but the generals, who were conscious of each other's force and doubtful of their own superiority, prudently sheathed their swords in the field of battle ; and their reconciliation was permanent and sincere. Theodoric, King of the Visigoths, appears to have deserved the love of his subjects, the confidence of his allies, and the esteem of mankind. His throne was surrounded by six valiant sons, who were educated with equal care in the exercises of the barbarian camp and in those of the Gallic schools. From the study of the Roman jurisprudence they acquired the theory, at least, of law and justice ; and the harmonious sense of Virgil contributed to soften the asperity of their native manners.¹⁴ The two daughters of the Gothic king were given in marriage to the eldest sons of the Kings of the Suevi and of the Vandals, who reigned in Spain and Africa ; but these illustrious alliances were pregnant with guilt and discord. The Queen of the Suevi bewailed the death of a husband, inhumanly massacred by her brother. The Princess of the Vandals was the victim of a jealous tyrant, whom she called her father. The cruel Genseric suspected that his son's wife had conspired to poison him ; the supposed crime was punished by the amputation of her nose and ears ; and the unhappy daughter of Theodoric was ignominiously returned to the Court of Toulouse in that deformed and mutilated condition. This horrid act, which must seem incredible to a civilized age, drew tears from every spectator ; but Theodoric was urged by the feelings of a parent and a king to revenge such irreparable injuries. The imperial ministers, who always cherished the discord of the barbarians, would have supplied the Goths with arms and ships and treasures for the African war ; and the cruelty of Genseric might have been fatal to himself if the artful Vandal had not armed in his cause the formidable power of the Huns. His rich gifts and

¹⁴ Theodorio II. revered, in the person of Avitus, the character of his preceptor.

—— Mibi Romula dudum
 Per te jura placent; parvumque ediscere jussit
 Ad tua verba pater, docili quo prisca *Maronis*
 Carmine molliret Scythicos mihi pagina mores.

Sidon. Panegy. Avit. 495, etc

pressing solicitations inflamed the ambition of Attila; and the designs of Aëtius and Theodoric were prevented by the invasion of Gaul.¹⁶

The Franks, whose monarchy was still confined to the neighborhood of the Lower Rhine, had wisely established the right of hereditary succession in the noble family of the Merovingians.¹⁶ These princes were elevated on a buckler, the symbol of military command;¹⁷ and the royal fashion of long hair was the ensign of their birth and dignity. Their flaxen locks, which they combed and dressed with singular care, hung down in flowing ringlets on their back and shoulders, while the rest of the nation were obliged, either by law or custom, to shave the hinder part of their head, to comb their hair over their forehead, and to content themselves with the ornament of two small whiskers.¹⁸ The lofty stature of the Franks and their blue eyes denoted a Germanic origin; their close apparel accurately expressed the figure of their limbs; a weighty sword was suspended from a

The Franks
in Gaul,
under the
Merovingian
kings.
A.D. 490-451.

¹⁶ Our authorities for the reign of Theodoric I. are, Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, c. 34, 36, and the Chronicles of Idatius and the two Prosper, inserted in the Historians of France, tom. i. p. 612-640. To these we may add Salvia de Gubernatione Dei, l. vii. p. 243, 244, 245, and the Panegyric of Avitus by Sidonius.

¹⁷ Reges Crinitos [super] se creavisse de prima, et ut ita dicam, nobiliori suorum familia (Greg. Turon. l. ii. c. 9, p. 166, of the second volume of the Historians of France). Gregory himself does not mention the *Merovingian* name, which may be traced, however, to the beginning of the seventh century, as the distinctive appellation of the royal family, and even of the French monarchy. An ingenious critic has deduced the Merovingians from the great Maroboduus; and he has clearly proved that the prince who gave his name to the first race was more ancient than the father of Childeric. See Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xx. p. 52-80, tom. xxx. p. 557-587.

¹⁷ This German custom, which may be traced from Tacitus to Gregory of Tours, was at length adopted by the emperors of Constantinople. From a MS. of the tenth century, Montfaucon has delineated the representation of a similar ceremony, which the ignorance of the age had applied to King David. See Monumens de la Monarchie Française, tom. i. Discours Préliminaire.

¹⁸ "Cæsaries proluxa . . . crinium flagellis per terga dimissis," etc. See the preface to the third volume of the Historians of France and the Abbé Le Boeuf (Disserat. tom. iii. p. 47-79). This peculiar fashion of the Merovingians has been remarked by natives and strangers; by Friscus (tom. i. p. 608 [p. 152, edit. Bonn]), by Agathias (tom. ii. p. 49 [l. i. c. 8, p. 19, edit. Bonn]), and by Gregory of Tours (l. iii. 18, vi. 24, viii. 10, tom. ii. p. 196, 278, 316).

broad belt; their bodies were protected by a large shield; and these warlike barbarians were trained from their earliest youth to run, to leap, to swim; to dart the javelin or battle-axe with unerring aim; to advance without hesitation against a superior enemy; and to maintain, either in life or death, the invincible reputation of their ancestors.²⁰ Clodion, the first of their long-haired kings whose name and actions are mentioned in authentic history, held his residence at Dispargum,²¹ a village or fortress whose place may be assigned between Louvain and Brussels. From the report of his spies, the King of the Franks was informed that the defenceless state of the second Belgic must yield, on the slightest attack, to the valor of his subjects. He boldly penetrated through the thickets and morasses of the Carbonarian forest;²² occupied Tournay and Cambray, the only cities which existed in the fifth century; and extended his conquests as far as the river Somme, over a desolate country whose cultivation and populousness are the effects of more recent industry.²³ While Clodion lay encamped in the plains of Artois,²⁴ and celebrated with vain and ostentatious security the marriage perhaps of his son, the nuptial feast was interrupted by the unexpected and unwelcome presence of Aëtius, who had passed the Somme at the head of his light cavalry. The tables, which had been spread under the shelter of a hill

²⁰ See an original picture of the figure, dress, arms, and temper of the ancient Franks, in Sidonius Apollinaris (Panegy. Majorian. 238-254); and such pictures, though coarsely drawn, have a real and intrinsic value. Father Daniel (Hist. de la Milice Française, tom. i. p. 2-7) has illustrated the description.

²¹ Dubos, Hist. Critique, etc., tom. i. p. 271, 272. Some geographers have placed Dispargum on the German side of the Rhine. See a note of the Benedictine editors to the Historians of France, tom. ii. p. 166.

²² The Carbonarian wood was that part of the great forest of the Ardennes which lay between the Escant, or Scheldt, and the Meuse. Vales Notit. Gall. p. 126.

²³ Gregor. Turon. l. ii. c. 9, in tom. ii. p. 166, 167; Fredegar. Epitom. c. 9, p. 395, Gesta Reg. Francor. c. 5, in tom. ii. p. 544; Vit. St. Remig. ab Hincmar, in tom. iii. p. 378.

²⁴

——— Francus quâ Cloio patentes
Atrebatum terras pervaserat.

Panegy. Majorian. 212.

The precise spot was a town or village called Vicus *Helena*; and both the name and the place are discovered by modern geographers at Lens. See Vales. Notit. Gall. p. 246. Longuerue, Description de la France, tom. ii. p. 88.

along the banks of a pleasant stream, were rudely overturned; the Franks were oppressed before they could recover their arms or their ranks, and their unavailing valor was fatal only to themselves. The loaded wagons which had followed their march afforded a rich booty; and the virgin-bride, with her female attendants, submitted to the new lovers who were imposed on them by the chance of war. This advantage, which had been obtained by the skill and activity of Aëtius, might reflect some disgrace on the military prudence of Clodion; but the King of the Franks soon regained his strength and reputation, and still maintained the possession of his Gallic kingdom from the Rhine to the Somme.²⁴ Under his reign, and most probably from the enterprising spirit of his subjects, the three capitals, Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, experienced the effects of hostile cruelty and avarice. The distress of Cologne was prolonged by the perpetual dominion of the same barbarians who evacuated the ruins of Treves; and Treves, which in the space of forty years had been four times besieged and pillaged, was disposed to lose the memory of her afflictions in the vain amusements of the circus.²⁵ The death of Clodion, after a reign of twenty years, exposed his kingdom to the discord and ambition of his two sons. Meroveus, the younger,²⁶

²⁴ See a vague account of the action in Sidonius, *Panegy. Majorian.* 212-230. The French critics, impatient to establish their monarchy in Gaul, have drawn a strong argument from the silence of Sidonius, who dares not insinuate that the vanquished Franks were compelled to repossess the Rhine. Dubos, tom. i. p. 322.

²⁵ Salvian (*de Gubernat. Dei*, l. vi.) has expressed, in vague and declamatory language, the misfortunes of these three cities, which are distinctly ascertained by the learned Mascon, *Hist. of the Ancient Germans*, ix. 21.

²⁶ Priscus, in relating the contest, does not name the two brothers, the second of whom he had seen at Rome, a beardless youth, with long flowing hair (*Historians of France*, tom. i. p. 607, 608 [p. 152, edit. Bonn]). The Benedictine editors are inclined to believe that they were the sons of some unknown king of the Franks who reigned on the banks of the Neckar; but the arguments of M. de Foncemagne (*Mém. de l'Académie*, tom. viii. p. 464) seem to prove that the succession of Clodion was disputed by his two sons, and that the younger was Meroveus, the father of Childeric.^a

^a The relationship of Meroveus to Clodion is extremely doubtful. By some he is called an illegitimate son; by others, merely of his race. Greg. Tur. *fi.* c. 9, in Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, i. 177. See Mézeray, i.—M.

was persuaded to implore the protection of Rome. He was received at the imperial court as the ally of Valentinian and the adopted son of the patrician Aëtius, and dismissed to his native country with splendid gifts and the strongest assurances of friendship and support. During his absence his elder brother had solicited with equal ardor the formidable aid of Attila; and the King of the Huns embraced an alliance which facilitated the passage of the Rhine, and justified by a specious and honorable pretence the invasion of Gaul.²⁷

When Attila declared his resolution of supporting the cause of his allies the Vandals and the Franks, at the same time, and

The adventures of the Princess Honoria.

almost in the spirit of romantic chivalry, the savage monarch professed himself the lover and the champion of the Princess Honoria. The sister of Valentinian

was educated in the palace of Ravenna; and as her marriage might be productive of some danger to the State, she was raised, by the title of *Augusta*,²⁸ above the hopes of the most presumptuous subject. But the fair Honoria had no sooner attained the sixteenth year of her age than she detested the importunate greatness which must forever exclude her from the comforts of honorable love. In the midst of vain and unsatisfactory pomp, Honoria sighed, yielded to the impulse of nature, and threw herself into the arms of her chamberlain Eugenius. Her guilt and shame (such is the absurd language of imperious man) were soon betrayed by the appearances of pregnancy; but the disgrace of the royal family was published to the world by the imprudence of the Empress Placidia, who dismissed her daughter, after a strict and shameful confinement, to a remote exile at Constantinople. The unhappy princess passed twelve or fourteen years in the irksome society of the sisters of Theodosius and their chosen vir-

²⁷ Under the Merovingian race the throne was hereditary; but all the sons of the deceased monarch were equally entitled to their share of his treasures and territories. See the Dissertations of M. de Fonce-magne, in the sixth and eighth volumes of the *Mémoires de l'Académie*.

²⁸ A medal is still extant which exhibits the pleasing countenance of Honoria, with the title of *Augusta*; and on the reverse, the improper legend of *Salus Respublicæ* round the monogram of Christ. See Duc-ange, *Famil. Byzantin.* p. 67, 73.

gins, to whose *crown* Honoria could no longer aspire, and whose monastic assiduity of prayer, fasting, and vigils she reluctantly imitated. Her impatience of long and hopeless celibacy urged her to embrace a strange and desperate resolution. The name of Attila was familiar and formidable at Constantinople, and his frequent embassies entertained a perpetual intercourse between his camp and the imperial palace. In the pursuit of love, or rather of revenge, the daughter of Placidia sacrificed every duty and every prejudice, and offered to deliver her person into the arms of a barbarian of whose language she was ignorant, whose figure was scarcely human, and whose religion and manners she abhorred. By the ministry of a faithful eunuch she transmitted to Attila a ring, the pledge of her affection, and earnestly conjured him to claim her as a lawful spouse to whom he had been secretly betrothed. These indecent advances were received, however, with coldness and disdain; and the King of the Huns continued to multiply the number of his wives till his love was awakened by the more forcible passions of ambition and avarice. The invasion of Gaul was preceded and justified by a formal demand of the Princess Honoria, with a just and equal share of the imperial patrimony. His predecessors, the ancient Tanjous, had often addressed in the same hostile and peremptory manner the daughters of China; and the pretensions of Attila were not less offensive to the majesty of Rome. A firm but temperate refusal was communicated to his ambassadors. The right of female succession, though it might derive a specious argument from the recent examples of Placidia and Pulcheria, was strenuously denied, and the indissoluble engagements of Honoria were opposed to the claims of her Scythian lover." On the discovery of her connection with the King of the Huns, the guilty princess had been sent away, as an object of horror, from Constantinople to Italy. Her life was spared, but the ceremony of her marriage was performed with some obscure and nominal

²² See Priscus, p. 89, 40 [p. 151, 152, edit Bonn]. It might be fairly alleged that if females could succeed to the throne, Valentinian himself, who had married the daughter and heiress of the younger Theodosius, would have asserted her right to the Eastern empire.

husband before she was immured in a perpetual prison, to bewail those crimes and misfortunes which Honoria might have escaped had she not been born the daughter of an emperor."

A native of Gaul and a contemporary, the learned and eloquent Sidonius, who was afterwards Bishop of Clermont, had made a promise to one of his friends that he would compose a regular history of the war of Attila. If the modesty of Sidonius had not discouraged him from the prosecution of this interesting work," the historian would have related with the simplicity of truth those memorable events to which the poet, in vague and doubtful metaphors, has concisely alluded.²⁰ The kings and nations of Germany and Scythia, from the Volga perhaps to the Danube, obeyed the warlike summons of Attila. From the royal village in the plains of Hungary his standard moved towards the West, and after a march of seven or eight hundred miles he reached the conflux of the Rhine and the Neckar, where he was joined by the Franks who adhered to his ally, the elder of the sons of Clodion. A troop of light barbarians who roamed in quest of plunder might choose the winter for the convenience of passing the river on the ice, but the innumerable cavalry of the Huns required such plenty of forage and provisions

Attila invades Gaul, and besieges Orleans. A.D. 451.

²⁰ The adventures of Honoria are imperfectly related by Jornandes, *De Successione Regn.* c. 97, and *De Reb. Get.* c. 42, p. 674; and in the *Chronicles of Prosper and Marcellinus*; but they cannot be made consistent or probable, unless we separate, by an interval of time and place, her intrigue with Eugenius and her invitation to Attila.

²¹ *Exegetas mihi, ut promitterem tibi Attilæ bellum stylo me posteris intimaturum . . . cœperam scribere, sed operis arrepti fasce perspecto, tædedit inchoasse.*
—Sidon. *Apoll.* l. viii. *Epist.* 15, p. 246.

■

Subito cum rupta tumultu
Barbaries totas in te transfuderat Arctos,
Gallia. Pugnacem Rugum comitante Gelono,
Gepida trux sequitur; Scyrum Burgundio cogit:
Chunus, Bellonotus, Neurus, Basterna, *Toringus*,
Bructerus, ulvosæ vel quem Nicer abluit undæ
Prorumpit Francus Cecidit cito secta bipenni
Hercynia in luntres, et Rhenum texuit alno.
Et jam terrificis diffuderat Attila turmis
In campos se, Belgæ, tuos.

as could be procured only in a milder season; the Hercynian forest supplied materials for a bridge of boats, and the hostile myriads were poured with resistless violence into the Belgic provinces.³³ The consternation of Gaul was universal, and the various fortunes of its cities have been adorned by tradition with martyrdoms and miracles.³⁴ Troyes was saved by the merits of St. Lupus; St. Servatius was removed from the world that he might not behold the ruin of Tongres; and the prayers of St. Genevieve diverted the march of Attila from the neighborhood of Paris. But as the greatest part of the Gallic cities were alike destitute of saints and soldiers, they were besieged and stormed by the Huns, who practised, in the example of Metz,³⁵ their customary maxims of war. They involved in a promiscuous massacre the priests who served at the altar and the infants who, in the hour of danger, had been providently baptized by the bishop; the flourishing city was delivered to the flames, and a solitary chapel of St. Stephen marked the place where it formerly stood. From the Rhine and the Moselle, Attila advanced into the heart of Gaul, crossed the

³³ The most authentic and circumstantial account of this war is contained in Jornandes (de Reb. Geticis, c. 36-41, p. 662-672), who has sometimes abridged, and sometimes transcribed, the larger history of Cassiodorus. Jornandes, a quotation which it would be superfluous to repeat, may be corrected and illustrated by Gregory of Tours, l. ii. c. 5, 6, 7, and the Chronicles of Idatius, Isidore, and the two Prosperi. All the ancient testimonies are collected and inserted in the *Historians of France*, but the reader should be cautioned against a supposed extract from the Chronicle of Idatius (among the fragments of Fredegarius, tom. ii. p. 462), which often contradicts the genuine text of the Gallican bishop.

³⁴ The *ancient* legends deserve some regard, as they are obliged to connect their fables with the real history of their own times. See the Lives of St. Lupus, St. Amatus, the bishops of Metz, St. Genevieve, etc., in the *Historians of France*, tom. i. p. 644, 645, 649, tom. in. p. 369.

³⁵ The scepticism of the Count de Buat (*Hist. des Peuples*, tom. vii. p. 539, 540) cannot be reconciled with any principles of reason or criticism. Is not Gregory of Tours precise and positive in his account of the destruction of Metz? At the distance of no more than a hundred years, could he be ignorant, could the people be ignorant, of the fate of a city the actual residence of his sovereigns, the kings of Austrasia? The learned count, who seems to have undertaken the apology of Attila and the barbarians, appeals to the false Idatius, "*parcens civitatibus Germaniæ et Galliæ*," and forgets that the true Idatius had explicitly affirmed, "*plurimæ civitates effractæ*," among which he enumerates Metz.

Seine at Auxerre, and, after a long and laborious march, fixed his camp under the walls of Orleans. He was desirous of securing his conquests by the possession of an advantageous post which commanded the passage of the Loire; and he depended on the secret invitation of Sangiban, King of the Alani, who had promised to betray the city and to revolt from the service of the empire. But this treacherous conspiracy was detected and disappointed; Orleans had been strengthened with recent fortifications, and the assaults of the Huns were vigorously repelled by the faithful valor of the soldiers or citizens who defended the place. The pastoral diligence of Anianus, a bishop of primitive sanctity and consummate prudence, exhausted every art of religious policy to support their courage till the arrival of the expected succors. After an obstinate siege the walls were shaken by the battering-rams; the Huns had already occupied the suburbs, and the people who were incapable of bearing arms lay prostrate in prayer. Anianus, who anxiously counted the days and hours, despatched a trusty messenger to observe from the rampart the face of the distant country. He returned twice without any intelligence that could inspire hope or comfort; but in his third report he mentioned a small cloud which he had faintly descried at the extremity of the horizon. "It is the aid of God!" exclaimed the bishop in a tone of pious confidence; and the whole multitude repeated after him, "It is the aid of God." The remote object, on which every eye was fixed, became each moment larger and more distinct; the Roman and Gothic banners were gradually perceived; and a favorable wind, blowing aside the dust, discovered, in deep array, the impatient squadrons of Aëtius and Theodoric, who pressed forward to the relief of Orleans.

The facility with which Attila had penetrated into the heart of Gaul may be ascribed to his insidious policy as well as to the terror of his arms. His public declarations were skilfully mitigated by his private assurances. He alternately soothed and threatened the Romans and the Goths; and the courts of Ravenna and Toulouse, mutually suspicious of each other's intentions, beheld with supine indifference the approach of their common enemy. Aëtius was

Alliance of
the Romans
and Visi-
goths.

the sole guardian of the public safety; but his wisest measures were embarrassed by a faction which, since the death of Placidia, infested the imperial palace. The youth of Italy trembled at the sound of the trumpet; and the barbarians, who from fear or affection were inclined to the cause of Attila, awaited with doubtful and venal faith the event of the war. The patrician passed the Alps at the head of some troops whose strength and numbers scarcely deserved the name of an army." But on his arrival at Arles or Lyons, he was confounded by the intelligence that the Visigoths, refusing to embrace the defence of Gaul, had determined to expect within their own territories the formidable invader whom they professed to despise. The senator Avitus, who, after the honorable exercise of the Prætorian præfecture, had retired to his estate in Auvergne, was persuaded to accept the important embassy, which he executed with ability and success. He represented to Theodoric that an ambitious conqueror who aspired to the dominion of the earth could be resisted only by the firm and unanimous alliance of the powers whom he labored to oppress. The lively eloquence of Avitus inflamed the Gothic warriors by the description of the injuries which their ancestors had suffered from the Huns, whose implacable fury still pursued them from the Danube to the foot of the Pyrenees. He strenuously urged that it was the duty of every Christian to save from sacrilegious violation the churches of God and the relics of the saints; that it was the interest of every barbarian who had acquired a settlement in Gaul to defend the fields and vineyards, which were cultivated for his use, against the desolation of the Scythian shepherds. Theodoric yielded to the evidence of truth, adopted the measure at once the most prudent and the most honorable; and declared that as the faithful ally of Aëtius and the Romans he was ready to expose his life and kingdom for the common safety

38

Vix liquerat Alpes

Aëtius, tenuerit, et rarum sine milite ducens

Robur, in auxiliis Geticum male credulus agmen

Incassum propriis præsumens adfore castris

Panegy. Avit. 328, etc.

of Gaul." The Visigoths, who at that time were in the mature vigor of their fame and power, obeyed with alacrity the signal of war, prepared their arms and horses, and assembled under the standard of their aged king, who was resolved, with his two eldest sons, Torismond and Theodoric, to command in person his numerous and valiant people. The example of the Goths determined several tribes or nations that seemed to fluctuate between the Huns and the Romans. The indefatigable diligence of the patrician gradually collected the troops of Gaul and Germany, who had formerly acknowledged themselves the subjects or soldiers of the republic, but who now claimed the rewards of voluntary service and the rank of independent allies—the *Læti*, the *Armoricans*, the *Breones*, the *Saxons*, the *Burgundians*, the *Sarmatians* or *Alani*, the *Ripuarrians*, and the *Franks* who followed *Meroveus* as their lawful prince. Such was the various army which, under the conduct of Aëtius and Theodoric, advanced by rapid marches to relieve Orleans, and to give battle to the innumerable host of Attila.²⁷

On their approach, the King of the Huns immediately raised the siege, and sounded a retreat to recall the foremost of his troops from the pillage of a city which they had already entered.²⁸ The valor of Attila was always guided by his prudence; and as he foresaw the fa-

Attila retires
to the plains
of Cham-
pagne.

²⁷ The policy of Attila, of Aëtius, and of the Visigoths is imperfectly described in the panegyric of Avitus and the thirty-sixth chapter of Jornandes. The poet and the historian were both biassed by personal or national prejudices. The former exalts the merit and importance of Avitus: "*orbis, Avite, salus*," etc. The latter is anxious to show the Goths in the most favorable light. Yet their agreement, when they are fairly interpreted, is a proof of their veracity.

²⁸ The review of the army of Aëtius is made by Jornandes, c. 36, p. 664, edit. Grot. tom. ii. p. 28, of the *Historians of France*, with the notes of the Benedictine editor. The *Læti* were a promiscuous race of barbarians, born or naturalized in Gaul; and the *Riparii*, or *Ripuarii*, derived their name from their posts on the three rivers, the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Moselle. The *Armoricans* possessed the independent cities between the Seine and the Loire. A colony of *Saxons* had been planted in the diocese of Bayeux. The *Burgundians* were settled in Savoy; and the *Breones* were a warlike tribe of *Rhætians* to the east of the lake of Constance.

²⁹ *Aurelianensis urbis obsidio, oppugnation, irruptio, nec dneptio*—Sidon Apollin. l. viii Epist. 15, p. 246. The preservation of Orleans might easily be turned into a miracle obtained and foretold by the holy bishop.

tal consequences of a defeat in the heart of Gaul, he repassed the Seine and expected the enemy in the plains of Châlons, whose smooth and level surface was adapted to the operations of his Scythian cavalry. But in this tumultuary retreat the vanguard of the Romans and their allies continually pressed, and sometimes engaged, the troops whom Attila had posted in the rear. The hostile columns, in the darkness of the night and the perplexity of the roads, might encounter each other without design; and the bloody conflict of the Franks and Gepidæ, in which fifteen thousand⁴⁰ barbarians were slain, was a prelude to a more general and decisive action. The Catalaunian fields⁴¹ spread themselves round Châlons, and extend, according to the vague measurement of Jornandes, to the length of one hundred and fifty, and the breadth of one hundred miles over the whole province, which is entitled to the appellation of a *champaign* country.⁴² This spacious plain was distinguished, however, by some inequalities of ground; and the importance of a height which commanded the camp of Attila was understood and disputed by the two generals. The young and valiant Torismond first occupied the summit; the Goths rushed with irresistible weight on the Huns, who labored to ascend from the opposite side; and the possession of this advantageous post inspired both the troops and their leaders with a fair assurance of victory. The anxiety of Attila prompted him to consult his priests and haruspices. It was reported that, after scrutinizing the entrails of victims and scraping their bones, they revealed in mysterious language his own defeat, with the death of his principal adversary; and that the barbarian, by accepting the equivalent, expressed his involuntary esteem for the superior merit of Aëtius. But the unusual despondency which seemed to prevail among the Huns en-

⁴⁰ The common editions read *xcm*; but there is some authority of manuscripts (and almost any authority is sufficient) for the more reasonable number of *xviii*.

⁴¹ Châlons, or Duio-Catalaunum, afterwards *Catalauni*, had formerly made a part of the territory of Rheims, from whence it is distant only twenty-seven miles. See Vales. Notit. Gall. p. 136; D'Anville, Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 212, 279.

⁴² The name of Campania, or Champagne, is frequently mentioned by Gregory of Tours, and that great province, of which Rheims was the capital, obeyed the command of a duke. Vales. Notit. p. 120-123.

gaged Attila to use the expedient, so familiar to the generals of antiquity, of animating his troops by a military oration; and his language was that of a king who had often fought and conquered at their head.⁴⁸ He pressed them to consider their past glory, their actual danger, and their future hopes. The same fortune which opened the deserts and morasses of Scythia to their unarmed valor, which had laid so many warlike nations prostrate at their feet, had reserved the *joys* of this memorable field for the consummation of their victories. The cautious steps of their enemies, their strict alliance, and their advantageous posts he artfully represented as the effects, not of prudence, but of fear. The Visigoths alone were the strength and nerves of the opposite army; and the Huns might securely trample on the degenerate Romans, whose close and compact order betrayed their apprehensions, and who were equally incapable of supporting the dangers or the fatigues of a day of battle. The doctrine of predestination, so favorable to martial virtue, was carefully inculcated by the King of the Huns, who assured his subjects that the warriors, protected by Heaven, were safe and invulnerable amidst the darts of the enemy; but that the unerring Fates would strike their victims in the bosom of inglorious peace. "I myself," continued Attila, "will throw the first javelin, and the wretch who refuses to imitate the example of his sovereign is devoted to inevitable death." The spirit of the barbarians was rekindled by the presence, the voice, and the example of their intrepid leader; and Attila, yielding to their impatience, immediately formed his order of battle. At the head of his brave and faithful Huns, he occupied in person the centre of the line. The nations subject to his empire—the Rugians, the Heruli, the Thuringians, the Franks, the Burgundians—were extended on either hand over the ample space of the Catalaunian fields; the right wing was commanded by Ardaric, King of

⁴⁸ I am sensible that these military orations are usually composed by the historian; yet the old Ostrogoths who had served under Attila might repeat his discourse to Cassiodorus. The ideas, and even the expressions, have an original Scythian cast; and I doubt whether an Italian of the sixth century would have thought of the "*hujus certaminis gaudia*."

the Gepidæ; and the three valiant brothers who reigned over the Ostrogoths were posted on the left to oppose the kindred tribes of the Visigoths. The disposition of the allies was regulated by a different principle: Sangiban, the faithless King of the Alani, was placed in the centre, where his motions might be strictly watched, and his treachery might be instantly punished. Aëtius assumed the command of the left, and Theodoric of the right wing; while Torismond still continued to occupy the heights which appear to have stretched on the flank, and perhaps the rear, of the Scythian army. The nations from the Volga to the Atlantic were assembled on the plain of Châlons; but many of these nations had been divided by faction or conquest or emigration; and the appearance of similar arms and ensigns which threatened each other presented the image of a civil war.

The discipline and tactics of the Greeks and Romans form an interesting part of their national manners. The attentive study of the military operations of Xenophon or Cæsar or Frederic, when they are described by the same genius which conceived and executed them, may tend to improve (if such improvement can be wished) the art of destroying the human species. But the battle of Châlons can only excite our curiosity by the magnitude of the object, since it was decided by the blind impetuosity of barbarians, and has been related by partial writers, whose civil or ecclesiastical profession secluded them from the knowledge of military affairs. Cassiodorus, however, had familiarly conversed with many Gothic warriors who served in that memorable engagement—"a conflict," as they informed him, "fierce, various, obstinate, and bloody, such as could not be paralleled either in the present or in past ages." The number of the slain amounted to one hundred and sixty-two thousand, or, according to another account, three hundred thousand persons;" and these in-

⁴⁴ The expressions of Jornandes, or rather of Cassiodorus, are extremely strong: "*Bellum atrox, multiplex, immane, pertinax, cui simile nulle usquam narrat antiquitas; ubi talia gesta referuntur, ut nihil esset quod in vitâ suâ conspiciere potuisset egrégius, qui hujus miraculi privaretur aspectû*" [c. 40, p. 668]. Dubos (*Hist. Critique*, tom. i. p. 392, 393) attempts to reconcile the 162,000 of Jornan-

credible exaggerations suppose a real and effective loss sufficient to justify the historian's remark that whole generations may be swept away by the madness of kings in the space of a single hour. After the mutual and repeated discharge of missile weapons, in which the archers of Scythia might signalize their superior dexterity, the cavalry and infantry of the two armies were furiously mingled in closer combat. The Huns, who fought under the eyes of their king, pierced through the feeble and doubtful centre of the allies, separated their wings from each other, and, wheeling with a rapid effort to the left, directed their whole force against the Visigoths. As Theodoric rode along the ranks to animate his troops, he received a mortal stroke from the javelin of Andages, a noble Ostrogoth, and immediately fell from his horse. The wounded king was oppressed in the general disorder, and trampled under the feet of his own cavalry; and this important death served to explain the ambiguous prophecy of the haruspices. Attila already exulted in the confidence of victory, when the valiant Torismond descended from the hills, and verified the remainder of the prediction. The Visigoths, who had been thrown into confusion by the flight or defection of the Alani, gradually restored their order of battle; and the Huns were undoubtedly vanquished, since Attila was compelled to retreat. He had exposed his person with the rashness of a private soldier; but the intrepid troops of the centre had pushed forward beyond the rest of the line; their attack was faintly supported; their flanks were unguarded; and the conquerors of Scythia and Germany were saved by the approach of the night from a total defeat. They retired within the circle of wagons that fortified their camp; and the dismounted squadrons prepared themselves for a defence to which neither their arms nor their temper were adapted. The event was doubtful; but Attila had secured a last and honorable resource: the saddles and rich furniture of the cavalry were collected

des with the 800,000 of Idatius and Isidore by supposing that the larger number included the total destruction of the war, the effects of disease, the slaughter of the unarmed people, etc.

by his order into a funeral pile; and the magnanimous barbarian had resolved, if his intrenchments should be forced, to rush headlong into the flames, and to deprive his enemies of the glory which they might have acquired by the death or captivity of Attila.*

But his enemies had passed the night in equal disorder and anxiety. The inconsiderate courage of Torismond was tempted to urge the pursuit, till he unexpectedly found himself, with a few followers, in the midst of the Scythian wagons. In the confusion of a nocturnal combat, he was thrown from his horse; and the Gothic prince must have perished like his father if his youthful strength and the intrepid zeal of his companions had not rescued him from this dangerous situation. In the same manner, but on the left of the line, Aëtius himself, separated from his allies, ignorant of their victory, and anxious for their fate, encountered and escaped the hostile troops that were scattered over the plains of Châlons; and at length reached the camp of the Goths, which he could only fortify with a slight rampart of shields till the dawn of day. The imperial general was soon satisfied of the defeat of Attila, who still remained inactive within his intrenchments; and when he contemplated the bloody scene, he observed with secret satisfaction that the loss had principally fallen on the barbarians. The body of Theodoric, pierced with honorable wounds, was discovered under a heap of the slain. His subjects bewailed the death of their king and father; but their tears were mingled with songs and acclamations, and his funeral rites were performed in the face of a vanquished enemy. The Goths, clashing their arms, elevated on a buckler his eldest son Torismond, to whom they justly ascribed the glory of their success; and the new king accepted the obligation of revenge as a sacred portion of his paternal inheritance. Yet the Goths themselves were astonished by the fierce and undaunted aspect of their formidable antago-

* The Count de Buat (*Hist. des Peuples*, etc., tom. vii. p. 554-578), still depending on the *false*, and again rejecting the *true*, Idatius, has divided the defeat of Attila into two great battles—the former near Orleans, the latter in Champagne. In the one, Theodoric was slain; in the other, he was revenged.

nist; and their historian has compared Attila to a lion encompassed in his den and threatening his hunters with redoubled fury. The kings and nations who might have deserted his standard in the hour of distress were made sensible that the displeasure of their monarch was the most imminent and inevitable danger. All his instruments of martial music incessantly sounded a loud and animating strain of defiance; and the foremost troops who advanced to the assault were checked or destroyed by showers of arrows from every side of the intrenchments. It was determined in a general council of war to besiege the King of the Huns in his camp, to intercept his provisions, and to reduce him to the alternative of a disgraceful treaty or an unequal combat. But the impatience of the barbarians soon disdained these cautious and dilatory measures; and the mature policy of Aëtius was apprehensive that after the extirpation of the Huns the republic would be oppressed by the pride and power of the Gothic nation. The patrician exerted the superior ascendant of authority and reason to calm the passions which the son of Theodoric considered as a duty; represented, with seeming affection and real truth, the dangers of absence and delay; and persuaded Torismond to disappoint, by his speedy return, the ambitious designs of his brothers, who might occupy the throne and treasures of Toulouse.* After the departure of the Goths and the separation of the allied army, Attila was surprised at the vast silence that reigned over the plains of Châlons. The suspicion of some hostile stratagem detained him several days within the circle of his wagons; and his retreat beyond the Rhine confessed the last victory which was achieved in the name of the Western empire. Meroveus and his Franks, observing a prudent distance, and magnifying the opinion of their strength by

* Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, c. 41, p. 671. The policy of Aëtius and the behavior of Torismond are extremely natural; and the patrician, according to Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 7, p. 168), dismissed the prince of the Franks by suggesting to him a similar apprehension. The false Idatius ridiculously pretends that Aëtius paid a clandestine nocturnal visit to the kings of the Huns and of the Visigoths, from each of whom he obtained a bribe of ten thousand pieces of gold as the price of an undisturbed retreat.

the numerous fires which they kindled every night, continued to follow the rear of the Huns till they reached the confines of Thuringia. The Thuringians served in the army of Attila: they traversed, both in their march and in their return, the territories of the Franks; and it was perhaps in this war that they exercised the cruelties which, about fourscore years afterwards, were revenged by the son of Clovis. They massacred their hostages, as well as their captives: two hundred young maidens were tortured with exquisite and unrelenting rage: their bodies were torn asunder by wild horses, or their bones were crushed under the weight of rolling wagons; and their unburied limbs were abandoned on the public roads as a prey to dogs and vultures. Such were those savage ancestors whose imaginary virtues have sometimes excited the praise and envy of civilized ages!⁴⁷

Neither the spirit nor the forces nor the reputation of Attila was impaired by the failure of the Gallic expedition. In the ensuing spring he repeated his demand of the Princess Honoria and her patrimonial treasures. The demand was again rejected or eluded; and the indignant lover immediately took the field, passed the Alps, invaded Italy, and besieged Aquileia with an innumerable host of barbarians. Those barbarians were unskilled in the methods of conducting a regular siege, which, even among the ancients, required some knowledge, or at least some practice, of the mechanic arts. But the labor of many thousand provincials and captives, whose lives were sacrificed without pity might execute the most painful and dangerous work. The skill of the Roman artists might be corrupted to the destruction of their country. The walls of Aquileia were assaulted by a formidable train of battering-rams, movable turrets, and engines that threw stones, darts, and fire;⁴⁸ and the monarch

Invasion of
Italy by
Attila.
A. D. 452.

⁴⁷ These cruelties, which are passionately deplored by Theodoric, the son of Clovis (Gregory of Tours, l. iii. c. 10, p. 190), suit the time and circumstances of the invasion of Attila. His residence in Thuringia was long attested by popular tradition; and he is supposed to have assembled a *couroultai*, or diet, in the territory of Eisenach. See Mascon, ix. 30, who settles with nice accuracy the extent of ancient Thuringia, and derives its name from the Gothic tribe of the Thervingi.

⁴⁸ *Machinis constructis, omnibusque tormentorum generibus adhibitis.* — Jor.

of the Huns employed the forcible impulse of hope, fear, emulation, and interest to subvert the only barrier which delayed the conquest of Italy. Aquileia was at that period one of the richest, the most populous, and the strongest of the maritime cities of the Adriatic coast. The Gothic auxiliaries, who appear to have served under their native princes Alaric and Antala, communicated their intrepid spirit; and the citizens still remembered the glorious and successful resistance which their ancestors had opposed to a fierce, inexorable barbarian who disgraced the majesty of the Roman purple. Three months were consumed without effect in the siege of Aquileia, till the want of provisions and the clamors of his army compelled Attila to relinquish the enterprise, and reluctantly to issue his orders that the troops should strike their tents the next morning, and begin their retreat. But as he rode round the walls, pensive, angry, and disappointed, he observed a stork preparing to leave her nest in one of the towers, and to fly with her infant family towards the country. He seized, with the ready penetration of a statesman, this trifling incident which chance had offered to superstition; and exclaimed, in a loud and cheerful tone, that such a domestic bird, so constantly attached to human society, would never have abandoned her ancient seats unless those towers had been devoted to impending ruin and solitude.⁴⁹ The favorable omen inspired an assurance of victory. The siege was renewed, and prosecuted with fresh vigor; a large breach was made in the part of the wall from whence the stork had taken her flight; the Huns mounted to the assault with irresistible fury; and the succeed-

nandes, c. 42, p. 678. In the thirteenth century the Moguls battered the cities of China with large engines constructed by the Mahometans or Christians in their service, which threw stones from 150 to 300 pounds weight. In the defence of their country the Chinese used gunpowder, and even bombs, above a hundred years before they were known in Europe; yet even those celestial, or infernal, arms were insufficient to protect a pusillanimous nation. See Gaubil, *Hist. des Mongous*, p. 70, 71, 155, 157, etc.

⁴⁹ The same story is told by Jornandes and by Procopius (*de Bell. Vandal.* l. i. c. 4, p. 187, 188 [tom. i. p. 330, edit. Bonn]); nor is it easy to decide which is the original. But the Greek historian is guilty of an inexcusable mistake in placing the siege of Aquileia *after* the death of Aetius

ing generation could scarcely discover the ruins of Aquileia.* After this dreadful chastisement, Attila pursued his march: and, as he passed, the cities of Altinum, Concordia, and Padua were reduced into heaps of stones and ashes. The inland towns Vicenza, Verona, and Bergamo were exposed to the rapacious cruelty of the Huns. Milan and Pavia submitted without resistance to the loss of their wealth, and applauded the unusual clemency which preserved from the flames the public as well as private buildings, and spared the lives of the captive multitude. The popular traditions of Comum, Turin, or Modena may justly be suspected; yet they concur with more authentic evidence to prove that Attila spread his ravages over the rich plains of modern Lombardy, which are divided by the Po and bounded by the Alps and Apennine." When he took possession of the royal palace of Milan, he was surprised and offended at the sight of a picture which represented the Cæsars seated on their throne, and the princes of Scythia prostrate at their feet. The revenge which Attila inflicted on this monument of Roman vanity was harmless and ingenious. He commanded a painter to reverse the figures and the attitudes; and the emperors were delineated on the

* Jornandes, about a hundred years afterwards, affirms that Aquileia was so completely ruined, "*ita ut vix ejus vestigia, ut appareant, reliquerint.*" See Jornandes de Reb. Geticis, c. 42, p. 678. Paul. Diacon. l. ii. c. 14, p. 785 [Grot. Hist. Goth.]. Lantprand, Hist. l. iii. c. 2. The name of Aquileia was sometimes applied to Forum Julii (Cividad del Friuli), the more recent capital of the Venetian province.*

* In describing this war of Attila, a war so famous but so imperfectly known, I have taken for my guides two learned Italians who consider the subject with some peculiar advantages—Sigonius, de Imperio Occidentali, l. xiii. in his Works, tom. i. p. 495-502; and Muratori, Annali d' Italia, tom. iv. p. 229-236, 8vo edition.

* Compare the curious Latin poems on the destruction of Aquileia, published by M. Endlicher in his valuable catalogue of Latin MSS. in the Library of Vienna, p. 298, etc.

*Repleta quondam domibus sublimibus, ornatis mire, niveis, marmoreis,
Nunc ferax frugum metris funiculo rucolarum.*

The monkish poet has his consolation in Attila's sufferings in soul and body.

*Vindictam tamen non evasit impius destructor tunc Attila sevisimus,
Nunc igni simul gehennæ et vermibus excruciat.*—P. 290.—M.

same canvas approaching in a suppliant posture to empty their bags of tributary gold before the throne of the Scythian monarch."²² The spectators must have confessed the truth and propriety of the alteration, and were perhaps tempted to apply on this singular occasion the well-known fable of the dispute between the lion and the man."

It is a saying worthy of the ferocious pride of Attila, that the grass never grew on the spot where his horse had trodden.

Yet the savage destroyer undesignedly laid the foundations of a republic which revived, in the feudal state of Europe, the art and spirit of commercial industry. The celebrated name of Venice, or Venetia," was formerly diffused over a large and fertile province of Italy, from the confines of Pannonia to the river Addua, and from the Po to the Rhætian and Julian Alps. Before the irruption of the barbarians, fifty Venetian cities flourished in peace and prosperity. Aquileia was placed in the most conspicuous station: but the ancient dignity of Padua was supported by agriculture and manufactures; and the property of five hundred citizens, who were entitled to the equestrian rank, must have amounted, at the strictest computation, to one million seven hundred thousand pounds. Many families of Aquileia, Padua, and the adjacent towns, who fled from the sword of the Huns, found a safe though obscure refuge in the

Foundation
of the republic
of Venice.

²² This anecdote may be found under two different articles (*Μεδωλανον* and *Κόρυκος*) of the miscellaneous compilation of Suidas.

²³ Leo respondit, humanâ hoc pictum manû:
Videres hominem dejectum, si pingere
Leones scient.

Appendix ad Phædrum, Fab. xxv.

The lion in Phædrus very foolishly appeals from pictures to the amphitheatre; and I am glad to observe that the native taste of La Fontaine (l. iii. fable x) has omitted this most lame and impotent conclusion.

²⁴ Paul the Deacon (de Gestis Langobard. l. ii. c. 14 [seq.], p. 784) describes the provinces of Italy about the end of the eighth century. "*Venetia non solum in paucis insulis quas nunc Venetas dicimus, constat; sed ejus terminus a Pannoniæ finibus usque Adduam fluvium protelatur.*" The history of that province till the age of Charlemagne forms the first and most interesting part of the *Verona Illustrata* (p. 1-888), in which the Marquis Scipio Maffei has shown himself equally capable of enlarged views and minute disquisitions.

neighboring islands." At the extremity of the Gulf, where the Adriatic feebly imitates the tides of the ocean, near a hundred small islands are separated by shallow water from the continent, and protected from the waves by several long slips of land, which admit the entrance of vessels through some secret and narrow channels." Till the middle of the fifth century these remote and sequestered spots remained without cultivation, with few inhabitants, and almost without a name. But the manners of the Venetian fugitives, their arts and their government, were gradually formed by their new situation; and one of the epistles of Cassiodorus,⁶⁷ which describes their condition about seventy years afterwards, may be considered as the primitive monument of the republic.^a The minister

⁶⁶ This emigration is not attested by any contemporary evidence; but the fact is proved by the event, and the circumstances might be preserved by tradition. The citizens of Aquileia retired to the isle of Gradus, those of Padua to Ravus Altus, or Rialto, where the city of Venice was afterwards built, etc.

⁶⁶ The topography and antiquities of the Venetian islands, from Gradus to Clodia, or Chioggia, are accurately stated in the Dissertatio Chorographica de Italia Medii Ævi, p. 151-155.

⁶⁷ Cassiodor. Varior. l. xii. Epist. 24. Maffei (Verona Illustrata, part i. p. 240-254) has translated and explained this curious letter, in the spirit of a learned antiquarian and a faithful subject, who considered Venice as the only legitimate offspring of the Roman republic. He fixes the date of the epistle, and consequently the præfecture, of Cassiodorus, A.D. 528; and the marquis's authority has the more weight as he had prepared an edition of his works and actually published a dissertation on the true orthography of his name. See Osservazioni Letterarie, tom. ii. p. 290-339.

^a The learned Count Figliasi has proved, in his Memoirs upon the Veneti (Memorie de' Veneti Primi e Secondi del Conte Figliasi, t. vi. Venezia, 1796), that, from the most remote period, this nation, which occupied the country which has since been called the Venetian States or Terza Firma, likewise inhabited the islands scattered upon the coast, and that from thence arose the names of *Venetia Prima* and *Secunda*, of which the first applied to the mainland and the second to the islands and lagoons. From the time of the Pelasgi and of the Etrurians, the First Veneti, inhabiting a fertile and pleasant country, devoted themselves to agriculture, the Second, placed in the midst of canals at the mouth of several rivers, conveniently situated with regard to the islands of Greece as well as the fertile plains of Italy, applied themselves to navigation and commerce. Both submitted to the Romans a short time before the second Punic war; yet it was not till after the victory of Marius over the Cimbri that their country was reduced to a Roman province. Under the emperors, Venetia Prima obtained more than once, by its calamities, a place in history. . . . But the maritime province was occupied in fisheries, salt-works, and commerce. The Romans have considered the inhabitants of this part as beneath the dignity of history, and have left them in obscurity. . . . They dwelt there until the period when their islands afforded a retreat to their

of Theodoric compares them, in his quaint declamatory style, to water-fowl who had fixed their nests on the bosom of the waves; and though he allows that the Venetian provinces had formerly contained many noble families, he insinuates that they were now reduced by misfortune to the same level of humble poverty. Fish was the common, and almost the universal, food of every rank: their only treasure consisted in the plenty of salt which they extracted from the sea; and the exchange of that commodity, so essential to human life, was substituted in the neighboring markets to the currency of gold and silver. A people whose habitations might be doubtfully assigned to the earth or water soon became alike familiar with the two elements; and the demands of avarice succeeded to those of necessity. The islanders, who, from Grado to Chiozza, were intimately connected with each other, penetrated into the heart of Italy, by the secure though laborious navigation of the rivers and inland canals. Their vessels, which were continually increasing in size and number, visited all the harbors of the Gulf; and the marriage which Venice annually celebrates with the Adriatic was contracted in her early infancy. The epistle of Cassiodorus, the Prætorian præfect, is addressed to the maritime tribunes; and he exhorts them, in a mild tone of authority, to animate the zeal of their countrymen for the public service, which required their assistance to transport the magazines of wine and oil from the province of Istria to the royal city of Ravenna. The ambiguous office of these magistrates is explained by the tradition that in the twelve principal islands, twelve tribunes, or judges, were created by an annual and popular election. The existence of the Venetian republic under the Gothic kingdom of Italy is attested by the same authentic record which annihilates their lofty claim of original and perpetual independence."

²² See, in the second volume of Amelot de la Houssaie, *Histoire du Gouvernement de Venise*, a translation of the famous *Squittinio*. This book, which has been exalted far above its merits, is stained in every line with the disingenuous ma-

ruined and fugitive compatriots. Sismondi, *Hist. des Rép. Italiennes*, vol. i. p. 813.—G.

Compare, on the origin of Venice, Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, vol. i. ch. i.—M.

The Italians, who had long since renounced the exercise of arms, were surprised, after forty years' peace, by the approach of a formidable barbarian, whom they abhorred as the enemy of their religion as well as of their republic. Amidst the general consternation, Aëtius alone was incapable of fear; but it was impossible that he should achieve alone and unassisted any military exploits worthy of his former renown. The barbarians who had defended Gaul refused to march to the relief of Italy; and the succors promised by the Eastern emperor were distant and doubtful. Since Aëtius, at the head of his domestic troops, still maintained the field, and harassed or retarded the march of Attila, he never showed himself more truly great than at the time when his conduct was blamed by an ignorant and ungrateful people.* If the mind of Valentinian had been susceptible of any generous sentiments, he would have chosen such a general for his example and his guide. But the timid grandson of Theodosius, instead of sharing the dangers, escaped from the sound, of war; and his hasty retreat from Ravenna to Rome, from an impregnable fortress to an open capital, betrayed his secret intention of abandoning Italy as soon as the danger should approach his imperial person. This shameful abdication was suspended, however, by the spirit of doubt and delay which commonly adheres to pusillanimous counsels, and sometimes corrects their pernicious tendency. The Western emperor, with the senate and people of Rome, embraced the more salutary resolution of deprecating, by a solemn and suppliant embassy, the wrath of Attila. This important commission was accepted by Avienus, who, from his birth and riches, his consular dignity, the numerous train of his clients, and his personal abilities, held the first rank in the

levence of party; but the principal evidence, genuine and apocryphal, is brought together, and the reader will easily choose the fair medium.

* Sirmond (Not. ad Sidon. Apollin. p. 19) has published a curious passage from the Chronicle of Prosper. "Attila, redintegratis viribus, quas in Gallia amiserat, Italiam ingredi per Pannonias intendit; nihil duce nostro Aetio secundum prioris belli opera prospiciente," etc. He reproaches Aëtius with neglecting to guard the Alps and with a design to abandon Italy; but this rash censure may at least be

Roman senate. The specious and artful character of Avienus⁶⁶ was admirably qualified to conduct a negotiation either of public or private interest. His colleague Trigetius had exercised the Prætorian præfecture of Italy; and Leo, Bishop of Rome, consented to expose his life for the safety of his flock. The genius of Leo⁶⁷ was exercised and displayed in the public misfortunes; and he has deserved the appellation of *Great* by the successful zeal with which he labored to establish his opinions and his authority, under the venerable names of orthodox faith and ecclesiastical discipline. The Roman ambassadors were introduced to the tent of Attila, as he lay encamped at the place where the slow-winding Mincius is lost in the foaming waves of the lake Benacus,⁶⁸ and trampled with his Scythian cavalry the farms of Catullus and Virgil.⁶⁹ The barbarian monarch listened with favorable, and even respectful, attention; and the deliverance of Italy was purchased by the immense ransom or dowry of the Princess Honoria. The state

⁶⁶ See the original portraits of Avienus and his rival Basilus delineated and contrasted in the epistles (i. 9, p. 22) of Sidonius. He had studied the characters of the two chiefs of the senate; but he attached himself to Basilus as the more solid and disinterested friend.

⁶⁷ The character and principles of Leo may be traced in one hundred and forty-one original epistles, which illustrate the ecclesiastical history of his long and busy pontificate, from A.D. 440 to 461. See Dupin, *Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique*, tom. iii. part ii. p. 120–165.

⁶⁸

——— tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat
Mincius, et tenerâ prætexit arundine ripas

Anne lacus tantos, te Lari maxime, teque
Fluctibus, et fremitu assurgens *Benace* marino.

⁶⁹ The Marquis Maffei (*Verona Illustrata*, part i. p. 95, 129, 221, part ii. p. 2, 6) has illustrated with taste and learning this interesting topography. He places the interview of Attila and St. Leo near Ariolca, or Ardelica, now Peschiera, at the conflux of the lake and river; ascertains the villa of Catullus, in the delightful peninsula of Sirmio, and discovers the Andes of Virgil in the village of Bades, precisely situate, “quâ se subducere colles incipiunt,” where the Veronese hills imperceptibly slope down into the plain of Mantua.*

* This interview is likewise placed at Ponte Molino and at Governolo, at the conflux of the Mincio and the Po. Gonzaga, Bishop of Mantua, erected a tablet in the year 1616, in the church of the latter place, commemorative of the event. *Descrizione di Verona e della sua Provincia*, c. 11, p. 126.—M.

of his army might facilitate the treaty and hasten his retreat. Their martial spirit was relaxed by the wealth and indolence of a warm climate. The shepherds of the North, whose ordinary food consisted of milk and raw flesh, indulged themselves too freely in the use of bread, of wine, and of meat prepared and seasoned by the arts of cookery; and the progress of disease revenged in some measure the injuries of the Italians." When Attila declared his resolution of carrying his victorious arms to the gates of Rome, he was admonished by his friends, as well as by his enemies, that Alaric had not long survived the conquest of the Eternal City. His mind, superior to real danger, was assaulted by imaginary terrors; nor could he escape the influence of superstition, which had so often been subservient to his designs." The pressing eloquence of Leo, his majestic aspect and sacerdotal robes, excited the veneration of Attila for the spiritual father of the Christians. The apparition of the two apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, who menaced the barbarian with instant death if he rejected the prayer of their successor, is one of the noblest legends of ecclesiastical tradition. The safety of Rome might deserve the interposition of celestial beings; and some indulgence is due to a fable which has been represented by the pencil of Raphael and the chisel of Algardi."

Before the King of the Huns evacuated Italy, he threatened to return more dreadful, and more implacable, if his bride, the Princess Honoria, were not delivered to his ambassadors within the term stipulated by the

The death of
Attila.
A.D. 453.

"*Si statim infesto agmine urbem petissent, grande discrimen esset: sed in Venetiâ quo fere tractu Italia mollissima est, ipsâ soli cœlique clementiâ robur elanguit. Ad hoc panis usû carnisque coctæ, et dulcedine vini mitigatos,*" etc. This passage of Florus (iii. 8) is still more applicable to the Huns than to the Cimbri, and it may serve as a commentary on the *celestial* plague with which Idatius and Isidore have afflicted the troops of Attila.

"The historian Priscus had positively mentioned the effect which this example produced on the mind of Attila. Jornandes, c. 42, p. 673.

"The picture of Raphael is in the Vatican; the basso (or perhaps the alto) relief of Algardi on one of the altars of St. Peter's (see Dubos, *Réflexions sur la Poésie et sur la Peinture*, tom. i. p. 519, 520). Baronius (*Annal. Eccles.* A.D. 452, No. 57, 58) bravely sustains the truth of the apparition; which is rejected, however, by the most learned and pious Catholics.

treaty. Yet, in the meanwhile, Attila relieved his tender anxiety by adding a beautiful maid, whose name was Ildico, to the list of his innumerable wives." Their marriage was celebrated with barbaric pomp and festivity, at his wooden palace beyond the Danube; and the monarch, oppressed with wine and sleep, retired at a late hour from the banquet to the nuptial bed. His attendants continued to respect his pleasures or his repose the greatest part of the ensuing day, till the unusual silence alarmed their fears and suspicions; and, after attempting to awaken Attila by loud and repeated cries, they at length broke into the royal apartment. They found the trembling bride sitting by the bedside, hiding her face with her veil, and lamenting her own danger, as well as the death of the king, who had expired during the night." An artery had suddenly burst: and as Attila lay in a supine posture, he was suffocated by a torrent of blood, which, instead of finding a passage through the nostrils, regurgitated into the lungs and stomach. His body was solemnly exposed in the midst of the plain, under a silken pavilion; and the chosen squadrons of the Huns, wheeling round in measured evolutions, chanted a funeral song to the memory of a hero, glorious in his life, invincible in his death, the father of his people, the scourge of his enemies, and the terror of the world. According to their national custom, the barbarians cut off a part of their hair,

* Attila, ut Priscus historicus refert, extinctionis sue tempore, puellam Ildico nomine, decoram valde, sibi [in] matrimonium post innumerabiles uxores . . . socians. — Jornandes, c. 49, p. 683, 684. He afterwards adds (c. 50, p. 686), "Filiis Attilæ, quorum per licentiam libidinis pene populus fuit." Polygamy has been established among the Tartars of every age. The rank of plebeian wives is regulated only by their personal charms; and the faded matron prepares without a murmur the bed which is destined for her blooming rival. But in royal families the daughters of khans communicate to their sons a prior right of inheritance. See Genealogical History, p. 406, 407, 408.

"The report of her *guilt* reached Constantinople, where it obtained a very different name, and Marcellinus observes that the tyrant of Europe was slain in the night by the hand and the knife of a woman. Corneille, who has adapted the genuine account to his tragedy, describes the eruption of blood in forty bombast lines, and Attila exclaims, with ridiculous fury,

——— S'il ne veut s'arrêter (*his blood*),
(Dit-il) on me payera ce qui m'en va coûter.

gashed their faces with unseemly wounds, and bewailed their valiant leader as he deserved, not with the tears of women, but with the blood of warriors. The remains of Attila were enclosed within three coffins—of gold, of silver, and of iron—and privately buried in the night; the spoils of nations were thrown into his grave; the captives who had opened the ground were inhumanly massacred; and the same Huns who had indulged such excessive grief feasted, with dissolute and intemperate mirth, about the recent sepulchre of their king. It was reported at Constantinople that, on the fortunate night in which he expired, Marcian beheld in a dream the bow of Attila broken asunder; and the report may be allowed to prove how seldom the image of that formidable barbarian was absent from the mind of a Roman emperor.”

The revolution which subverted the empire of the Huns established the fame of Attila, whose genius alone had sustained the huge and disjointed fabric. After his death the boldest chieftains aspired to the rank of kings; the most powerful kings refused to acknowledge a superior; and the numerous sons whom so many various mothers bore to the deceased monarch divided and disputed like a private inheritance the sovereign command of the nations of Germany and Scythia. The bold Ardaric felt and represented the disgrace of this servile partition; and his subjects, the warlike Gepidæ, with the Ostrogoths, under the conduct of three valiant brothers, encouraged their allies to vindicate the rights of freedom and royalty. In a bloody and decisive conflict on the banks of the river Netad, in Pannonia, the lance of the Gepidæ, the sword of the Goths, the arrows of the Huns, the Suevic infantry, the light arms of the Heruli, and the heavy weapons of the Alani encountered or supported each other; and the victory of Ardaric was accompanied with the slaughter of thirty thousand of his enemies. Ellac, the eldest son of Attila, lost his life and crown in the memorable battle of Netad;

* The curious circumstances of the death and funeral of Attila are related by Jornandes (c. 49, p. 683, 684, 685), and were probably^a transcribed from Priscus.

^a Jornandes says twice that he takes the narrative from Priscus.—S.

his early valor had raised him to the throne of the Acatzires, a Scythian people, whom he subdued; and his father, who loved the superior merit, would have envied the death, of El-lac.⁷⁰ His brother Dengisich,^a with an army of Huns still formidable in their flight and ruin, maintained his ground above fifteen years on the banks of the Danube. The palace of Attila, with the old country of Dacia, from the Carpathian hills to the Euxine, became the seat of a new power which was erected by Ardaric, King of the Gepidæ. The Pannonian conquests, from Vienna to Sirmium, were occupied by the Ostrogoths; and the settlements of the tribes who had so bravely asserted their native freedom were irregularly distributed according to the measure of their respective strength. Surrounded and oppressed by the multitude of his father's slaves, the kingdom of Dengisich was confined to the circle of his wagons. His desperate courage urged him to invade the Eastern empire; he fell in battle, and his head, ignominiously exposed in the Hippodrome, exhibited a grateful spectacle to the people of Constantinople. Attila had fondly or superstitiously believed that Irnac, the youngest of his sons, was destined to perpetuate the glories of his race. The character of that prince, who attempted to moderate the rashness of his brother Dengisich, was more suitable to the declining condition of the Huns; and Irnac, with his subject hordes, retired into the heart of the Lesser Scythia. They were soon overwhelmed by a torrent of new barbarians, who followed the same road which their own ancestors had formerly discovered. The *Geougen*, or *Avares*,^b whose residence is assigned by the Greek

⁷⁰ See Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, c. 50, p. 685, 686, 687, 688. His distinction of the national arms is curious and important. "Nam ibi admirandum reor fuisse spectaculum, ubi cerneie erat cunctis, pugnantem Gothum ense furentem, Gepidam in vulnere suorum cuncta tela frangentem, Suevum pede, Hunnum sagittâ præsumere, Alanum gravi, Herulum levi, armaturâ, aciem instruere." I am not precisely informed of the situation of the river Netad.

^a This name affords another presumption in favor of the Turkish origin of the Huns. *Dengiz* is the Turkish word for sea; and the name may have been given to one of Attila's sons from his having been born near the Euxine. See Prichard, Researches into the Physical History of Mankind, vol. iv. p. 327.—S.

^b On the Avares, see Editor's note, ch. xli. next to note 32.—S.

writers to the shores of the ocean, impelled the adjacent tribes; till at length the Igours of the North, issuing from the cold Siberian regions which produce the most valuable furs, spread themselves over the desert as far as the Borysthenes and the Caspian gates, and finally extinguished the empire of the Huns."

Such an event might contribute to the safety of the Eastern empire under the reign of a prince who conciliated the friendship, without forfeiting the esteem, of the barbarians. But the Emperor of the West, the feeble and dissolute Valentinian, who had reached his thirty-fifth year without attaining the age of reason or courage, abused this apparent security to undermine the foundations of his own throne by the murder of the patrician Aëtius. From the instinct of a base and jealous mind, he hated the man who was universally celebrated as the terror of the barbarians and the support of the republic;* and his new favorite, the eunuch Heraclius, awakened the emperor from the supine lethargy which might be disguised during the life of Placidia⁷² by the excuse of filial piety. The fame of Aëtius, his wealth and dignity, the numerous and martial train of barbarian followers, his powerful dependents who filled the civil offices of the

Valentinian
murders the
patrician
Aëtius,
A.D. 454;

⁷¹ Two modern historians have thrown much new light on the ruin and division of the empire of Attila—M. de Buat, by his laborious and minute diligence (tom. viii p. 3–31, 68–94), and M. de Guignes, by his extraordinary knowledge of the Chinese language and writers. See *Hist. des Huns*, tom. ii p. 315–319.

⁷² Placidia died at Rome, November 27, A.D. 450. She was buried at Ravenna, where her sepulchre, and even her corpse, seated in a chair of cypress-wood, were preserved for ages. The empress received many compliments from the orthodox clergy; and St. Peter Chrysologus assured her that her zeal for the Trinity had been recompensed by an august trinity of children. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* tom. vi. p. 240.

* The praises awarded by Gibbon to the character of Aëtius have been annulled upon with great severity. (See Mr. Herbert's *Attila*, p. 321.) I am not aware that Gibbon has dissembled or palliated any of the crimes or treasons of Aëtius, but his position at the time of his murder was certainly that of the preserver of the empire, the conqueror of the most dangerous of the barbarians: it is by no means clear that he was not "innocent" of any treasonable designs against Valentinian. If the early acts of his life, the introduction of the Huns into Italy and of the Vandals into Africa, were among the proximate causes of the ruin of the empire, his murder was the signal for its almost immediate downfall.—M.

State, and the hopes of his son Gaudentius, who was already contracted to Endoxia, the emperor's daughter, had raised him above the rank of a subject. The ambitious designs of which he was secretly accused excited the fears as well as the resentment of Valentinian. Aëtius himself, supported by the consciousness of his merit, his services, and perhaps his innocence, seems to have maintained a haughty and indiscreet behavior. The patrician offended his sovereign by a hostile declaration; he aggravated the offence by compelling him to ratify with a solemn oath a treaty of reconciliation and alliance; he proclaimed his suspicions, he neglected his safety; and from a vain confidence that the enemy whom he despised was incapable even of a manly crime, he rashly ventured his person in the palace of Rome. Whilst he urged, perhaps with intemperate vehemence, the marriage of his son, Valentinian, drawing his sword—the first sword he had ever drawn—plunged it in the breast of a general who had saved his empire; his courtiers and eunuchs ambitiously struggled to imitate their master; and Aëtius, pierced with a hundred wounds, fell dead in the royal presence. Boethius, the Prætorian præfect, was killed at the same moment; and before the event could be divulged, the principal friends of the patrician were summoned to the palace and separately murdered. The horrid deed, palliated by the specious names of justice and necessity, was immediately communicated by the emperor to his soldiers, his subjects, and his allies. The nations who were strangers or enemies to Aëtius generously deplored the unworthy fate of a hero; the barbarians who had been attached to his service dissembled their grief and resentment; and the public contempt which had been so long entertained for Valentinian was at once converted into deep and universal abhorrence. Such sentiments seldom pervade the walls of a palace; yet the emperor was confounded by the honest reply of a Roman whose approbation he had not disdained to solicit. "I am ignorant, sir, of your motives or provocations; I only know that you have acted like a man who cuts off his right hand with his left."⁷³

⁷³ "Aetium Placidus mactavit semivir amens," is the expression of Sidonius III.—38

The luxury of Rome seems to have attracted the long and frequent visits of Valentinian, who was consequently more despised at Rome than in any other part of his dominions. A republican spirit was insensibly revived in the senate, as their authority, and even their supplies, became necessary for the support of his feeble government. The stately demeanor of an hereditary monarch offended their pride, and the pleasures of Valentinian were injurious to the peace and honor of noble families. The birth of the Empress Eudoxia was equal to his own, and her charms and tender affection deserved those testimonies of love which her inconstant husband dissipated in vague and unlawful amours. Petronius Maximus, a wealthy senator of the Anician family, who had been twice consul, was possessed of a chaste and beautiful wife. Her obstinate resistance served only to irritate the desires of Valentinian, and he resolved to accomplish them either by stratagem or force. Deep gaming was one of the vices of the court; the emperor, who, by chance or contrivance, had gained from Maximus a considerable sum, uncourteously exacted his ring as a security for the debt, and sent it by a trusty messenger to his wife, with an order in her husband's name that she should immediately attend the Empress Eudoxia. The unsuspecting wife of Maximus was conveyed in her litter to the imperial palace; the emissaries of her impatient lover conducted her to a remote and silent bedchamber; and Valentinian violated, without remorse, the laws of hospitality. Her tears when she returned home, her deep affliction, and her bitter reproaches against a husband whom she considered as the accomplice of his own shame, excited Maximus to a just revenge; the desire of revenge was stimulated by ambition, and he might reasonably aspire, by the free suffrage of the Roman senate, to the throne of a detested and despicable rival. Valentinian, who supposed that every human breast was devoid, like his own, of friendship and gratitude, had imprudently

(Panegy. Avit. 359). The poet knew the world, and was not inclined to flatter a minister who had injured or disgraced Avitus and Majorian, the successive heroes of his song.

admitted among his guards several domestics and followers of Aëtius. Two of these, of barbarian race, were persuaded to execute a sacred and honorable duty by punishing with death the assassin of their patron; and their intrepid courage did not long expect a favorable moment. Whilst Valentinian amused himself in the Field of Mars with the spectacle of some military sports, they suddenly rushed upon him with drawn weapons, despatched the guilty Heraclius, and stabbed the emperor to the heart, without the least opposition from his numerous train, who seemed to rejoice in the tyrant's death. Such was the fate of Valentinian the Third," the last Roman emperor of the family of Theodosius. He faithfully imitated the hereditary weakness of his cousin and his two uncles, without inheriting the gentleness, the purity, the innocence, which alleviate in their characters the want of spirit and ability. Valentinian was less excusable, since he had passions without virtues. Even his religion was questionable; and though he never deviated into the paths of heresy, he scandalized the pious Christians by his attachment to the profane arts of magic and divination.

As early as the time of Cicero and Varro, it was the opinion of the Roman augurs that the *twelve vultures* which Romulus had seen represented the *twelve centuries* assigned for the fatal period of his city." This prophecy, disregarded perhaps in the season of health and prosperity, inspired the people with gloomy apprehensions when the twelfth century, clouded with disgrace and misfortune, was almost elapsed;" and even posterity must acknowl-

Death of
Valentinian.
A.D. 455.
March 16.

Symptoms of
decay and
ruin.

⁷⁴ With regard to the cause and circumstances of the deaths of Aëtius and Valentinian, our information is dark and imperfect. Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 4, p. 186, 187, 188 [tom. i. p. 327-331, edit. Bonn]) is a fabulous writer for the events which precede his own memory. His narrative must therefore be supplied and corrected by five or six Chronicles, none of which were composed in Rome or Italy, and which can only express, in broken sentences, the popular rumors as they were conveyed to Gaul, Spain, Africa, Constantinople, or Alexandria.

⁷⁵ This interpretation of Vettius, a celebrated augur, was quoted by Varro in the eighteenth book of his *Antiquities*. Censorinus de Die Natali, c. 17, p. 90, 91, edit. Haverkamp.

⁷⁶ According to Varro, the twelfth century would expire A.D. 447; but the un-

edge with some surprise that the arbitrary interpretation of an accidental or fabulous circumstance has been seriously verified in the downfall of the Western empire. But its fall was announced by a clearer omen than the flight of vultures; the Roman government appeared every day less formidable to its enemies, more odious and oppressive to its subjects." The taxes were multiplied with the public distress; economy was neglected in proportion as it became necessary; and the injustice of the rich shifted the unequal burden from themselves to the people, whom they defrauded of the *indulgences* that might sometimes have alleviated their misery. The severe inquisition which confiscated their goods and tortured their persons compelled the subjects of Valentinian to prefer the more simple tyranny of the barbarians, to fly to the woods and mountains, or to embrace the vile and abject condition of mercenary servants. They abjured and abhorred the name of Roman citizens, which had formerly excited the ambition of mankind. The Armorican provinces of Gaul and the greatest part of Spain were thrown into a state of disorderly independence by the confederations of the Bagaudæ, and the imperial ministers pursued with proscriptive laws and ineffectual arms the rebels whom they had made." If all the barbarian

certainly of the true era of Rome might allow some latitude of anticipation or delay. The poets of the age, Claudian (de Bell. Getico, 265) and Sidonius (in Panegy. Avit. 357), may be admitted as fair witnesses of the popular opinion.

Tunc reputant annos, interceptoque volatū
Vulturis, incidunt prope iatis sæcula metis.

Jam prope fata tui bis senas Vulturis alas
Implebant; scis namque tuos, scis, Roma, labores.

See Dubos, Hist. Critique, tom. i. p. 340-346.

"The fifth book of Salvian is filled with pathetic lamentations and vehement invectives. His immoderate freedom serves to prove the weakness, as well as the corruption, of the Roman government. His book was published after the loss of Africa (A.D. 439), and before Attila's war (A.D. 451).

"The Bagaudæ of Spain, who fought pitched battles with the Roman troops, are repeatedly mentioned in the Chronicle of Idanús. Salvian has described their distress and rebellion in very forcible language. "Itaque nomen civium Romanorum . . . nunc ultro repudiatur ac fugitur, nec vile tamen [tantum] sed etiam abominabile pœne habetur. . . . Et hinc est ut etiam hi qui ad barbaros non confugunt, barbari tamen esse coguntur, scilicet ut est pars magna Hispanorum, et non mini-

conquerors had been annihilated in the same hour, their total destruction would not have restored the empire of the West; and if Rome still survived, she survived the loss of freedom, of virtue, and of honor.

ma Gallorum. . . . De Bagaudis nunc mihi sermo est, qui per malos iudices et cruentos spoliati, afflicti, necati postquam jus Romanæ libertatis amiserant, etiam honorem Romani nominis perdiderunt. . . . Vocamus rebelles, vocamus perditos quos esse compulimus criminosos."—*De Gubernat. Dei*, l. v. p. 158, 159.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Sack of Rome by Genseric, King of the Vandals.—His Naval Depredations.—Succession of the Last Emperors of the West—Maximus, Avitus, Majorian, Severus, Anthemius, Olybrius, Glycerius, Nepos, Augustulus —Total Extinction of the Western Empire.—Reign of Odoacer, the First Barbarian King of Italy.

THE loss or desolation of the provinces from the Ocean to the Alps impaired the glory and greatness of Rome; her internal prosperity was irretrievably destroyed by the separation of Africa. The rapacious Vandals confiscated the patrimonial estates of the senators, and intercepted the regular subsidies which relieved the poverty and encouraged the idleness of the plebeians. The distress of the Romans was soon aggravated by an unexpected attack; and the province so long cultivated for their use by industrious and obedient subjects was armed against them by an ambitious barbarian. The Vandals and Alani, who followed the successful standard of Genseric, had acquired a rich and fertile territory, which stretched along the coast above ninety days' journey from Tangier to Tripoli; but their narrow limits were pressed and confined, on either side, by the sandy desert and the Mediterranean. The discovery and conquest of the Black nations that might dwell beneath the torrid zone could not tempt the rational ambition of Genseric; but he cast his eyes towards the sea: he resolved to create a naval power, and his bold resolution was executed with steady and active perseverance. The woods of Mount Atlas afforded an inexhaustible nursery of timber. His new subjects were skilled in the arts of navigation and ship-building; he animated his daring Vandals to embrace a mode of warfare which would render every maritime country accessible to their arms; the Moors and Africans were allured by the hopes of plunder; and, after an interval of six centuries, the fleets that issued from the port

Naval power
of the Van-
dals
A.D. 489-455.

of Carthage again claimed the empire of the Mediterranean. The success of the Vandals, the conquest of Sicily, the sack of Palermo, and the frequent descents on the coast of Lucania awakened and alarmed the mother of Valentinian and the sister of Theodosius. Alliances were formed, and armaments, expensive and ineffectual, were prepared, for the destruction of the common enemy, who reserved his courage to encounter those dangers which his policy could not prevent or elude. The designs of the Roman government were repeatedly baffled by his artful delays, ambiguous promises, and apparent concessions; and the interposition of his formidable confederate, the King of the Huns, recalled the emperors from the conquest of Africa to the care of their domestic safety. The revolutions of the palace, which left the Western empire without a defender and without a lawful prince, dispelled the apprehensions and stimulated the avarice of Genseric. He immediately equipped a numerous fleet of Vandals and Moors, and cast anchor at the mouth of the Tiber, about three months after the death of Valentinian and the elevation of Maximus to the imperial throne.

The private life of the senator Petronius Maximus¹ was often alleged as a rare example of human felicity. His birth was noble and illustrious, since he descended from the Anician family; his dignity was supported by an adequate patrimony in land and money; and these advantages of fortune were accompanied with liberal arts and decent manners, which adorn or imitate the inestimable gifts of genius and virtue. The luxury of his palace and table was hospitable and elegant. Whenever Maximus appeared in public, he was surrounded by a train of grateful and obsequious clients;² and it is possible that among

The character
and reign of
the Emperor
Maximus
A.D. 455.
March 17.

¹ Sidonius Apollinaris composed the thirteenth epistle of the second book to refute the paradox of his friend Serranus, who entertained a singular though generous enthusiasm for the deceased emperor. This epistle, with some indulgence, may claim the praise of an elegant composition; and it throws much light on the character of Maximus.

² "Clientum prævia, pedisequa, circumfusa, populositas," is the train which Sidonius himself (l. i. Epist. 9) assigns to another senator of consular rank.

these clients he might deserve and possess some real friends. His merit was rewarded by the favor of the prince and senate: he thrice exercised the office of Prætorian Præfect of Italy; he was twice invested with the consulship, and he obtained the rank of patrician. These civil honors were not incompatible with the enjoyment of leisure and tranquillity. His hours, according to the demands of pleasure or reason, were accurately distributed by a water-clock; and this avarice of time may be allowed to prove the sense which Maximus entertained of his own happiness. The injury which he received from the Emperor Valentinian appears to excuse the most bloody revenge. Yet a philosopher might have reflected that if the resistance of his wife had been sincere, her chastity was still inviolate, and that it could never be restored if she had consented to the will of the adulterer. A patriot would have hesitated before he plunged himself and his country into those inevitable calamities which must follow the extinction of the royal house of Theodosius. The imprudent Maximus disregarded these salutary considerations: he gratified his resentment and ambition; he saw the bleeding corpse of Valentinian at his feet; and he heard himself saluted emperor by the unanimous voice of the senate and people. But the day of his inauguration was the last day of his happiness. He was imprisoned (such is the lively expression of Sidonius) in the palace; and after passing a sleepless night, he sighed that he had attained the summit of his wishes, and aspired only to descend from the dangerous elevation. Oppressed by the weight of the diadem, he communicated his anxious thoughts to his friend and quæstor Fulgentius; and when he looked back with unavailing regret on the secure pleasures of his former life, the emperor exclaimed, "O fortunate Damocles," thy reign

* Districtus ensis cui super impiâ
Cervice pendet, non *Siculus dapes*
Dulcem elaborabunt saporem:
Non avium citharæque cantus
Somnum reducent.

Horat. Carm. iii. 1.

Sidonius concludes his letter with the story of Damocles, which Cicero (Tusculan. v. 20, 21) had so inimitably told.

began and ended with the same dinner"—a well-known allusion, which Fulgentius afterwards repeated as an instructive lesson for princes and subjects.

The reign of Maximus continued about three months. His hours, of which he had lost the command, were disturbed by remorse, or guilt, or terror; and his throne was shaken by the seditions of the soldiers, the people, and the confederate barbarians. The marriage of his son Palladius with the eldest daughter of the late emperor might tend to establish the hereditary succession of his family; but the violence which he offered to the Empress Eudoxia could proceed only from the blind impulse of lust or revenge. His own wife, the cause of these tragic events, had been seasonably removed by death; and the widow of Valentinian was compelled to violate her decent mourning, perhaps her real grief, and to submit to the embraces of a presumptuous usurper, whom she suspected as the assassin of her deceased husband. These suspicions were soon justified by the indiscreet confession of Maximus himself; and he wantonly provoked the hatred of his reluctant bride, who was still conscious that she descended from a line of emperors. From the East, however, Eudoxia could not hope to obtain any effectual assistance: her father and her aunt Pulcheria were dead; her mother languished at Jerusalem in disgrace and exile; and the sceptre of Constantinople was in the hands of a stranger. She directed her eyes towards Carthage, secretly implored the aid of the King of the Vandals, and persuaded Genseric to improve the fair opportunity of disguising his rapacious designs by the specious names of honor, justice, and compassion.* Whatever abilities Maximus might have shown in a subordinate station, he was found incapable of administering an empire; and though he might easily have been informed of the

* Notwithstanding the evidence of Procopius, Evagrius, Idatius, Marcellinus, etc., the learned Muratori (*Annali d' Italia*, tom iv. p. 249) doubts the reality of this invitation, and observes, with great truth, "*Non si può dir quanto sia facile il popolo a sognare e spacciar voci false.*" But his argument, from the interval of time and place, is extremely feeble. The figs which grew near Carthage were produced to the senate of Rome on the third day.

naval preparations which were made on the opposite shores of Africa, he expected with supine indifference the approach of the enemy, without adopting any measures of defence, of negotiation, or of a timely retreat. When the Vandals disembarked at the mouth of the Tiber, the emperor was suddenly roused from his lethargy by the clamors of a trembling and exasperated multitude. The only hope which presented itself to his astonished mind was that of a precipitate flight, and he exhorted the senators to imitate the example of their prince. But no sooner did Maximus appear in the streets than he was assaulted by a shower of stones. A Roman or a Burgundian soldier claimed the honor of the first wound. His mangled body was ignominiously cast into the Tiber. The Roman people rejoiced in the punishment which they had inflicted on the author of the public calamities; and the domestics of Eudoxia signalized their zeal in the service of their mistress.*

On the third day after the tumult, Genseric boldly advanced from the port of Ostia to the gates of the defenceless city. Instead of a sally of the Roman youth, there issued from the gates an unarmed and venerable procession of the bishop at the head of his clergy.* The fearless spirit of Leo, his authority and eloquence, *again* mitigated the fierceness of a barbarian conqueror. The King of the Vandals promised to spare the unresisting multitude, to protect the buildings from fire, and to exempt the captives from torture; and although such orders were neither seriously given nor strictly obeyed, the mediation of Leo was glorious to himself, and in some degree beneficial to his country. But Rome and its inhabitants were delivered to the licentiousness of the Vandals and Moors, whose blind passions

Sack of
Rome by the
Vandals.
A.D. 455.
June 15-29.

Infidoque tibi Burgundio ductu
Extorquet trepidas mactandi principis iras.

Sidon. in Panegyri. Avit. 442.

A remarkable line, which insinuates that Rome and Maximus were betrayed by their Burgundian mercenaries.

* The apparent success of Pope Leo may be justified by Prosper and the *Historia Miscellanea*; but the improbable notion of Baronius (A.D. 455, No. 13) that Genseric spared the three apostolical churches is not countenanced even by the doubtful testimony of the *Liber Pontificalis*.

revenged the injuries of Carthage. The pillage lasted fourteen days and nights; and all that yet remained of public or private wealth, of sacred or profane treasure, was diligently transported to the vessels of Genseric. Among the spoils, the splendid relics of two temples, or rather of two religions, exhibited a memorable example of the vicissitudes of human and divine things. Since the abolition of paganism, the Capitol had been violated and abandoned; yet the statues of the gods and heroes were still respected, and the curious roof of gilt bronze was reserved for the rapacious hands of Genseric.⁷ The holy instruments of the Jewish worship⁸—the gold table, and the gold candlestick with seven branches, originally framed according to the particular instructions of God himself, and which were placed in the sanctuary of his temple, had been ostentatiously displayed to the Roman people in the triumph of Titus. They were afterwards deposited in the Temple of Peace; and at the end of four hundred years, the spoils of Jerusalem were transferred from Rome to Carthage by a barbarian who derived his origin from the shores of the Baltic. These ancient monuments might attract the notice of curiosity as well as of avarice. But the Christian churches, enriched and adorned by the prevailing superstition of the times, afforded more plentiful materials for sacrilege; and the pious liberality of Pope Leo, who melted six silver vases, the gift of Constantine, each of a hundred pounds weight, is an evidence of the damage which he attempted to repair. In the forty-five years that had elapsed since the Gothic invasion, the

⁷ The profusion of Catulus, the first who gilt the roof of the Capitol, was not universally approved (Plin. Hist. Natur. xxxiii. 18); but it was far exceeded by the emperor's, and the external gilding of the temple cost Domitian 12,000 talents (£2,400,000). The expressions of Claudian and Rutilius ("*luce metalli æmula fastigia astris*" and "*confunduntque vagos delubra micantia visus*") manifestly prove that this splendid covering was not removed either by the Christians or the Goths (see Donatus, Roma Antiqua, l. ii. c. 6, p. 125). It should seem that the roof of the Capitol was decorated with gilt statues and chariots drawn by four horses.

⁸ The curious reader may consult the learned and accurate treatise of Hadrian Ireland, De Spoliis Templi Hierosolymitani in Arcu Titiano Romæ conspicuis, in 12mo, Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1716.

pomp and luxury of Rome were in some measure restored; and it was difficult either to escape or to satisfy the avarice of a conqueror who possessed leisure to collect and ships to transport the wealth of the capital. The imperial ornaments of the palace, the magnificent furniture and wardrobe, the sideboards of massy plate, were accumulated with disorderly rapine. The gold and silver amounted to several thousand talents; yet even the brass and copper were laboriously removed. Eudoxia herself, who advanced to meet her friend and deliverer, soon bewailed the imprudence of her own conduct. She was rudely stripped of her jewels; and the unfortunate empress, with her two daughters, the only surviving remains of the great Theodosius, was compelled, as a captive, to follow the haughty Vandal, who immediately hoisted sail, and returned with a prosperous navigation to the port of Carthage.* Many thousand Romans of both sexes, chosen for some useful or agreeable qualifications, reluctantly embarked on board the fleet of Genseric; and their distress was aggravated by the unfeeling barbarians, who, in the division of the booty, separated the wives from their husbands, and the children from their parents. The charity of Deogratias, Bishop of Carthage,¹⁰ was their only consolation and support. He generously sold the gold and silver plate of the church to purchase the freedom of some, to alleviate the slavery of others, and to assist the wants and infirmities of a captive multitude, whose health was impaired by the hardships which they had suffered in the passage from Italy to Africa. By his order, two spacious churches were converted into hospitals; the sick were distributed in convenient beds, and liberally supplied with food and medicines; and the aged prelate repeated his visits both in the day and night with

* The vessel which transported the relics of the Capitol was the only one of the whole fleet that suffered shipwreck. If a bigoted sophist—a pagan bigot—had mentioned the accident, he might have rejoiced that this cargo of sacrilege was lost in the sea.

¹⁰ See Victor Vitensis de Persecut. Vandal l. i. c. 8, p. 11, 12, edit. Ruinart. Deogratias governed the Church of Carthage only three years. If he had not been privately buried, his corpse would have been torn piecemeal by the mad devotion of the people.



GENSERIC'S HORDES RE-EMBARKING FOR CARTHAGE,
with the booty obtained at the sack of Rome Page 604

"And their distress was aggravated by the unfeeling barbarians, who, in the
division of the booty, separated the wives from their husbands,
and children from their parents"

Gibbon's Rome, Vol III.

Painting by E. V. Luminais

an assiduity that surpassed his strength, and a tender sympathy which enhanced the value of his services. Compare this scene with the field of Cannæ, and judge between Hannibal and the successor of St. Cyprian.¹¹

The deaths of Aëtius and Valentinian had relaxed the ties which held the barbarians of Gaul in peace and subordination.

The Emperor
Avitus.
A.D. 455.
July 10.

The sea-coast was infested by the Saxons; the Alemanni and the Franks advanced from the Rhine to the Seine; and the ambition of the Goths seemed to meditate more extensive and permanent conquests. The Emperor Maximus relieved himself, by a judicious choice, from the weight of these distant cares; he silenced the solicitations of his friends, listened to the voice of fame, and promoted a stranger to the general command of the forces in Gaul. Avitus,¹² the stranger whose merit was so nobly rewarded, descended from a wealthy and honorable family in the diocese of Auvergne. The convulsions of the times urged him to embrace with the same ardor the civil and military professions; and the indefatigable youth blended the studies of literature and jurisprudence with the exercise of arms and hunting. Thirty years of his life were laudably spent in the public service: he alternately displayed his talents in war and negotiation; and the soldier of Aëtius, after executing the most important embassies, was raised to the station of Prætorian Præfect of Gaul. Either the merit of Avitus excited envy, or his moderation was desirous of repose, since he calmly retired to an estate which he possessed in the neighborhood of Clermont. A copious stream, issuing from the mountain, and falling headlong in many a loud and foaming cascade, discharged its waters into a lake about two miles in length, and the villa was pleasantly

¹¹ The general evidence for the death of Maximus and the sack of Rome by the Vandals is comprised in Sidonius (Panegy. Avit 441-450), Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 4, 5, p. 188, 189 [tom. i. p. 332, edit. Bonn], and l. ii. c. 9, p. 255 [tom. i. p. 445 seq. edit. Bonn]), Evagrius (l. ii. c. 7), Jornandes (de Reb. Geticis, c. 45, p. 677), and the Chronicles of Idatius, Prosper, Marcellinus, and Theophanes, under the proper year.

¹² The private life and elevation of Avitus must be deduced, with becoming suspicion, from the panegyric pronounced by Sidonius Apollinaris, his subject and his son-in-law.

seated¹ on the margin of the lake. The baths, the porticoes, the summer and winter apartments, were adapted to the purposes of luxury and use; and the adjacent country afforded the various prospects of woods, pastures, and meadows.¹³ In this retreat, where Avitus amused his leisure with books, rural sports, the practice of husbandry, and the society of his friends,¹⁴ he received the imperial diploma which constituted him master-general of the cavalry and infantry of Gaul. He assumed the military command; the barbarians suspended their fury; and whatever means he might employ, whatever concessions he might be forced to make, the people enjoyed the benefits of actual tranquillity. But the fate of Gaul depended on the Visigoths; and the Roman general, less attentive to his dignity than to the public interest, did not disdain to visit Toulouse in the character of an ambassador. He was received with courteous hospitality by Theodoric, the King of the Goths; but while Avitus laid the foundations of a solid alliance with that powerful nation, he was astonished by the intelligence that the Emperor Maximus was slain, and that Rome had been pillaged by the Vandals. A vacant throne, which he might ascend without guilt or danger, tempted his ambition;¹⁵ and the Visigoths were easily persuaded to support his claim by their irresistible suffrage. They loved the person of Avitus; they respected his virtues;

A. D. 456
Aug. 16.

¹³ After the example of the younger Pliny, Sidonius (l. ii. Epist. 2) has labored the fligid, prolix, and obscure description of his villa, which bore the name (*Avitacum*), and had been the property, of Avitus. The precise situation is not ascertained. Consult, however, the notes of Savaron and Sirmond.

¹⁴ Sidonius (l. ii. Epist. 9) has described the country life of the Gallic nobles in a visit which he made to his friends, whose estates were in the neighborhood of Nîmes. The morning hours were spent in the *sphæristerium*, or tennis-court, or in the library, which was furnished with *Latin* authors, profane and religious—the former for the men, the latter for the ladies. The table was twice served, at dinner and supper, with hot meat (bouled and roast) and wine. During the intermediate time, the company slept, took the air on horseback, and used the warm bath.

¹⁵ Seventy lines of panegyric (505–575), which describe the importunity of Theodoric and of Gaul struggling to overcome the modest reluctance of Avitus, are blown away by three words of an honest historian: “*Romanum ambisset Imperium*” (Gieg. Turon. l. ii. c. 11, in tom. ii. p. 168).

and they were not insensible of the advantage as well as honor of giving an emperor to the West. The season was now approaching in which the annual assembly of the seven provinces was held at Arles. Their deliberations might perhaps be influenced by the presence of Theodoric and his martial brothers; but their choice would naturally incline to the most illustrious of their countrymen. Avitus, after a decent resistance, accepted the imperial diadem from the representatives of Gaul; and his election was ratified by the acclamations of the barbarians and provincials. The formal consent of Marcian, Emperor of the East, was solicited and obtained; but the senate, Rome, and Italy, though humbled by their recent calamities, submitted with a secret murmur to the presumption of the Gallic usurper.

Theodoric, to whom Avitus was indebted for the purple, had acquired the Gothic sceptre by the murder of his elder brother Torismond; and he justified this atrocious deed by the design which his predecessor had formed of violating his alliance with the empire.¹⁶ Such a crime might not be incompatible with the virtues of a barbarian; but the manners of Theodoric were gentle and humane; and posterity may contemplate without terror the original picture of a Gothic king whom Sidonius had intimately observed in the hours of peace and of social intercourse. In an epistle dated from the Court of Toulouse, the orator satisfies the curiosity of one of his friends in the following description:—"By the majesty of his appearance, Theodoric would command the respect of those who are ignorant of his merit; and, although he is born a prince, his merit would dignify a private station. He is of a middle stature; his body

Character of
Theodoric,
King of the
Visigoths.
A.D. 453-466.

¹⁶ Isidore, Archbishop of Seville, who was himself of the blood royal of the Goths, acknowledges, and almost justifies (Hist. Goth. p. 718), the crime which their slave Jornandes had basely dissembled (c. 48, p. 675).

¹⁷ This elaborate description (L. i. Ep. ii. p. 2-7) was dictated by some political motive. It was designed for the public eye, and had been shown by the friends of Sidonius before it was inserted in the collection of his epistles. The first book was published separately. See Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclés.* tom. xvi. p. 264.

appears rather plump than fat; and in his well-proportioned limbs agility is united with muscular strength." If you examine his countenance, you will distinguish a high forehead, large shaggy eyebrows, an aquiline nose, thin lips, a regular set of white teeth, and a fair complexion that blushes more frequently from modesty than from anger. The ordinary distribution of his time, as far as it is exposed to the public view, may be concisely represented: Before daybreak he repairs, with a small train, to his domestic chapel, where the service is performed by the Arian clergy; but those who presume to interpret his secret sentiments consider this assiduous devotion as the effect of habit and policy. The rest of the morning is employed in the administration of his kingdom. His chair is surrounded by some military officers of decent aspect and behavior. The noisy crowd of his barbarian guards occupies the hall of audience, but they are not permitted to stand within the veils or curtains that conceal the council-chamber from vulgar eyes. The ambassadors of the nations are successively introduced; Theodoric listens with attention, answers them with discreet brevity, and either announces or delays, according to the nature of their business, his final resolution. About eight (the second hour) he rises from his throne, and visits either his treasury or his stables. If he chooses to hunt, or at least to exercise himself on horseback, his bow is carried by a favorite youth; but when the game is marked, he bends it with his own hand, and seldom misses the object of his aim. As a king, he disdains to bear arms in such ignoble warfare; but as a soldier, he would blush to accept any military service which he could perform himself. On common days, his dinner is not different from the repast of a private citizen; but every Saturday many honorable guests are invited to the royal table, which on these occasions is served with the elegance of Greece, the plenty of Gaul, and the order and diligence of

¹⁸ I have suppressed, in this portrait of Theodoric, several minute circumstances and technical phrases, which could be tolerable, or indeed intelligible, to those only who, like the contemporaries of Sidonius, had frequented the markets where naked slaves were exposed to sale (Dubos, *Hist. Critique*, tom. i. p. 404).

Italy." The gold or silver plate is less remarkable for its weight than for the brightness and curious workmanship; the taste is gratified without the help of foreign and costly luxury; the size and number of the cups of wine are regulated with a strict regard to the laws of temperance; and the respectful silence that prevails is interrupted only by grave and instructive conversation. After dinner, Theodoric sometimes indulges himself in a short slumber; and as soon as he wakes he calls for the dice and tables, encourages his friends to forget the royal majesty, and is delighted when they freely express the passions which are excited by the incidents of play. At this game, which he loves as the image of war, he alternately displays his eagerness, his skill, his patience, and his cheerful temper. If he loses, he laughs; he is modest and silent if he wins. Yet, notwithstanding this seeming indifference, his courtiers choose to solicit any favor in the moments of victory; and I myself, in my applications to the king, have derived some benefit from my losses.²⁹ About the ninth hour (three o'clock) the tide of business again returns, and flows incessantly till after sunset, when the signal of the royal supper dismisses the weary crowd of suppliants and pleaders. At the supper—a more familiar repast—buffoons and pantomimes are sometimes introduced to divert, not to offend, the company by their ridiculous wit; but female singers, and the soft, effeminate modes of music, are severely banished, and such martial tunes as animate the soul to deeds of valor are alone grateful to the ear of Theodoric. He retires from table; and the nocturnal guards are immediately posted at the entrance of the treasury, the palace, and the private apartments."

When the King of the Visigoths encouraged Avitus to assume the purple, he offered his person and his forces as a faith-

²⁹ "Videas ibi elegantiam Græcam, abundantiam Gallicanam, celeritatem Italianam, publicam pompam, privatam diligentiam, regiam disciplinam."

³⁰ "Tunc etiam ego aliquid obsecratuus feliciter vincor, et mihi tabula perit ut causa salvetur" [p. 6]. Sidonius of Auvergne was not a subject of Theodoric but he might be compelled to solicit either justice or favor at the Court of Toulouse.

ful soldier of the republic." The exploits of Theodoric soon convinced the world that he had not degenerated from the warlike virtues of his ancestors. After the establishment of the Goths in Aquitaine and the passage of the Vandals into Africa, the Suevi, who had fixed their kingdom in Galicia, aspired to the conquest of Spain, and threatened to extinguish the feeble remains of the Roman dominion. The provincials of Carthagenæ and Tarragona, afflicted by a hostile invasion, represented their injuries and their apprehensions. Count Fronto was despatched, in the name of the Emperor Avitus, with advantageous offers of peace and alliance; and Theodoric interposed his weighty mediation to declare that, unless his brother-in-law, the King of the Suevi, immediately retired, he should be obliged to arm in the cause of justice and of Rome. "Tell him," replied the haughty Rechiarius, "that I despise his friendship and his arms; but that I shall soon try whether he will dare to expect my arrival under the walls of Toulouse." Such a challenge urged Theodoric to prevent the bold designs of his enemy: he passed the Pyrenees at the head of the Visigoths; the Franks and Burgundians served under his standard; and though he professed himself the dutiful servant of Avitus, he privately stipulated, for himself and his successors, the absolute possession of his Spanish conquests. The two armies, or rather the two nations, encountered each other on the banks of the river Urbicus, about twelve miles from Astorga; and the decisive victory of the Goths appeared for a while to have extirpated the name and kingdom of the Suevi. From the field of battle Theodoric advanced to Braga, their metropolis, which still retained the splendid vestiges of its ancient commerce and dignity." His entrance was not polluted with

²² Theodoric himself had given a solemn and voluntary promise of fidelity, which was understood both in Gaul and Spain—

— Romæ sum, te duce, Amicus,
Principe te, Miles, Sidon. Panegyrr. Avit. 511.

Quæque sint pelagi jactat se Bracara dives.

Anson de Claris Urbibus, p. 245 [Emerita, ix.].

From the design of the King of the Suevi, it is evident that the navigation from

blood; and the Goths respected the chastity of their female captives, more especially of the consecrated virgins. But the greatest part of the clergy and people were made slaves, and even the churches and altars were confounded in the universal pillage. The unfortunate King of the Suevi had escaped to one of the ports of the ocean; but the obstinacy of the winds opposed his flight; he was delivered to his implacable rival; and Rechiarus, who neither desired nor expected mercy, received, with manly constancy, the death which he would probably have inflicted. After this bloody sacrifice to policy or resentment, Theodoric carried his victorious arms as far as Merida, the principal town of Lusitania, without meeting any resistance, except from the miraculous powers of St. Eulalia; but he was stopped in the full career of success, and recalled from Spain before he could provide for the security of his conquests. In his retreat towards the Pyrenees, he revenged his disappointment on the country through which he passed; and, in the sack of Pollentia and Astorga, he showed himself a faithless ally as well as a cruel enemy. Whilst the King of the Visigoths fought and vanquished in the name of Avitus, the reign of Avitus had expired; and both the honor and the interest of Theodoric were deeply wounded by the disgrace of a friend whom he had seated on the throne of the Western empire.²³

The pressing solicitations of the senate and people persuaded the Emperor Avitus to fix his residence at Rome, and to accept the consulship for the ensuing year. On the first day of January, his son-in-law, Sidonius Apollinaris, celebrated his praises in a panegyric of six hundred verses; but this composition, though it was rewarded with a brass statue,²⁴ seems to contain a very moderate propor-

Avitus is
deposed.
A.D. 456.
Oct. 16.

the ports of Galicia to the Mediterranean was known and practised. The ships of Bracara, or Braga, cautiously steered along the coast, without daring to lose themselves in the Atlantic.

²³ This Suevic war is the most authentic part of the Chronicle of Idatius, who, as Bishop of Iria Flavia, was himself a spectator and a sufferer. Jornandes (c. 44, p. 675, 676, 677) has expatiated with pleasure on the Gothic victory.

²⁴ In one of the porticoes or galleries belonging to Trajan's library, among the statues of famous writers and orators. Sidon. Apollin. l. ix. Epist. 16, p. 284; Carm. viii. p. 350.

tion either of genius or of truth. The poet, if we may degrade that sacred name, exaggerates the merit of a sovereign and a father; and his prophecy of a long and glorious reign was soon contradicted by the event. Avitus, at the time when the imperial dignity was reduced to a pre-eminence of toil and danger, indulged himself in the pleasures of Italian luxury: age had not extinguished his amorous inclinations; and he is accused of insulting, with indiscreet and ungenerous raillery, the husbands whose wives he had seduced or violated.²⁶ But the Romans were not inclined either to excuse his faults or to acknowledge his virtues. The several parts of the empire became every day more alienated from each other; and the stranger of Gaul was the object of popular hatred and contempt. The senate asserted their legitimate claim in the election of an emperor; and their authority, which had been originally derived from the old constitution, was again fortified by the actual weakness of a declining monarchy. Yet even such a monarchy might have resisted the votes of an unarmed senate, if their discontent had not been supported, or perhaps inflamed, by Count Ricimer, one of the principal commanders of the barbarian troops who formed the military defence of Italy. The daughter of Wallia, King of the Visigoths, was the mother of Ricimer; but he was descended, on the father's side, from the nation of the Suevi.²⁷ His pride or patriotism might be exasperated by the misfortunes of his countrymen; and he obeyed with reluctance an emperor in whose elevation he had not been consulted. His faithful and important services against the common enemy rendered him still more formidable; and, after destroying on the coast of Corsica a fleet of

²⁶ "*Luxuriose agere volens a senatoribus projectus est*" is the concise expression of Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. xi. in tom. ii. p. 168). An old Chronicle (in tom. ii. p. 649) mentions an indecent jest of Avitus, which seems more applicable to Rome than to Treves.

²⁷ Sidonius (Panegy. Anthem. 302 [360], etc.) praises the royal birth of Ricimer, the lawful heir, as he chooses to insinuate, both of the Gothic and Suevic kingdoms.

²⁸ See the Chronicle of Idatius. Jornandes (c. xlv p. 676 [c. 45, p. 678]) styles him, with some truth, "*virum egregium, et pene tunc in Italiâ ad exercitum singularem.*"

Vandals, which consisted of sixty galleys, Ricimer returned in triumph with the appellation of the Deliverer of Italy. He chose that moment to signify to Avitus that his reign was at an end; and the feeble emperor, at a distance from his Gothic allies, was compelled, after a short and unavailing struggle, to abdicate the purple. By the clemency, however, or the contempt of Ricimer,²⁰ he was permitted to descend from the throne to the more desirable station of Bishop of Placentia: but the resentment of the senate was still unsatisfied; and their inflexible severity pronounced the sentence of his death. He fled towards the Alps, with the humble hope, not of arming the Visigoths in his cause, but of securing his person and treasures in the sanctuary of Julian, one of the tutelar saints of Auvergne.²¹ Disease, or the hand of the executioner, arrested him on the road; yet his remains were decently transported to Brivas, or Brioude, in his native province, and he reposed at the feet of his holy patron.²² Avitus left only one daughter, the wife of Sidonius Apollinaris, who inherited the patrimony of his father-in-law; lamenting, at the same time, the disappointment of his public and private expectations. His resentment prompted him to join, or at least to countenance, the measures of a rebellious faction in Gaul; and the poet had contracted some guilt, which it was incumbent on him to expiate by a new tribute of flattery to the succeeding emperor.²³

²⁰ "*Parcens innocentie Aviti*" is the compassionate but contemptuous language of Victor Tunnunensis (in Chron. apud Scaliger. Euseb.). In another place he calls him "*vir totius simplicitatis*." This commendation is more humble, but it is more solid and sincere, than the praises of Sidonius.

²¹ He suffered, as it is supposed, in the persecution of Diocletian (Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés. tom. v. p. 279, 696*). Gregory of Tours, his peculiar votary, has dedicated to the glory of Julian the Martyr an entire book (*de Gloriâ Martyrum, l. ii. in Max. Bibliot. Patrum tom. xi p. 861-871*), in which he relates about fifty foolish miracles performed by his relics.

²² Gregory of Tours (*l. ii. c. xi. p. 168*) is concise, but correct, in the reign of his countryman. The words of Idatius, "*caret imperio, caret et vitâ*" [*Hist. de France, i. p. 621*], seem to imply that the death of Avitus was violent; but it must have been secret, since Evagrius (*l. ii. c. 7*) could suppose that he died of the plague.

²³ After a modest appeal to the examples of his brethren, Virgil and Horace, Sidonius honestly confesses the debt, and promises payment:

The successor of Avitus presents the welcome discovery of a great and heroic character, such as sometimes arise, in a degenerate age, to vindicate the honor of the human species. The Emperor Majorian has deserved the praises of his contemporaries and of posterity; and these praises may be strongly expressed in the words of a judicious and disinterested historian: "That he was gentle to his subjects; that he was terrible to his enemies; and that he excelled in *every* virtue *all* his predecessors who had reigned over the Romans."²² Such a testimony may justify at least the panegyric of Sidonius; and we may acquiesce in the assurance that, although the obsequious orator would have flattered with equal zeal the most worthless of princes, the extraordinary merit of his object confined him on this occasion within the bounds of truth." Majorian derived his name from his maternal grandfather, who, in the reign of the great Theodosius, had commanded the troops of the Illyrian frontier. He gave his daughter in marriage to the father of Majorian, a respectable officer, who administered the revenues of Gaul with skill and integrity; and generously preferred the friendship of Aëtius to the tempting offers of an insidious court. His son, the future emperor, who was educated in the profession of arms, displayed, from his early youth, intrepid courage, premature wisdom, and unbounded liberality in a scanty fortune. He followed the standard of Aëtius; contributed to his success;

Character
and elevation
of Majorian.
A.D. 467.

Sic mihi diverso nuper sub Marte cadenti
Jussisti placido victor ut essem animo.
Serviat ergo tibi servati lingua poetæ,
Atque meæ vitæ laus tua sit pretium.

Sidon. Apoll. Carm. iv. p. 308.

See Dubos, Hist. Critique, tom. i. p. 448, etc.

²² The words of Procopius deserve to be transcribed: οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Μαυριῖνος ἔμπαντας τοὺς πώποτε Ῥωμαίων βασιλευκότας ὑπεραίρων ἀρετῇ πάσῃ; and afterwards, ἀνὴρ τὰ μὲν εἰς τοὺς ὑπηκόους μέτριος γεγονώς φοβερός δὲ τὰ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 7, p. 194 [tom. i. p. 340 and 342, edit. Bonn]) — a concise but comprehensive definition of royal virtue.

²³ The Panegyric was pronounced at Lyons before the end of the year 458, while the emperor was still consul. It has more art than genius, and more labor than art. The ornaments are false or trivial; the expression is feeble and prolux; and Sidonius wants the skill to exhibit the principal figure in a strong and distinct light. The private life of Majorian occupies about two hundred lines, 107–305.

shared, and sometimes eclipsed, his glory; and at last excited the jealousy of the patrician, or rather of his wife, who forced him to retire from the service.³⁴ Majorian, after the death of Aëtius, was recalled and promoted; and his intimate connection with Count Ricimer was the immediate step by which he ascended the throne of the Western empire. During the vacancy that succeeded the abdication of Avitus, the ambitious barbarian, whose birth excluded him from the imperial dignity, governed Italy, with the title of Patrician; resigned to his friend the conspicuous station of master-general of the cavalry and infantry; and, after an interval of some months, consented to the unanimous wish of the Romans, whose favor Majorian had solicited by a recent victory over the Alemanni.³⁵ He was invested with the purple at Ravenna; and the epistle which he addressed to the senate will best describe his situation and his sentiments. "Your election, Conscript Fathers, and the ordinance of the most valiant army, have made me your emperor.³⁶ May the propitious Deity direct and prosper the counsels and events of my administration to your advantage and to the public welfare! For my own part, I did not aspire, I have submitted, to reign; nor should I have discharged the obligations of a citizen if I had refused, with base and selfish ingratitude, to support the weight of those labors which

³⁴ She pressed his immediate death, and was scarcely satisfied with his disgrace. It should seem that Aëtius, like Belisarius and Marlborough, was governed by his wife, whose fervent piety, though it might work miracles (Gregor. Turon. l. ii. c. 7, p. 162), was not incompatible with base and sanguinary counsels.

³⁵ The Alemanni had passed the Rætian Alps, and were defeated in the *Campi Canini*, or Valley of Bellinzona, through which the Ticino flows, in its descent from Mount Adula, to the Lago Maggiore (Cluver. Italia Antiq. tom. i. p. 100, 101). This boasted victory over *nine hundred* barbarians (Panegy. Majorian. 878, etc.) betrays the extreme weakness of Italy.

³⁶ "Imperatorem me factum, P. C., electionis vestræ arbitrio, et fortissimi exercitus ordinatione agnoscite" (Novell. Majorian. tit. iii. p. 34, ad calcem Cod. Theodos.). Sidonius proclaims the unanimous voice of the empire:

——— Postquam ordine vobis
Ordo omnis regnum dederat; *plebs, curia, miles,*
Et collega simul. [Carm. v.] 386.

This language is ancient and constitutional; and we may observe that the *clergy* were not yet considered as a distinct order of the State.

were imposed by the republic. Assist, therefore, the prince whom you have made; partake the duties which you have enjoined; and may our common endeavors promote the happiness of an empire which I have accepted from your hands. Be assured that, in our times, justice shall resume her ancient vigor, and that virtue shall become not only innocent but meritorious. Let none, except the authors themselves, be apprehensive of *dilatations*," which, as a subject, I have always condemned, and, as a prince, will severely punish. Our own vigilance, and that of our father the patrician Ricimer, shall regulate all military affairs and provide for the safety of the Roman world, which we have saved from foreign and domestic enemies." You now understand the maxims of my government; you may confide in the faithful love and sincere assurances of a prince who has formerly been the companion of your life and dangers, who still glories in the name of senator, and who is anxious that you should never repent of the judgment which you have pronounced in his favor." The emperor, who, amidst the ruins of the Roman world, revived the ancient language of law and liberty, which Trajan would not have disclaimed, must have derived those generous sentiments from his own heart, since they were not suggested to his imitation by the customs of his age or the example of his predecessors."

The private and public actions of Majorian are very imperfectly known; but his laws, remarkable for an original cast of thought and expression, faithfully represent the character of a sovereign who loved his

His salutary
laws.
A.D. 457-461.

²⁷ Either *dilatationes* or *delationes* would afford a tolerable reading; but there is much more sense and spirit in the latter, to which I have therefore given the preference.

²⁸ "Ab externo hoste et a domesticâ clade liberavimus:" by the latter, Majorian must understand the tyranny of Avitus, whose death he consequently avowed as a meritorious act. On this occasion Sidonius is fearful and obscure; he describes the twelve Cæsars, the nations of Africa, etc., that he may escape the dangerous name of Avitus (305-369).

²⁹ See the whole edict or epistle of Majorian to the senate (Novell. tit. iv. p. 34). Yet the expression *regnum nostrum* bears some taint of the age, and does not mix kindly with the word *respublica*, which he frequently repeats.

people, who sympathized in their distress, who had studied the causes of the decline of the empire, and who was capable of applying (as far as such reformation was practicable) judicious and effectual remedies to the public disorders.⁴⁰ His regulations concerning the finances manifestly tended to remove, or at least to mitigate, the most intolerable grievances. I. From the first hour of his reign he was solicitous (I translate his own words) to relieve the *weary* fortunes of the provincials, oppressed by the accumulated weight of indictions and superindictions.⁴¹ With this view, he granted a universal amnesty, a final and absolute discharge of all arrears of tribute, of all debts which, under any pretence, the fiscal officers might demand from the people. This wise dereliction of obsolete, vexatious, and unprofitable claims improved and purified the sources of the public revenue; and the subject, who could now look back without despair, might labor with hope and gratitude for himself and for his country. II. In the assessment and collection of taxes, Majorian restored the ordinary jurisdiction of the provincial magistrates, and suppressed the extraordinary commissions which had been introduced in the name of the emperor himself or of the Prætorian præfects. The favorite servants who obtained such irregular powers were insolent in their behavior and arbitrary in their demands; they affected to despise the subordinate tribunals, and they were discontented if their fees and profits did not twice exceed the sum which they condescended to pay into the treasury. One instance of their extortion would appear incredible were it not authenticated by the legislator himself. They exacted the whole payment in gold; but they refused the current coin of the empire, and would accept only such ancient pieces as were stamped with the names of Faustina or the Antonines. The subject who was unprovided with these curious medals

⁴⁰ See the laws of Majorian (they are only nine in number, but very long and various), at the end of the Theodosian Code, Novell. l. iv. p. 82-87. Godefroy has not given any commentary on these additional pieces.

⁴¹ *Fessas provincialium variâ atque multiplici tributorum exactione fortunas, et extraordinariis fiscalium solutionum oneribus attritas, etc.*—Novell. Majorian. tit. iv. p. 84.

had recourse to the expedient of compounding with their rapacious demands; or, if he succeeded in the research, his imposition was doubled according to the weight and value of the money of former times." III. "The municipal corporations" (says the emperor), "the lesser senates" (so antiquity has justly styled them), "deserve to be considered as the heart of the cities and the sinews of the republic. And yet so low are they now reduced by the injustice of magistrates and the venality of collectors that many of their members, renouncing their dignity and their country, have taken refuge in distant and obscure exile." He urges, and even compels, their return to their respective cities; but he removes the grievance which had forced them to desert the exercise of their municipal functions. They are directed, under the authority of the provincial magistrates, to resume their office of levying the tribute; but, instead of being made responsible for the whole sum assessed on their district, they are only required to produce a regular account of the payments which they have actually received, and of the defaulters who are still indebted to the public.^a IV. But Majorian was not ignorant that these corporate bodies were too much inclined to retaliate the injustice and oppression which they had suffered, and he therefore revives the useful office of the *defenders of cities*. He exhorts the people to elect, in a full and free assembly, some man of discretion and integrity who would dare to assert their privileges, to represent their grievances, to protect the poor from the tyranny of the rich, and to inform the emperor of the abuses that were committed under the sanction of his name and authority.^b

^a The learned Greaves (vol. i. p. 329, 380, 381) has found, by a diligent inquiry, that *aurei* of the Antonines weighed one hundred and eighteen, and those of the fifth century only sixty-eight, English grains. Majorian gives currency to all gold coin, excepting only the *Gallic solidus*, from its deficiency, not in the weight, but in the standard.

^a On the miserable condition of the municipal senates in the later times of the empire, see Editor's note, vol. ii. p. 309.—S.

^b Until about the time of Constantine, *Defensor* was the title of persons who were employed in municipal matters of merely a temporary kind. But in the first half or about the middle of the fourth century the *Defensores* appear as regular established functionaries. Their title is *Defensor Civitatis, Plebis, Loci*. They

The spectator who casts a mournful view over the ruins of ancient Rome is tempted to accuse the memory of the Goths and Vandals for the mischief which they had neither leisure nor power nor perhaps inclination to perpetrate. The tempest of war might strike some lofty turrets to the ground; but the destruction which undermined the foundations of those massy fabrics was prosecuted, slowly and silently, during a period of ten centuries; and the motives of interest that afterwards operated without shame or control were severely checked by the taste and spirit of the Emperor Majorian. The decay of the city had gradually impaired the value of the public works. The circus and theatres might still excite, but they seldom gratified, the desires of the people; the temples which had escaped the zeal of the Christians were no longer inhabited either by gods or men; the diminished crowds of the Romans were lost in the immense space of their baths and porticoes; and the stately libraries and halls of justice became useless to an indolent generation whose repose was seldom disturbed either by study or business. The monuments of consular or imperial greatness were no longer revered as the immortal glory of the capital; they were only esteemed as an inexhaustible mine of materials, cheaper and more convenient than the distant quarry. Specious petitions were continually addressed to the easy magistrates of Rome which stated the want of stones or bricks for some necessary service. The fairest forms of architecture were rudely defaced for the sake of some paltry or pretended repairs; and the degenerate Romans who converted the spoil to their own emolument demolished with sacrilegious hands the labors of their ancestors. Majorian, who had often sighed over the desolation of the city, applied a severe remedy to the growing evil.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ The whole edict (Novell. Majorian. tit. vi. p. 35) is curious: "*Antiquarum ædium dissipatur speciosa constructio; et ut [earum] aliquid reparetur, magna*

were elected by the whole town, and not simply by the decurions; and, unlike the magistrates, who were chosen from the decurions, they could not be taken from the latter body. The office was originally for five years, but after the time of Justinian only for two years. The principal business of the Defensor, to which his name refers, was to protect his town against the oppression of the governor. See Savigny, *Geschichte des römischen Rechts*, vol. 1. p. 88.—S

He reserved to the prince and senate the sole cognizance of the extreme cases which might justify the destruction of an ancient edifice; imposed a fine of fifty pounds of gold (two thousand pounds sterling) on every magistrate who should presume to grant such illegal and scandalous license; and threatened to chastise the criminal obedience of their subordinate officers by a severe whipping and the amputation of both their hands. In the last instance the legislator might seem to forget the proportion of guilt and punishment; but his zeal arose from a generous principle, and Majorian was anxious to protect the monuments of those ages in which he would have desired and deserved to live. The emperor conceived that it was his interest to increase the number of his subjects; that it was his duty to guard the purity of the marriage-bed; but the means which he employed to accomplish these salutary purposes are of an ambiguous, and perhaps exceptionable, kind. The pious maids who consecrated their virginity to Christ were restrained from taking the veil till they had reached their fortieth year. Widows under that age were compelled to form a second alliance within the term of five years, by the forfeiture of half their wealth to their nearest relations or to the State. Unequal marriages were condemned or annulled. The punishment of confiscation and exile was deemed so inadequate to the guilt of adultery that if the criminal returned to Italy, he might, by the express declaration of Majorian, be slain with impunity.⁴⁴

While the Emperor Majorian assiduously labored to restore the happiness and virtue of the Romans, he encountered the

dirauntur. Hinc jam occasio nascitur, ut etiam unusquisque privatum ædificium construens, per gratiam judicum . . . præsumere de publicis locis necessaria, et transferre non dubitet," etc. With equal zeal, but with less power, Petrarch, in the fourteenth century, repeated the same complaints (*Vie de Pétrarque*, tom. i. p. 326, 327). If I prosecute this History, I shall not be unmindful of the decline and fall of the city of Rome—an interesting object, to which my plan was originally confined.

⁴⁴ The emperor chides the lenity of Rogatian, Consular of Tuscany, in a style of acrimonious reproof which sounds almost like personal resentment (*Novell. tit. ix. p. 37*). The law of Majorian which punished obstinate widows was soon afterwards repealed by his successor Severus (*Novell. Sever. tit. i. p. 37*).

arms of Genseric, from his character and situation their most formidable enemy. A fleet of Vandals and Moors landed at the mouth of the Liris, or Garigliano; but the imperial troops surprised and attacked the disorderly barbarians, who were encumbered with the spoils of Campania. They were chased with slaughter to their ships, and their leader, the king's brother-in-law, was found in the number of the slain.⁴⁵ Such vigilance might announce the character of the new reign; but the strictest vigilance and the most numerous forces were insufficient to protect the long-extended coast of Italy from the depredations of a naval war. The public opinion had imposed a nobler and more arduous task on the genius of Majorian. Rome expected from him alone the restitution of Africa, and the design which he formed of attacking the Vandals in their new settlements was the result of bold and judicious policy. If the intrepid emperor could have infused his own spirit into the youth of Italy; if he could have revived in the Field of Mars the manly exercises in which he had always surpassed his equals, he might have marched against Genseric at the head of a *Roman* army. Such a reformation of national manners might be embraced by the rising generation; but it is the misfortune of those princes who laboriously sustain a declining monarchy that, to obtain some immediate advantage or to avert some impending danger, they are forced to countenance, and even to multiply, the most pernicious abuses. Majorian, like the weakest of his predecessors, was reduced to the disgraceful expedient of substituting barbarian auxiliaries in the place of his unwarlike subjects; and his superior abilities could only be displayed in the vigor and dexterity with which he wielded a dangerous instrument, so apt to recoil on the hand that used it. Besides the confederates who were already engaged in the service of the empire, the fame of his liberality and valor attracted the nations of the Danube, the Borysthenes, and perhaps of the Tanais. Many thousands of the bravest subjects of Attila, the Gepidæ, the Ostrogoths, the Rugians, the Burgundians, the

Majorian prepares to invade Africa.
A.D. 457.

⁴⁵ Sidon. Panegy. Majorian. 385-440.

Suevi, the Alani, assembled in the plains of Liguria, and their formidable strength was balanced by their mutual animosities.⁴⁶ They passed the Alps in a severe winter. The emperor led the way on foot and in complete armor, sounding with his long staff the depth of the ice or snow, and encouraging the Scythians, who complained of the extreme cold, by the cheerful assurance that they should be satisfied with the heat of Africa. The citizens of Lyons had presumed to shut their gates; they soon implored and experienced the clemency of Majorian. He vanquished Theodoric in the field, and admitted to his friendship and alliance a king whom he had found not unworthy of his arms. The beneficial though precarious reunion of the greatest part of Gaul and Spain was the effect of persuasion as well as of force;⁴⁷ and the independent Bagandæ, who had escaped or resisted the oppression of former reigns, were disposed to confide in the virtues of Majorian. His camp was filled with barbarian allies; his throne was supported by the zeal of an affectionate people; but the emperor had foreseen that it was impossible without a maritime power to achieve the conquest of Africa. In the first Punic war, the republic had exerted such incredible diligence that, within sixty days after the first stroke of the axe had been given in the forest, a fleet of one hundred and sixty galleys proudly rode at anchor in the sea.⁴⁸ Under circumstances much less favorable, Majorian equalled the spirit and perseverance of the ancient Romans. The woods of the

⁴⁶ The review of the army, and passage of the Alps, contain the most tolerable passages of the Panegyric (470-552). M. de Buat (*Hist. des Peuples*, etc., tom. viii. p. 49-55) is a more satisfactory commentator than either Savaron or Simon.

⁴⁷ *Tὰ μὲν ὄπλοις, τὰ δὲ λόγοις*, is the just and forcible distinction of Priscus (Excerpt. Legat. p. 42 [p. 1, 6, edit. Bonn]), in a short fragment which throws much light on the history of Majorian. Jornandes has suppressed the defeat and alliance of the Visigoths, which were solemnly proclaimed in Galicia, and are marked in the Chronicle of Idatius.

⁴⁸ Florus, l. ii. c. 2. He amuses himself with the poetical fancy that the trees had been transformed into ships, and, indeed, the whole transaction, as it is related in the first book of Polybius, deviates too much from the probable course of human events.

Apennine were felled; the arsenals and manufactures of Ravenna and Misenum were restored; Italy and Gaul vied with each other in liberal contributions to the public service; and the imperial navy of three hundred large galleys, with an adequate proportion of transports and smaller vessels, was collected in the secure and capacious harbor of Carthagera, in Spain.⁴⁰ The intrepid countenance of Majorian animated his troops with a confidence of victory; and if we might credit the historian Procopius, his courage sometimes hurried him beyond the bounds of prudence. Anxious to explore with his own eyes the state of the Vandals, he ventured, after disguising the color of his hair, to visit Carthage in the character of his own ambassador; and Genseric was afterwards mortified by the discovery that he had entertained and dismissed the Emperor of the Romans. Such an anecdote may be rejected as an improbable fiction, but it is a fiction which would not have been imagined unless in the life of a hero.⁴¹

Without the help of a personal interview, Genseric was sufficiently acquainted with the genius and designs of his adversary. He practised his customary arts of fraud and delay, but he practised them without success. His applications for peace became each hour more submissive, and perhaps more sincere; but the inflexible Majorian had adopted the ancient maxim that Rome could not be safe as long as Carthage existed in a hostile state. The King of the Vandals distrusted the valor of his native subjects, who were enervated by the luxury of the South;⁴² he suspected the fidelity of the

The loss of
his fleet.

⁴⁰ Interea duplici tæxis dum littore classem
Inferno superoque mari, cadit omnis in æquor
Silva tibi, etc. Sidon Panegy. Majorian. 441-461.

The number of ships, which Priscus fixes at three hundred, is magnified by an indefinite comparison with the fleets of Agamemnon, Xerxes, and Augustus.

⁴¹ Procopius de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 7, p. 194 [tom. i. p. 341, edit. Bonn] When Genseric conducted his unknown guest into the arsenal of Carthage, the arms clashed of their own accord. Majorian had tinged his yellow locks with a black color.

⁴²

Spoliisque potitus
Immensis, robra luxu jam perdidit omne,
Quo valuit dum pauper erat. Panegy. Majorian. 380.

He afterwards applies to Genseric, unjustly, as it should seem, the vices of his subjects.

vanquished people, who abhorred him as an Arian tyrant; and the desperate measure which he executed of reducing Mauritania into a desert²² could not defeat the operations of the Roman emperor, who was at liberty to land his troops on any part of the African coast. But Genseric was saved from impending and inevitable ruin by the treachery of some powerful subjects, envious or apprehensive of their master's success. Guided by their secret intelligence, he surprised the unguarded fleet in the bay of Carthage. Many of the ships were sunk or taken or burned; and the preparations of three years were destroyed in a single day.²³ After this event, the behavior of the two antagonists showed them superior to their fortune. The Vandal, instead of being elated by this accidental victory, immediately renewed his solicitations for peace. The Emperor of the West, who was capable of forming great designs and of supporting heavy disappointments, consented to a treaty, or rather to a suspension of arms, in the full assurance that before he could restore his navy he should be supplied with provocations to justify a second war. Majorian returned to Italy to prosecute his labors for the public happiness; and, as he was conscious of his own integrity, he might long remain ignorant of the dark conspiracy which threatened his throne and his life. The recent misfortune of Carthage sullied the glory which had dazzled the eyes of the multitude. Almost every description of civil and military officers were exasperated against the Reformer, since they all derived some advantage from the abuses which he endeavored to suppress; and the patrician Ricimer impelled the inconstant passions of the barbarians against a prince whom he esteemed and hated. The virtues of Majorian could not protect him from the impetuous sedition which broke out in the camp near Tortona at the foot

²² He burned the villages and poisoned the springs (Priscus, p. 42 [p. 156, edit. Bonn]). Dubos (*Hist. Critique*, tom. 1. p. 475) observes that the magazines which the Moors buried in the earth might escape his destructive search. Two or three hundred pits are sometimes dug in the same place, and each pit contains at least four hundred bushels of corn. Shaw's *Travels*, p. 189.

²³ Idatius, who was safe in Galicia from the power of Ricimer, boldly and honestly declares, "Vandali per proditores admoniti," etc. He dissembles, however, the name of the traitor.

of the Alps. He was compelled to abdicate the imperial purple; five days after his abdication it was reported that he died of a dysentery;⁴⁴ and the humble tomb which covered his remains was consecrated by the respect and gratitude of succeeding generations.⁴⁵ The private character of Majorian inspired love and respect. Malicious calumny and satire excited his indignation, or, if he himself were the object, his contempt; but he protected the freedom of wit, and in the hours which the emperor gave to the familiar society of his friends he could indulge his taste for pleasantries without degrading the majesty of his rank.⁴⁶

It was not perhaps without some regret that Ricimer sacrificed his friend to the interest of his ambition; but he resolved in a second choice to avoid the imprudent preference of superior virtue and merit. At his command the obsequious senate of Rome bestowed the imperial title on Libius Severus, who ascended the throne of the West without emerging from the obscurity of a private condition. History has scarcely deigned to notice his birth, his elevation, his character, or his death. Severus expired as soon as his life became inconvenient to his patron;⁴⁷

Ricimer
reigns under
the name of
Severus.
A.D. 461-467.

⁴⁴ Procop de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 7, p. 194 [tom i p. 342, edit. Bonn]. The testimony of Idatius is fair and impartial: "Majorianum de Gallis Romam redeuntem, et Romano imperio vel nomini res necessarias ordinantem, Ricimer livore percitus, et invidorum consilio fultus, fraude interficit circumventum" [Sirmondi Op. tom. ii. p. 311]. Some read *Suevorum*, and I am unwilling to efface either of the words, as they express the different accomplices who united in the conspiracy against Majorian.

⁴⁵ See the Epigrams of Ennodius, No. cxxxv. inter Sirmond. Opera, tom. i. p. 1903. It is flat and obscure; but Ennodius was made bishop of Pavia fifty years after the death of Majorian, and his praise deserves credit and regard.

⁴⁶ Sidonius gives a tedious account (l. i. Epist. xi p. 25-31) of a supper at Arles, to which he was invited by Majorian a short time before his death. He had no intention of praising a deceased emperor; but a casual disinterested remark, "Subrisit Augustus; ut erat, auctoritate servatâ, cum se communioni dedisset, joci plenus," outweighs the six hundred lines of his venal panegyric.

⁴⁷ Sidonius (Panegy. Anthem 317) dismisses him to heaven:

Auxerat Augustus naturæ lege Severus
Divorum numerum.

And an old list of the emperors, composed about the time of Justinian, praises his piety, and fixes his residence at Rome (Sirmond. Not. ad Sidon. p. 111, 112).

and it would be useless to discriminate his nominal reign in the vacant interval of six years between the death of Majorian and the elevation of Anthemius. During that period the government was in the hands of Ricimer alone; and although the modest barbarian disclaimed the name of king, he accumulated treasures, formed a separate army, negotiated private alliances, and ruled Italy with the same independent despotic authority which was afterwards exercised by Odoacer and Theodoric. But his dominions were bounded by the Alps; and two Roman generals, Marcellinus and Ægidius, maintained their allegiance to the republic by rejecting with disdain the phantom which he styled an emperor. Marcellinus still adhered to the old religion; and the devout pagans, who secretly disobeyed the laws of the Church and State, applauded his profound skill in the science of divination. But he possessed the more valuable qualifications of learning, virtue, and courage; the study of the Latin literature had improved his taste, and his military talents had recommended him to the esteem and confidence of the great Aëtius, in whose ruin he was involved. By a timely flight Marcellinus escaped the rage of Valentinian, and boldly asserted his liberty amidst the convulsions of the Western empire. His voluntary or reluctant submission to the authority of Majorian was rewarded by the government of Sicily and the command of an army stationed in that island to oppose or to attack the Vandals; but his barbarian mercenaries, after the emperor's death, were tempted to revolt by the artful liberality of Ricimer. At the head of a band of faithful followers, the intrepid Marcellinus occupied the province of Dalmatia, assumed the title of Patrician of the West, secured the love of his subjects by a mild and equitable reign, built a fleet which claimed the dominion of the Adriatic, and alternately alarmed the coasts of Italy and of Africa." Ægidius, the Mas-

Revolt of
Marcellinus
in Dalmatia,

²² Tillemont, who is always scandalized by the virtues of infidels, attributes this advantageous portrait of Marcellinus (which Suidas has preserved) to the partial zeal of some pagan historian (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. vi. p. 330).

²³ Procopius de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 6, p. 191 [tom. 1 p. 336. edit. Bonn]. In

ter-general of Gaul, who equalled, or at least who imitated, the heroes of ancient Rome," proclaimed his immortal resentment against the assassins of his beloved master. A brave and numerous army was attached to his standard; and, though he was prevented by the arts of Ricimer and the arms of the Visigoths from marching to the gates of Rome, he maintained his independent sovereignty beyond the Alps, and rendered the name of Ægidius respectable both in peace and war. The Franks, who had punished with exile the youthful follies of Childeric, elected the Roman general for their king. His vanity rather than his ambition was gratified by that singular honor; and when the nation at the end of four years repented of the injury which they had offered to the Merovingian family, he patiently acquiesced in the restoration of the lawful prince. The authority of Ægidius ended only with his life, and the suspicions of poison and secret violence, which derived some countenance from the character of Ricimer, were eagerly entertained by the passionate credulity of the Gauls.⁶¹

The kingdom of Italy, a name to which the Western empire was gradually reduced, was afflicted, under the reign of Ricimer, by the incessant depredations of the Vandal pirates.⁶² In the spring of each year they

Naval war of
the Vandals.
A.D. 461-467.

various circumstances of the life of Marcellinus it is not easy to reconcile the Greek historian with the Latin Chronicles of the times.

⁶⁰ I must apply to Ægidius the praises which Sidonius (Panegy. Majorian. 553) bestows on a nameless master-general who commanded the rear-guard of Majorian. Idatius, from public report, commends his Christian piety; and Priscus mentions (p. 42 [p. 156, 157, edit. Bonn]) his military virtues.

⁶¹ Gieg Tuon. l. ii. c. 12, in tom. ii. p. 168. The Père Daniel, whose ideas were superficial and modern, has started some objections against the story of Childeric (Hist. de France, tom. i. Préface Historique, p. lxxviii. etc.); but they have been fairly satisfied by Dubos (Hist. Critique, tom. i. p. 460-510), and by two authors who disputed the prize of the Academy of Soissons (p. 181-177, 310-339). With regard to the term of Childeric's exile, it is necessary either to prolong the life of Ægidius beyond the date assigned by the Chronicle of Idatius, or to correct the text of Gregory, by reading *quarto anno*, instead of *octavo*.

⁶² The naval war of Genseric is described by Priscus (Excerpta Legation. p. 42 [p. 157, edit. Bonn]), Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 5, p. 189, 190, and c. 22, p. 228 [tom. i. p. 382 seq., and p. 399, edit. Bonn]), Victor Vitensis (de Persecut.

equipped a formidable navy in the port of Carthage, and Genseric himself, though in a very advanced age, still commanded in person the most important expeditions. His designs were concealed with impenetrable secrecy till the moment that he hoisted sail. When he was asked by his pilot what course he should steer, "Leave the determination to the winds" (replied the barbarian, with pious arrogance); "*they* will transport us to the guilty coast whose inhabitants have provoked the divine justice;" but if Genseric himself deigned to issue more precise orders, he judged the most wealthy to be the most criminal. The Vandals repeatedly visited the coasts of Spain, Liguria, Tuscany, Campania, Lucania, Bruttium, Apulia, Calabria, Venetia, Dalmatia, Epirus, Greece, and Sicily. They were tempted to subdue the island of Sardinia, so advantageously placed in the centre of the Mediterranean; and their arms spread desolation or terror from the Columns of Hercules to the mouth of the Nile. As they were more ambitious of spoil than of glory, they seldom attacked any fortified cities, or engaged any regular troops in the open field. But the celerity of their motions enabled them almost at the same time to threaten and to attack the most distant objects which attracted their desires; and, as they always embarked a sufficient number of horses, they had no sooner landed than they swept the dismayed country with a body of light cavalry. Yet, notwithstanding the example of their king, the native Vandals and Alani insensibly declined this toilsome and perilous warfare; the hardy generation of the first conquerors was almost extinguished, and their sons, who were born in Africa, enjoyed the delicious baths and gardens which had been acquired

Vandal. l. i. c. 17, and Ruinart, p. 467-481), and in the three panegyrics of Sidonius, whose chronological order is absurdly transposed in the editions both of Savaron and Sirmond. (Avit. Carm. vii. 441-451. Majorian. Carm. v. 327-350, 385-440. Anthem. Carm. ii. 348-386.) In one passage the poet seems inspired by his subject, and expresses a strong idea by a lively image:

——— Hinc Vandalus hostis
Urget; et in nostrum numerosâ classe quotannis
Militat excidium; conversoque ordine fati
Torrida Caucasos infert mihi Byrsa furores.

[Carm. ii. 347.]

by the valor of their fathers. Their place was readily supplied by a various multitude of Moors and Romans, of captives and outlaws; and those desperate wretches, who had already violated the laws of their country, were the most eager to promote the atrocious acts which disgrace the victories of Genseric. In the treatment of his unhappy prisoners he sometimes consulted his avarice, and sometimes indulged his cruelty; and the massacre of five hundred noble citizens of Zante, or Zacynthus, whose mangled bodies he cast into the Ionian Sea, was imputed by the public indignation to his latest posterity.

Such crimes could not be excused by any provocations, but the war which the King of the Vandals prosecuted against the Roman empire was justified by a specious and reasonable motive. The widow of Valentinian, Eudoxia, whom he had led captive from Rome to Carthage, was the sole heiress of the Theodosian house; her elder daughter, Eudocia, became the reluctant wife of Hunneric, his eldest son; and the stern father, asserting a legal claim which could not easily be refuted or satisfied, demanded a just proportion of the imperial patrimony. An adequate, or at least a valuable, compensation was offered by the Eastern Emperor to purchase a necessary peace. Eudoxia, and her younger daughter Placidia, were honorably restored, and the fury of the Vandals was confined to the limits of the Western empire. The Italians, destitute of a naval force, which alone was capable of protecting their coasts, implored the aid of the more fortunate nations of the East, who had formerly acknowledged in peace and war the supremacy of Rome. But the perpetual division of the two empires had alienated their interest and their inclinations; the faith of a recent treaty was alleged; and the Western Romans, instead of arms and ships, could only obtain the assistance of a cold and ineffectual mediation. The haughty Ricimer, who had long struggled with the difficulties of his situation, was at length reduced to address the throne of Constantinople in the humble language of a subject; and Italy submitted, as the price and security of the alliance, to accept a master from the choice of the Emperor of the

Negotiations
with the East-
ern empire.
A.D. 462, etc.

East." It is not the purpose of the present chapter, or even of the present volume, to continue the distinct series of the Byzantine history; but a concise view of the reign and character of the Emperor Leo may explain the last efforts that were attempted to save the falling empire of the West."

Since the death of the younger Theodosius, the domestic repose of Constantinople had never been interrupted by war or faction. Pulcheria had bestowed her hand and the sceptre of the East on the modest virtue of Marcian. He gratefully revered her august rank and virgin chastity; and, after her death, he gave his people the example of the religious worship that was due to the memory of the imperial saint." Attentive to the prosperity of his own dominions, Marcian seemed to behold with indifference the misfortunes of Rome; and the obstinate refusal of a brave and active prince to draw his sword against the Vandals was ascribed to a secret promise which had formerly been exacted from him when he was a captive in the power of Genseric." The death of Marcian, after a reign of seven years, would have exposed the East to the danger of a popular election if the superior weight of a single family had not been able to incline the balance in favor of the candidate whose interest they supported. The patrician Aspar might have placed the diadem

Leo Emperor
of the East.
A.D. 457-474.

" The poet himself is compelled to acknowledge the distress of Ricimer :

Præterea invictus Ricimer, quem publica fata
Respiciunt, proprio solus vix Martis repellit
Piratarum per rura vagum.

[Carm. ii. 352.]

Italy addresses her complaint to the Tiber; and Rome, at the solicitation of the river-god, transports herself to Constantinople, renounces her ancient claims, and implores the friendship of Aurora, the goddess of the East. This fabulous machinery, which the genius of Claudian had used and abused, is the constant and miserable resource of the muse of Sidonius.

" The original authors of the reigns of Marcian, Leo, and Zeno are reduced to some imperfect fragments, whose deficiencies must be supplied from the more recent compilations of Theophanes, Zonaras, and Cedrenus.

" St. Pulcheria died A.D. 453, four years before her nominal husband; and her festival is celebrated on the 10th of September by the modern Greeks. She bequeathed an immense patrimony to pious, or at least to ecclesiastical, uses. See Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclésiastiques*, tom. xv. p. 181-184.

" See Procopius de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 4, p. 185 [tom. i. p. 325, edit. Bonn].

n his own head, if he would have subscribed the Nicene Creed." During three generations the armies of the East were successively commanded by his father, by himself, and by his son Ardaburius; his barbarian guards formed a military force that overawed the palace and the capital; and the liberal distribution of his immense treasures rendered Aspar as popular as he was powerful. He recommended the obscure name of Leo of Thrace, a military tribune, and the principal steward of his household. His nomination was unanimously ratified by the senate; and the servant of Aspar received the imperial crown from the hands of the patriarch or bishop, who was permitted to express, by this unusual ceremony, the suffrage of the Deity." This emperor, the first of the name of Leo, has been distinguished by the title of the *Great*, from a succession of princes who gradually fixed in the opinion of the Greeks a very humble standard of heroic, or at least of royal, perfection. Yet the temperate firmness with which Leo resisted the oppression of his benefactor showed that he was conscious of his duty and of his prerogative. Aspar was astonished to find that his influence could no longer appoint a præfect of Constantinople. He presumed to reproach his sovereign with a breach of promise, and, insolently shaking his purple, "It is not proper" (said he) "that the man who is invested with this garment should be guilty of lying." "Nor is it proper" (replied Leo) "that a prince should be compelled to resign his own judgment and the public interest to the will of a subject." After this extraordinary scene, it was impossible that the reconciliation of the emperor and the patrician could be sincere; or, at least, that it could be solid and permanent. An army of Isau-

* From this disability of Aspar to ascend the throne, it may be inferred that the stain of *heresy* was perpetual and indelible, while that of *barbarism* disappeared in the second generation.

** Theophanes, p. 95 [edit. Paris; tom. i. p. 170, edit. Bonn]. This appears to be the first origin of a ceremony which all the Christian princes of the world have since adopted, and from which the clergy have deduced the most formidable consequences.

*** Cedrenus (p. 316 [edit. Paris; tom. i. p. 607, edit. Bonn]), who was conversant with the writers of better days, has preserved the remarkable words of Aspar: *ασιαυ, τὸν ταύτην τὴν ἀλουργίδα περιβεβλημένον οὐ χρὴ διαψεύδισθαι.*

rians⁷⁰ was secretly levied and introduced into Constantinople; and while Leo undermined the authority, and prepared the disgrace, of the family of Aspar, his mild and cautious behavior restrained them from any rash and desperate attempts, which might have been fatal to themselves or their enemies. The measures of peace and war were affected by this internal revolution. As long as Aspar degraded the majesty of the throne, the secret correspondence of religion and interest engaged him to favor the cause of Genseric. When Leo had delivered himself from that ignominious servitude, he listened to the complaints of the Italians; resolved to extirpate the tyranny of the Vandals; and declared his alliance with his colleague Anthemius, whom he solemnly invested with the diadem and purple of the West.

The virtues of Anthemius have perhaps been magnified, since the imperial descent, which he could only deduce from the usurper Procopius, has been swelled into a line of emperors.⁷¹ But the merit of his immediate parents, their honors, and their riches rendered Anthemius one of the most illustrious subjects of the East. His father, Procopius, obtained, after his Persian embassy, the rank of general and patrician; and the name of Anthemius was derived from his maternal grandfather, the celebrated præfect who protected with so much ability and success the infant reign of Theodosius. The grandson of the præfect was raised above the condition of a private subject by his marriage with Euphemia, the daughter of the Emperor Marcian. This splendid alliance, which might supersede the necessity of merit, hastened the promotion of Anthemius to the successive digni-

Anthemius
Emperor of
the West.
A.D. 467-472.

⁷⁰ The power of the Isaurians agitated the Eastern empire in the two succeeding reigns of Zeno and Anastasius; but it ended in the destruction of those barbarians, who maintained their fierce independence about two hundred and thirty years.

⁷¹

——— Tali tu civis ab urbe
Procopio genitore micæ; cui prisca propago
Augustis venit a proavis.

The poet (Sidon. Panegy. Anthem. 67-306) then proceeds to relate the private life and fortunes of the future emperor, with which he must have been very imperfectly acquainted.

ties of count, of master-general, of consul, and of patrician; and his merit or fortune claimed the honors of a victory which was obtained on the banks of the Danube over the Huns. Without indulging an extravagant ambition, the son-in-law of Marcian might hope to be his successor; but Anthemius supported the disappointment with courage and patience; and his subsequent elevation was universally approved by the public, who esteemed him worthy to reign till he ascended the throne.⁷² The Emperor of the West marched from Constantinople, attended by several counts of high distinction, and a body of guards almost equal to the strength and numbers of a regular army; he entered Rome in triumph, and the choice of Leo was confirmed by the senate, the people, and the barbarian confederates of Italy.⁷³ The solemn inauguration of Anthemius was followed by the nuptials of his daughter and the patrician Ricimer—a fortunate event, which was considered as the firmest security of the union and happiness of the State. The wealth of two empires was ostentatiously displayed; and many senators completed their ruin by an expensive effort to disguise their poverty. All serious business was suspended during this festival; the courts of justice were shut; the streets of Rome, the theatres, the places of public and private resort, resounded with hymeneal songs and dances; and the royal bride, clothed in silken robes, with a crown on her head, was conducted to the palace of Ricimer, who had changed his military dress for the habit of a consul and a senator. On this memorable occasion, Sidonius, whose early ambition had been so fatally blasted, appeared as the orator of Auvergne among the provincial deputies who addressed the throne with congratulations or complaints.⁷⁴ The calends of

⁷² Sidonius discovers, with tolerable ingenuity, that this disappointment added new lustre to the virtues of Anthemius (210, etc.), who declined one sceptre and reluctantly accepted another (22, etc.).

⁷³ The poet again celebrates the unanimity of all orders of the State (15-22); and the Chronicle of Idatius mentions the forces which attended his march.

⁷⁴ "Interveni etenim nuptiis Patricii Ricimeris, cui filia perennis Augusti in spem publicæ securitatis copulabatur." The journey of Sidonius from Lyons, and the festival of Rome, are described with some spirit. *L. i. Epist. 5*, p. 9-13; *Epist. 9*, p. 21.

January were now approaching, and the venal poet, who had loved Avitus and esteemed Majorian, was persuaded ^{A.D. 468.} by his friends to celebrate, in heroic verse, the merit, ^{Jan. 1.} the felicity, the second consulship, and the future triumphs of the Emperor Anthemius. Sidonius pronounced, with assurance and success, a panegyric which is still extant; and whatever might be the imperfections either of the subject or of the composition, the welcome flatterer was immediately rewarded with the præfecture of Rome—a dignity which placed him among the illustrious personages of the empire, till he wisely preferred the more respectable character of a bishop and a saint.⁷⁶

The Greeks ambitiously commend the piety and Catholic faith of the emperor whom they gave to the West; nor do they forget to observe that, when he left Constantinople, he converted his palace into the pious foundation of a public bath, a church, and a hospital for old men.⁷⁷ Yet some suspicious appearances are found to sully the theological fame of Anthemius. From the conversation of Philotheus, a Macedonian sectary, he had imbibed the spirit of religious toleration; and the heretics of Rome would have assembled with impunity if the bold and vehement censure which Pope Hilary pronounced in the Church of St. Peter had not obliged him to abjure the unpopular indulgence.⁷⁸ Even the pagans, a feeble and obscure remnant, conceived some vain hopes, from the indifference or partiality of

⁷⁶ Sidonius (l. i. Epist. 9, p. 28, 24) very fairly states *the* motive, his labor, and his reward. "Ille ipse Panegyricus, si non iudicium, certe eventum, boni operis, accepit." He was made bishop of Clermont A.D. 471. Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. xvi. p. 750.

⁷⁷ The palace of Anthemius stood on the banks of the Propontia. In the ninth century, Alexius, the son-in-law of the Emperor Theophilus, obtained permission to purchase the ground, and ended his days in a monastery which he founded on that delightful spot Ducange, *Constantinopolis Christiana*, p. 117, 152.

⁷⁸ Papa Hilarius . . . apud beatum Petrum Apostolum, palam ne id fieret, clara voce constrinxit, in tantum ut non ea faciendâ cum interpositione juramenti idem promitteret Imperator. Gelasius, *Epistol. ad Andronicum*, apud Baron. A.D. 467, No. 8. The cardinal observes with some complacency that it was much easier to plant heresies at Constantinople than at Rome.

Anthemius; and his singular friendship for the philosopher Severus, whom he promoted to the consulship, was ascribed to a secret project of reviving the ancient worship of the gods.⁷⁸ These idols were crumbled into dust; and the mythology which had once been the creed of nations was so universally disbelieved that it might be employed without scandal, or at least without suspicion, by Christian poets.⁷⁹ Yet the vestiges of superstition were not absolutely obliterated, and the festival of the Lupercalia, whose origin had preceded the foundation of Rome, was still celebrated under the reign of Anthemius. The savage and simple rites were expressive of an early state of society before the invention of arts and agriculture. The rustic deities who presided over the toils and pleasures of the pastoral life (Pan, Faunus, and their train of satyrs) were such as the fancy of shepherds might create—sportive, petulant, and lascivious; whose power was limited, and whose malice was inoffensive. A goat was the offering the best adapted to their character and attributes; the flesh of the victim was roasted on willow spits; and the riotous youths who crowded to the feast ran naked about the fields, with leather thongs in their hands, communicating, as it was supposed, the blessing of fecundity to the women whom they touched.⁸⁰ The altar of Pan was erected, perhaps by Evander the Arcadian, in a dark recess in the side of the Palatine Hill, watered by a perpetual fountain, and shaded by a hanging grove. A tradition that, in the same place, Romulus and Remus were suckled by the wolf rendered it still more sacred and venerable in the eyes of the Romans; and this sylvan spot was gradually surround-

⁷⁸ Damascius, in the *Life of the philosopher Isidore*, apud Photium, p. 1040 [p. 340 a, edit. Bekk.]. Damascius, who lived under Justinian, composed another work, consisting of 570 preternatural stories of souls, demons, apparitions, the dotage of Platonic paganism.

⁷⁹ In the poetical works of Sidonius, which he afterwards condemned (l. ix. Epist. 16, p. 285), the fabulous deities are the principal actors. If Jerome was scourged by the angels for only reading Virgil, the Bishop of Clermont, for such a vile imitation, deserved an additional whipping from the Muses.

⁸⁰ Ovid (*Fast.* l. ii. 267-452) has given an amusing description of the follies of antiquity, which still inspired so much respect that a grave magistrate running naked through the streets was not an object of astonishment or laughter.

ed by the stately edifices of the Forum." After the conversion of the imperial city, the Christians still continued, in the month of February, the annual celebration of the Lupercalia, to which they ascribed a secret and mysterious influence on the genial powers of the animal and vegetable world. The bishops of Rome were solicitous to abolish a profane custom so repugnant to the spirit of Christianity; but their zeal was not supported by the authority of the civil magistrate. The inveterate abuse subsisted till the end of the fifth century; and Pope Gelasius, who purified the capital from the last stain of idolatry, appeased, by a formal apology, the murmurs of the senate and people."

Preparations
against the
Vandals of
Africa.
A.D. 468.

In all his public declarations the Emperor Leo assumes the authority, and professes the affection, of a father for his son Anthemius, with whom he had divided the administration of the universe." The situation, and perhaps the character, of Leo dissuaded him from exposing his person to the toils and dangers of an African war. But the powers of the Eastern empire were strenuously exerted to deliver Italy and the Mediterranean from the Vandals; and Genseric, who had so long oppressed both the land and sea, was threatened from every side with a formidable invasion. The campaign was opened by a bold and successful enterprise of the præfect Heraclius." The troops of

⁸¹ See Dionys. Halicarn. l. i. [c. 79] p. 25, 65, edit. Hudson. The Roman antiquaries, Donatus (l. ii. c. 18, p. 173, 174) and Nardini (p. 386, 387), have labored to ascertain the true situation of the Lupercal.

⁸² Baronius published, from the MSS. of the Vatican, this epistle of Pope Gelasius (A.D. 496, No. 28-45), which is entitled *Adversus Andromachum Senatorem, cæterosque Romanos, qui Lupercalia secundum morem pristinum colenda constuebant*. Gelasius always supposes that his adversaries are nominal Christians, and, that he may not yield to them in absurd prejudice, he imputes to this harmless festival all the calamities of the age.

⁸³ "Itaque nos quibus totius mundi regimen commisit superna provisio . . . Pius et triumphator semper Augustus filius noster Anthemius, hæc Divina Majestas et nostra creatio pietati ejus plenam Imperii commiserit potestatem," etc. Such is the dignified style of Leo, whom Anthemius respectfully names Dominus et Pater meus Princeps sacratissimus Leo. See Novell. Anthem. tit. ii. iii. p. 38, ad calcem Cod. Theod.

⁸⁴ The expedition of Heraclius is clouded with difficulties (Tillemont, Hist. des

Egypt, Thebais, and Libya were embarked under his command; and the Arabs, with a train of horses and camels, opened the roads of the desert. Heraclius landed on the coast of Tripoli, surprised and subdued the cities of that province, and prepared, by a laborious march which Cato had formerly executed,⁵⁵ to join the imperial army under the walls of Carthage. The intelligence of this loss extorted from Genseric some insidious and ineffectual propositions of peace; but he was still more seriously alarmed by the reconciliation of Marcellinus with the two empires. The independent patrician had been persuaded to acknowledge the legitimate title of Anthemius, whom he accompanied in his journey to Rome; the Dalmatian fleet was received into the harbors of Italy; the active valor of Marcellinus expelled the Vandals from the island of Sardinia; and the languid efforts of the West added some weight to the immense preparations of the Eastern Romans. The expense of the naval armament which Leo sent against the Vandals has been distinctly ascertained; and the curious and instructive account displays the wealth of the declining empire. The royal demesnes, or private patrimony of the prince, supplied seventeen thousand pounds of gold; forty-seven thousand pounds of gold and seven hundred thousand of silver were levied and paid into the treasury by the Prætorian præfects. But the cities were reduced to extreme poverty; and the diligent calculation of fines and forfeitures as a valuable object of the revenue does not suggest the idea of a just or merciful administration. The whole expense, by whatsoever means it was defrayed, of the African campaign amounted to the sum of one hundred and thirty thousand pounds of

Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 640), and it requires some dexterity to use the circumstances afforded by Theophanes without injury to the more respectable evidence of Procopius.

⁵⁵ The march of Cato from Berenice, in the province of Cyrene, was much longer than that of Heraclius from Tripoli. He passed the deep sandy desert in thirty days, and it was found necessary to provide, besides the ordinary supplies, a great number of skins filled with water, and several *Phylli*, who were supposed to possess the art of sucking the wounds which had been made by the serpents of their native country. See Plutarch in Caton. Uicens. [c. 56] tom. iv. p. 275; Strabon. Geograph. l. xvii. p. 1193 [p. 836, edit. Casaub.].

gold—about five million two hundred thousand pounds sterling—at a time when the value of money appears, from the comparative price of corn, to have been somewhat higher than in the present age." The fleet that sailed from Constantinople to Carthage consisted of eleven hundred and thirteen ships, and the number of soldiers and mariners exceeded one hundred thousand men. Basiliscus, the brother of the Empress Verina, was intrusted with this important command. His sister, the wife of Leo, had exaggerated the merit of his former exploits against the Scythians. But the discovery of his guilt or incapacity was reserved for the African war; and his friends could only save his military reputation by asserting that he had conspired with Aspar to spare Genseric, and to betray the last hope of the Western empire.

Experience has shown that the success of an invader most commonly depends on the vigor and celerity of his operations. The strength and sharpness of the first impression are blunted by delay; the health and spirit of the troops insensibly languish in a distant climate; the naval and military force, a mighty effort which perhaps can never be repeated, is silently consumed; and every hour that is wasted in negotiation accustoms the enemy to contemplate and examine those hostile terrors which on their first appearance he deemed irresistible. The formidable navy of Basiliscus pursued its prosperous navigation from the Thracian Bosphorus

* The principal sum is clearly expressed by Procopius (*de Bell. Vandal.* l. i. c. 6, p. 191 [tom. i. p. 385, edit. Bonn]); the smaller constituent parts, which Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. vi. p. 396) has laboriously collected from the Byzantine writers, are less certain and less important. The historian Malchus laments the public misery (*Excerpt. ex Suida in Corp. Hist. Byzant.* p. 58); but he is surely unjust when he charges Leo with hoarding the treasures which he extorted from the people* [p. 270, edit. Bonn].

* Compare likewise the newly discovered work of Lydus *de Magistratibus*, edit. Hase, Paris, 1812 (and in the new collection of the Byzantines), l. iii. c. 43. Lydus states the expenditure at 65,000 pounds of gold, 700,000 of silver. But Lydus exaggerates the fleet to the incredible number of 10,000 long ships (*Talimæna*), and the troops to 400,000 men. Lydus describes this fatal measure, of which he charges the blame on Basiliscus, as the shipwreck of the State. From that time all the revenues of the empire were anticipated, and the finances fell into inexorable confusion.—M.

to the coast of Africa. He landed his troops at Cape Bona or the promontory of Mercury, about forty miles from Carthage." The army of Heraclius and the fleet of Marcellinus either joined or seconded the imperial lieutenant; and the Vandals who opposed his progress by sea or land were successively vanquished." If Basiliscus had seized the moment of consternation, and boldly advanced to the capital, Carthage must have surrendered, and the kingdom of the Vandals was extinguished. Genseric beheld the danger with firmness, and eluded it with his veteran dexterity. He protested in the most respectful language that he was ready to submit his person and his dominions to the will of the emperor; but he requested a truce of five days to regulate the terms of his submission; and it was universally believed that his secret liberality contributed to the success of this public negotiation. Instead of obstinately refusing whatever indulgence his enemy so earnestly solicited, the guilty or the credulous Basiliscus consented to the fatal truce; and his imprudent security seemed to proclaim that he already considered himself as the conqueror of Africa. During this short interval, the wind became favorable to the designs of Genseric. He manned his largest ships of war with the bravest of the Moors and Vandals; and they towed after them many large barks filled with combustible materials. In the obscurity of the night, these destructive vessels were impelled against the unguarded and unsuspecting fleet of the Romans, who were awakened by the sense of their instant danger. Their close and crowded order assisted the progress of the fire, which was communicated with rapid and irresistible violence; and the noise of the wind, the crackling of the flames, the dissonant cries of the soldiers and mariners, who could neither command nor obey, increased the

⁹⁷ This promontory is forty miles from Carthage (Procop. l. i. c. 6, p. 192 [de Bell. Vandal. tom. i. p. 377, edit. Bonn]) and twenty leagues from Sicily (Shaw's Travels, p. 89). Scipio landed farther in the bay, at the fair promontory. See the animated description of Livy, xxix. 26, 27.

⁹⁸ Theophanes (p. 100 [tom. i. p. 179, edit. Bonn]) affirms that many ships of the Vandals were sunk. The assertion of Jornandes (de Successione Regn.) that Basiliscus attacked Carthage must be understood in a very qualified sense.

horror of the nocturnal tumult. Whilst they labored to extricate themselves from the fire-ships, and to save at least a part of the navy, the galleys of Genseric assaulted them with temperate and disciplined valor; and many of the Romans who escaped the fury of the flames were destroyed or taken by the victorious Vandals. Among the events of that disastrous night, the heroic, or rather desperate, courage of John, one of the principal officers of Basiliscus, has rescued his name from oblivion. When the ship which he had bravely defended was almost consumed, he threw himself, in his armor, into the sea, disdainfully rejected the esteem and pity of Genso, the son of Genseric, who pressed him to accept honorable quarter, and sank under the waves, exclaiming, with his last breath, that he would never fall alive into the hands of those impious dogs. Actuated by a far different spirit, Basiliscus, whose station was the most remote from danger, disgracefully fled in the beginning of the engagement, returned to Constantinople with the loss of more than half of his fleet and army, and sheltered his guilty head in the sanctuary of St. Sophia till his sister, by her tears and entreaties, could obtain his pardon from the indignant emperor. Heraclius effected his retreat through the desert; Marcellinus retired to Sicily, where he was assassinated, perhaps at the instigation of Ricimer, by one of his own captains; and the King of the Vandals expressed his surprise and satisfaction that the Romans themselves should remove from the world his most formidable antagonists.⁸⁰ After the failure of this great expedition,^a Genseric again became the tyrant of the sea: the coasts of Italy, Greece, and Asia were again exposed to his revenge and avarice; Tripoli and Sardinia returned to his obedience; he added Sicily to the number of his provinces; and

A.D. 477.

⁸⁰ Damascius in Vit Isidor. apud Phot. p. 1048 [p. 342, edit. Bekk.]. It will appear, by comparing the three short chronicles of the times, that Marcellinus had fought near Carthago and was killed in Sicily.

^a According to Lydus, Ico, distracted by this and the other calamities of his reign, particularly a dreadful fire at Constantinople, abandoned the palace, like another Orestes, and was preparing to quit Constantinople forever, l. iii. c. 44, p. 238.—M.

before he died, in the fulness of years and of glory, he beheld the final extinction of the empire of the West."⁹⁰

During his long and active reign, the African monarch had studiously cultivated the friendship of the barbarians of Europe, whose arms he might employ in a seasonable and effectual diversion against the two empires. After the death of Attila, he renewed his alliance with the Visigoths of Gaul; and the sons of the elder Theodoric, who successively reigned over that warlike nation, were easily persuaded, by the sense of interest, to forget the cruel affront which Genseric had inflicted on their sister.⁹¹ The death of the Emperor Majorian delivered Theodoric the Second from the restraint of fear, and perhaps of honor; he violated his recent treaty with the Romans; and the ample territory of Narbonne, which he firmly united to his dominions, became the immediate reward of his perfidy. The selfish policy of Ricimer encouraged him to invade the provinces which were in the possession of Ægidius, his rival; but the active count, by the defence of Arles and the victory of Orleans, saved Gaul, and checked during his lifetime the progress of the Visigoths. Their ambition was soon rekindled; and the design of extinguishing the Roman empire in Spain and Gaul was conceived and almost completed in the reign of Euric, who assassinated his brother Theodoric, and displayed, with a more savage temper, superior abilities both in peace and war. He passed the Pyrenees at the head of a numerous army, subdued the cities of Saragossa and Pampeluna, vanquished in battle the martial nobles of the Tarragonese prov-

Conquests of
the Visigoths
in Spain and
Gaul.
A.D. 462-472.

⁹⁰ For the African war, see Procopius (*de Bell. Vandal.* l. i. c. 6, p. 191, 192, 198 [tom. i. p. 335 seq. edit. Bonn]), Theophanes (p. 99, 100, 101 [edit. Paris; tom. i. p. 179 seq. edit. Bonn]), Cedrenus (p. 349, 350 [tom. i. p. 613, edit. Bonn]), and Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 50, 51) Montesquieu (*Considérations sur la Grandeur*, etc., ch. xx. tom. iii. p. 497) has made a judicious observation on the failure of these great naval armaments.

⁹¹ Jornandes is our best guide through the reigns of Theodoric II. and Euric (*de Rebus Geticis*, c. 44, 45, 46, 47, p. 675-681). Idatius ends too soon, and Isidore is too sparing of the information which he might have given on the affairs of Spain. The events that relate to Gaul are laboriously illustrated in the third book of the Abbé Dubos, *Hist. Critique*, tom. i. p. 424-620.

ince, carried his victorious arms into the heart of Lusitania, and permitted the Suevi to hold the kingdom of Galicia under the Gothic monarchy of Spain." The efforts of Euric were not less vigorous or less successful in Gaul; and throughout the country that extends from the Pyrenees to the Rhone and the Loire, Berry and Auvergne were the only cities or dioceses which refused to acknowledge him as their master." In the defence of Clermont, their principal town, the inhabitants of Auvergne sustained with inflexible resolution the miseries of war, pestilence, and famine; and the Visigoths, relinquishing the fruitless siege, suspended the hopes of that important conquest. The youth of the province were animated by the heroic and almost incredible valor of Ecdicius, the son of the Emperor Avitus," who made a desperate sally with only eighteen horsemen, boldly attacked the Gothic army, and, after maintaining a flying skirmish, retired safe and victorious within the walls of Clermont. His charity was equal to his courage: in a time of extreme scarcity, four thousand poor were fed at his expense; and his private influence levied an army of Burgundians for the deliverance of Auvergne. From *his* virtues alone the faithful citizens of Gaul derived any hopes of safety or freedom; and even such virtues were insufficient to avert the impending ruin of their country, since they were anxious to learn from his authority and example whether they should prefer the alternative of exile or servitude." The public confidence was lost; the resources of the State were exhausted; and the Gauls had too much reason to believe that

" See Mariana, *Hist. Hispan.* tom. i. l. v. c. 5, p. 162.

" An imperfect but original picture of Gaul, more especially of Auvergne, is shown by Sidonius, who, as a senator and afterwards as a bishop, was deeply interested in the fate of his country. See L. v [vii.] *Epist.* 1, 5, 9, etc.

" Sidonius, l. iii. *Epist.* 3, p. 65-68; Greg. Turon. l. ii. c. 24, in tom. ii. p. 171; Jornandes, c. 45, p. 679. Perhaps Ecdicius was only the son-in-law of Avitus, his wife's son by another husband.

" "Si nullæ a republicâ vires, nulla præsidia, si nullæ, quantum rumor est, Anthemii principis opes, statuit, te anctore, nobilitas, seu patriam dimittere seu capillos" (*Sidon. l. ii. Epist.* 1, p. 38). The last words (*Sirmond, Not.* p. 25) may likewise denote the clerical tonsure, which was, indeed, the choice of Sidonius himself.

Anthemius, who reigned in Italy, was incapable of protecting his distressed subjects beyond the Alps. The feeble emperor could only procure for their defence the service of twelve thousand British auxiliaries. Riothamus, one of the independent kings or chieftains of the island, was persuaded to transport his troops to the continent of Gaul: he sailed up the Loire, and established his quarters in Berry, where the people complained of these oppressive allies, till they were destroyed or dispersed by the arms of the Visigoths.*

One of the last acts of jurisdiction which the Roman senate exercised over their subjects of Gaul was the trial and condemnation of Arvandus, the Prætorian præfect. Sidonius, who rejoices that he lived under a reign in which he might pity and assist a state criminal, has expressed with tenderness and freedom the faults of his indiscreet and unfortunate friend.† From the perils which he had escaped, Arvandus imbibed confidence rather than wisdom; and such was the various though uniform imprudence of his behavior that his prosperity must appear much more surprising than his downfall. The second præfecture, which he obtained within the term of five years, abolished the merit and popularity of his preceding administration. His easy temper was corrupted by flattery and exasperated by opposition; he was forced to satisfy his importunate creditors with the spoils of the province; his capricious insolence offended the nobles of Gaul; and he sank under the weight of the public hatred. The mandate of his disgrace summoned him to justify his conduct before the senate; and he passed the Sea of Tuscany with a favorable wind—the presage, as he vainly imagined, of his future fortunes. A decent respect was still observed for the *Præfectorian* rank; and on his arrival at Rome, Arvandus

Trial of Ar-
vandus.
A.D. 468.

* The history of these Britons may be traced in Jornandes (c. 45, p. 678), Sidonius (l. iii. Epist. 9, p. 73, 74), and Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 18, in tom. ii. p. 170). Sidonius (who styles these mercenary troops "agutos, armatos, tumultuosos, virtute, numero, contubernio, contumaces") addresses their general in a tone of friendship and familiarity.

† See Sidonius, l. i. Epist. 7, p. 15-20, with Sirmond's notes. This letter does honor to his heart as well as to his understanding. The prose of Sidonius, however vitiated by a false and affected taste, is much superior to his insipid verses.

was committed to the hospitality, rather than to the custody, of Flavius Asellus, the count of the sacred largesses, who resided in the Capitol." He was eagerly pursued by his accusers, the four deputies of Gaul, who were all distinguished by their birth, their dignities, or their eloquence. In the name of a great province, and according to the forms of Roman jurisprudence, they instituted a civil and criminal action, requiring such restitution as might compensate the losses of individuals, and such punishment as might satisfy the justice of the State. Their charges of corrupt oppression were numerous and weighty; but they placed their secret dependence on a letter which they had intercepted, and which they could prove, by the evidence of his secretary, to have been dictated by Arvandus himself. The author of this letter seemed to dissuade the King of the Goths from a peace with the *Greek* emperor: he suggested the attack of the Britons on the Loire; and he recommended a division of Gaul, according to the law of nations, between the Visigoths and the Burgundians." These pernicious schemes, which a friend could only palliate by the reproaches of vanity and indiscretion, were susceptible of a treasonable interpretation; and the deputies had artfully resolved not to produce their most formidable weapons till the decisive moment of the contest. But their intentions were discovered by the zeal of Sidonius. He immediately apprised the unsuspecting criminal of his danger; and sincerely lamented, without any mixture of anger, the haughty presumption of Arvandus, who rejected, and even resented, the salutary advice of his friends. Ignorant of his real situation, Arvandus showed himself in the Capitol in the white robe of a candidate, accepted indiscriminate salutations and offers of service, examined the shops of the merchants, the silks and gems, sometimes with the indifference of a spectator, and sometimes with

" When the Capitol ceased to be a temple, it was appropriated to the use of the civil magistrate; and it is still the residence of the Roman senator. The Jewellers, etc., might be allowed to expose their precious wares in the porticoes.

" "*Hæc ad regem Gothorum, clausa videbatur emitti pacem cum Græco Imperatore dissuadens, Britannos super Ligerim sitos impugnari oportere demonstrans, cum Burgundionibus jure gentium Gallias dividi debere confirmans.*"

the attention of a purchaser ; and complained of the times, of the senate, of the prince, and of the delays of justice. His complaints were soon removed. An early day was fixed for his trial ; and Arvandus appeared, with his accusers, before a numerous assembly of the Roman senate. The mournful garb which they affected excited the compassion of the judges, who were scandalized by the gay and splendid dress of their adversary ; and when the præfect Arvandus, with the first of the Gallic deputies, were directed to take their places on the senatorial benches, the same contrast of pride and modesty was observed in their behavior. In this memorable judgment, which presented a lively image of the old republic, the Gauls exposed with force and freedom the grievances of the province ; and as soon as the minds of the audience were sufficiently inflamed, they recited the fatal epistle. The obstinacy of Arvandus was founded on the strange supposition that a subject could not be convicted of treason unless he had actually conspired to assume the purple. As the paper was read, he repeatedly, and with a loud voice, acknowledged it for his genuine composition ; and his astonishment was equal to his dismay when the unanimous voice of the senate declared him guilty of a capital offence. By their decree, he was degraded from the rank of a præfect to the obscure condition of a plebeian, and ignominiously dragged by servile hands to the public prison. After a fortnight's adjournment, the senate was again convened to pronounce the sentence of his death ; but while he expected, in the island of Æsculapius, the expiration of the thirty days allowed by an ancient law to the vilest malefactors,¹⁰⁰ his friends interposed, the Emperor Anthemius relented, and the Præfect of Gaul obtained the milder punishment of exile and confiscation. The faults of Arvandus might deserve compassion ; but the impunity of Seronatus accused the justice of the republic, till he was condemned and executed on the complaint of the people of Auvergne. That

¹⁰⁰ *Senatusconsultum Tiberianum* (Sirmond, Not. p. 17) ; but that law allowed only ten days between the sentence and execution ; the remaining twenty were added in the reign of Theodosius.

flagitious minister, the Catiline of his age and country, held a secret correspondence with the Visigoths to betray the province which he oppressed. His industry was continually exercised in the discovery of new taxes and obsolete offences; and his extravagant vices would have inspired contempt if they had not excited fear and abhorrence.¹⁰¹

Such criminals were not beyond the reach of justice; but whatever might be the guilt of Ricimer, that powerful barbarian was able to contend or to negotiate with the prince whose alliance he had condescended to accept. The peaceful and prosperous reign which Anthemius had promised to the West was soon clouded by misfortune and discord. Ricimer, apprehensive or impatient of a superior, retired from Rome and fixed his residence at Milan—an advantageous situation, either to invite or to repel the warlike tribes that were seated between the Alps and the Danube.¹⁰² Italy was gradually divided into two independent and hostile kingdoms; and the nobles of Liguria, who trembled at the near approach of a civil war, fell prostrate at the feet of the patrician, and conjured him to spare their unhappy country. “For my own part,” replied Ricimer, in a tone of insolent moderation, “I am still inclined to embrace the friendship of the Galatian;¹⁰³ but who will undertake to appease his anger, or to mitigate the pride which always rises in proportion to our submission?” They informed him that Epiphanius, Bishop of Pavia,¹⁰⁴ united the wisdom of the ser-

¹⁰¹ *Catilina seculi nostri.*—Sidonius, l. ii. Epist. 1, p. 83; l. v. Epist. 13, p. 143; l. vii. Epist. 7, p. 185. He execrates the crimes and applauds the punishment of Seronatus, perhaps with the indignation of a virtuous citizen, perhaps with the resentment of a personal enemy.

¹⁰² Ricimer, under the reign of Anthemius, defeated and slew in battle Boorgor, King of the Alani (Jornandes, c. 45, p. 678). His sister had married the King of the Burgundians, and he maintained an intimate connection with the Suevic colony established in Pannonia and Noricum.

¹⁰³ “*Galatam concitatum.*” Surmond (in his notes to Ennodius [tom. i. p. 859]) applies this appellation to Anthemius himself. The emperor was probably born in the province of Galatia, whose inhabitants, the Gallo-Grecians, were supposed to unite the vices of a savage and a corrupted people.

¹⁰⁴ Epiphanius was thirty years bishop of Pavia (A.D. 467–497; see Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. xvi. p. 788). His name and actions would have been unknown

pent with the innocence of the dove ; and appeared confident that the eloquence of such an ambassador must prevail against the strongest opposition either of interest or passion. Their recommendation was approved ; and Epiphanius, assuming the benevolent office of mediation, proceeded without delay to Rome, where he was received with the honors due to his merit and reputation. The oration of a bishop in favor of peace may be easily supposed : he argued that, in all possible circumstances, the forgiveness of injuries must be an act of mercy or magnanimity or prudence ; and he seriously admonished the emperor to avoid a contest with a fierce barbarian, which might be fatal to himself and must be ruinous to his dominions. Anthemius acknowledged the truth of his maxims ; but he deeply felt, with grief and indignation, the behavior of Ricimer ; and his passion gave eloquence and energy to his discourse. "What favors," he warmly exclaimed, "have we refused to this ungrateful man ? What provocations have we not endured ? Regardless of the majesty of the purple, I gave my daughter to a Goth ; I sacrificed my own blood to the safety of the republic. The liberality which ought to have secured the eternal attachment of Ricimer has exasperated him against his benefactor. What wars has he not excited against the empire ? How often has he instigated and assisted the fury of hostile nations ? Shall I now accept his perfidious friendship ? Can I hope that *he* will respect the engagements of a treaty, who has already violated the duties of a son ?" But the anger of Anthemius evaporated in these passionate exclamations. He sensibly yielded to the proposals of Epiphanius ; and the bishop returned to his diocese with the satisfaction of restoring the peace of Italy by a reconciliation,¹⁰⁶ of which the sincerity and continuance might be reasonably suspected. The clemency of the emperor was extorted from his

to posterity if Ennodius, one of his successors, had not written his *Life* (Sirmond, *Opera*, tom. i. p. 1647-1692), in which he represents him as one of the greatest characters of the age.

¹⁰⁶ Ennodius (p. 1659-1664) has related this embassy of Epiphanius ; and his narrative, verbose and turgid as it must appear, illustrates some curious passages in the fall of the Western empire.

weakness; and Ricimer suspended his ambitious designs till he had secretly prepared the engines with which he resolved to subvert the throne of Anthemius. The mask of peace and moderation was then thrown aside. The army of Ricimer was fortified by a numerous reinforcement of Burgundians and Oriental Suevi: he disclaimed all allegiance to the Greek emperor, marched from Milan to the gates of Rome, and, fixing his camp on the banks of the Anio, impatiently expected the arrival of Olybrius, his imperial candidate.

The senator Olybrius, of the Anician family, might esteem himself the lawful heir of the Western empire. He had married Placidia, the younger daughter of Valentinian, after she was restored by Genseric, who still detained her sister Eudoxia as the wife, or rather as the captive, of his son. The King of the Vandals supported by threats and solicitations the fair pretensions of his Roman ally, and assigned as one of the motives of the war the refusal of the senate and people to acknowledge their lawful prince, and the unworthy preference which they had given to a stranger.¹⁰⁸ The friendship of the public enemy might render Olybrius still more unpopular to the Italians; but when Ricimer meditated the ruin of the Emperor Anthemius, he tempted, with the offer of a diadem, the candidate who could justify his rebellion by an illustrious name and a royal alliance. The husband of Placidia, who, like most of his ancestors, had been invested with the consular dignity, might have continued to enjoy a secure and splendid fortune in the peaceful residence of Constantinople; nor does he appear to have been tormented by such a genius as cannot be amused or occupied unless by the administration of an empire. Yet Olybrius yielded to the importunities of his friends, perhaps of his wife; rashly plunged into the dangers and calamities of a civil war; and, with the secret connivance of the Emperor Leo, accepted the Italian purple, which was bestowed

Olybrius Em-
peror of the
West.
A.D. 479.
March 28.

¹⁰⁸ Priscus Excerpt. Legation. p. 74 [p. 219, edit. Bonn]. Procopius de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 6, p. 191 [tom. i. p. 336, edit. Bonn]. Eudoxia and her daughter were restored after the death of Majorian. Perhaps the consulship of Olybrius (A.D. 464) was bestowed as a nuptial present.

and resumed at the capricious will of a barbarian. He landed without obstacle (for Genseric was master of the sea) either at Ravenna or the port of Ostia, and immediately proceeded to the camp of Ricimer, where he was received as the sovereign of the Western world.¹⁰⁷

The patrician, who had extended his posts from the Anio to the Milvian bridge, already possessed two quarters of Rome, the Vatican and the Janiculum, which are separated by the Tiber from the rest of the city;¹⁰⁸ and it may be conjectured that an assembly of seceding senators imitated, in the choice of Olybrius, the forms of a legal election. But the body of the senate and people firmly adhered to the cause of Anthemius; and the more effectual support of a Gothic army enabled him to prolong his reign, and the public distress, by a resistance of three months, which produced the concomitant evils of famine and pestilence. At length Ricimer made a furious assault on the bridge of Hadrian, or St. Angelo; and the narrow pass was defended with equal valor by the Goths till the death of Gilimer, their leader. The victorious troops, breaking down every barrier, rushed with irresistible violence into the heart of the city, and Rome (if we may use the language of a contemporary pope) was subverted by the civil fury of Anthemius and Ricimer.¹⁰⁹ The

¹⁰⁷ The hostile appearance of Olybrius is fixed (notwithstanding the opinion of Pagi) by the duration of his reign. The secret connivance of Leo is acknowledged by Theophanes and the Paschal Chronicle. We are ignorant of his motives, but in this obscure period our ignorance extends to the most public and important facts.

¹⁰⁸ (Of the fourteen regions, or quarters, into which Rome was divided by Augustus, only one, the Janiculum, lay on the Tuscan side of the Tiber. But, in the fifth century, the Vatican suburb formed a considerable city; and in the ecclesiastical distribution, which had been recently made by Simplicius, the reigning pope, *two* of the *seven* regions or parishes of Rome depended on the Church of St. Peter. See Nardini, *Roma Antica*, p. 67. It would require a tedious dissertation to mark the circumstances in which I am inclined to depart from the topography of that learned Roman.

¹⁰⁹ "Nuper Anthemii et Ricimeris civili furore subversa est." Gelasius (in Epist. ad Andromach. apud Baron. A.D. 496, No. 42), Sigonius (tom. i. l. xiv. de Occidentali Imperio, p. 542, 548), and Muratori (*Annali d' Italia*, tom. iv. p. 308, 309), with the aid of a less imperfect MS. of the *Historia Miscell.*, have illustrated this dark and bloody transaction.

unfortunate Anthemius was dragged from his concealment and inhumanly massacred by the command of his son-in-law, who thus added a third, or perhaps a fourth, emperor to the number of his victims. The soldiers, who united the rage of factious citizens with the savage manners of barbarians, were indulged without control in the license of rapine and murder. The crowd of slaves and plebeians, who were unconcerned in the event, could only gain by the indiscriminate pillage; and the face of the city exhibited the strange contrast of stern cruelty and dissolute intemperance.¹¹⁰ Forty days after this calamitous event—the subject, not of glory, but of guilt—Italy

was delivered, by a painful disease, from the tyrant Ricimer, who bequeathed the command of his army to his nephew Gundobald, one of the princes of the Burgundians. In the same year all the principal actors in this great revolution were removed from the stage; and the whole reign of Olybrius, whose death does not betray any symptoms of violence, is included within the term of seven months. He left one daughter, the offspring of his marriage with Placidia; and the family of the great Theodosius, transplanted from Spain to Constantinople, was propagated in the female line as far as the eighth generation.¹¹¹

Whilst the vacant throne of Italy was abandoned to lawless barbarians,¹¹² the election of a new colleague was seriously ag-

¹¹⁰ Such had been the “*sæva ac deformis in be totâ facies*” when Rome was assaulted and stormed by the troops of Vespasian (see Tacit. Hist. iii. 82, 83); and every cause of mischief had since acquired much additional energy. The revolution of ages may bring round the same calamities; but ages may revolve without producing a Tacitus to describe them.

¹¹¹ See Ducange, *Familia Byzantin.* p. 74, 75. Areobindus, who appears to have married the niece of the Emperor Justinian, was the eighth descendant of the elder Theodosius.

¹¹² The last revolutions of the Western empire are faintly marked in Theophanes (p. 102 [tom. i. p. 184, edit. Bonn]), Jornandes (c. 45, p. 679), the Chronicle of Marcellinus, and the Fragments of an anonymous writer, published by Valesius at the end of Ammianus (p. 716, 717 [tom. ii. p. 303 seq. edit. Bipon.]). If Photius had not been so wretchedly concise, we should derive much information from the contemporary histories of Malchus and Candidus. See his *Extracts*, p. 172–179 [p. 54–56, edit. Bekk.].

itated in the council of Leo. The Empress Verina, studious to promote the greatness of her own family, had married one of her nieces to Julius Nepos, who succeeded his uncle Marcellinus in the sovereignty of Dalmatia, a more solid possession than the title which he was persuaded to accept of Emperor of the West. But the measures of the Byzantine court were so languid and irresolute that many months elapsed after the death of Anthemius, and even of Olybrius, before their destined successor could show himself, with a respectable force, to his Italian subjects. During that interval, Glycerius, an obscure soldier, was invested with the purple by his patron Gundobald; but the Burgundian prince was unable or unwilling to support his nomination by a civil war. The pursuits of domestic ambition recalled him beyond the Alps,¹¹³ and his client was permitted to exchange the Roman sceptre for the bishopric of Salona. After extinguishing such a competitor, the Emperor Nepos was acknowledged by the senate, by the Italians, and by the provincials of Gaul; his moral virtues and military talents were loudly celebrated; and those who derived any private benefit from his government announced in prophetic strains the restoration of the public felicity.¹¹⁴ Their hopes (if such hopes had been entertained) were confounded within the term of a single year; and the treaty of peace, which ceded Auvergne to the Visigoths, is the only event of his short and inglorious reign. The most faithful subjects of Gaul were sacrificed by the Italian emperor to the hope of domestic security;¹¹⁵ but his repose was soon invaded by a furious sedition of

¹¹³ See Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 28, in tom. ii. p. 175. Dubos, Hist. Crit. tom. i. p. 613. By the murder or death of his two brothers, Gundobald acquired the sole possession of the kingdom of Burgundy, whose ruin was hastened by their discord.

¹¹⁴ Julius Nepos armis pariter summus Augustus ac moribus.—Sidonius, l. v. Ep. 16, p. 146. Nepos had given to Ecdicius the title of Patrician, which Anthemius had promised, "decessoris Anthemi fidem absolvit." See l. viii. Ep. 7, p. 224 [l. v. Ep. 16, p. 146].

¹¹⁵ Epiphanius was sent ambassador from Nepos to the Visigoths for the purpose of ascertaining the *finis Imperii Italici* (Ennodius in Sirmond, tom. i. p. 1665-1669). His pathetic discourse concealed the disgraceful secret which soon excited the just and bitter complaints of the Bishop of Clermont.

the barbarian confederates, who, under the command of Orestes, their general, were in full march from Rome to Ravenna. Nepos trembled at their approach; and, instead of placing a just confidence in the strength of Ravenna, he hastily escaped to his ships, and retired to his Dalmatian principality, on the opposite coast of the Adriatic. By this shameful abdication he protracted his life about five years, in a very ambiguous state between an emperor and an exile, till he was assassinated at Salona by the ungrateful Glycerius, who was translated, perhaps as the reward of his crime, to the archbishopric of Milan.¹¹⁶

The nations who had asserted their independence after the death of Attila were established, by the right of possession or conquest, in the boundless countries to the north of the Danube, or in the Roman provinces between the river and the Alps. But the bravest of their youth enlisted in the army of *confederates*, who formed the defence and the terror of Italy;¹¹⁷ and in this promiscuous multitude, the names of the Heruli, the Sciri, the Alani, the Turcilingi, and the Rugians* appear to have predominated. The example of these warriors was imitated by Orestes,¹¹⁸ the

The patrician
Orestes.
A.D. 476.

¹¹⁶ Malchus, apud Phot p 172 [p. 54 b, edit. Bekk.]. Ennod. Epigram. lxxxii. in Sirmond. Oper. tom. i. p. 1879. Some doubt may, however, be raised on the identity of the emperor and the archbishop.

¹¹⁷ Our knowledge of these mercenaries who subverted the Western empire is derived from Procopius (de Bell. Gothico, l. i. c. i. p. 308 [tom. ii. p. 6, edit. Bonn]). The popular opinion and the recent historians represent Odoacer in the false light of a *stranger* and a *king*, who invaded Italy with an army of foreigners, his native subjects.

¹¹⁸ Orestes, qui eo tempore quando Attila ad Italiam venit, eo illi junxit, et ejus notarius factus fuerat.—Anonym. Vales. p. 716 [Amm. Marc. tom. ii. p. 303, edit. Bignon.]. He is mistaken in the date; but we may credit his assertion that the secretary of Attila was the father of Augustulus.

* With the exception of the *Alani*, who were probably Turks (see note, p. 124), all these people originally dwelt upon the Baltic. (Of the *Heruli* some account is given in ch. xxxix. note 37. The *Turcilingi* are probably the same people who occur in Ptolemy (ii. 11, § 14) under the corrupt form of *Ponriclaui*, and who are described as dwelling on the Vistula. The *Sciri*, or *Scirri*, are placed by Pliny (iv. 18) on the eastern side of the Vistula. The *Rugii* are first mentioned by Tacitus (Germ. c. 43), who places them upon the Baltic; they are perhaps the people of the Gulf of Riga. See Zeuss, Die deutschen und die Nachbarstämme, p. 154 seq., 484 seq.; Latham, The Germania of Tacitus, Epilegomena, p. xcii. seq.—S.

son of Tatullus, and the father of the last Roman Emperor of the West. Orestes, who has been already mentioned in this History, had never deserted his country. His birth and fortunes rendered him one of the most illustrious subjects of Pannonia. When that province was ceded to the Huns, he entered into the service of Attila, his lawful sovereign, obtained the office of his secretary, and was repeatedly sent ambassador to Constantinople, to represent the person and signify the commands of the imperious monarch. The death of that conqueror restored him to his freedom; and Orestes might honorably refuse either to follow the sons of Attila into the Scythian desert, or to obey the Ostrogoths, who had usurped the dominion of Pannonia. He preferred the service of the Italian princes, the successors of Valentinian; and, as he possessed the qualifications of courage, industry, and experience, he advanced with rapid steps in the military profession, till he was elevated, by the favor of Nepos himself, to the dignities of patrician and master-general of the troops. These troops had been long accustomed to reverence the character and authority of Orestes, who affected their manners, conversed with them in their own language, and was intimately connected with their national chieftains by long habits of familiarity and friendship. At his solicitation they rose in arms against the obscure Greek who presumed to claim their obedience; and when Orestes, from some secret motive, declined the purple,

His son Augustulus, the last Emperor of the West. A.D. 476.

they consented, with the same facility, to acknowledge his son Augustulus as the Emperor of the West. By the abdication of Nepos, Orestes had now attained the summit of his ambitious hopes; but he soon discovered, before the end of the first year, that the lessons of perjury and ingratitude which a rebel must inculcate will be retorted against himself, and that the precarious sovereign of Italy was only permitted to choose whether he would be the slave or the victim of his barbarian mercenaries. The dangerous alliance of those strangers had oppressed and insulted the last remains of Roman freedom and dignity. At each revolution their pay and privileges were augmented; but their insolence increased in a still more extravagant de-

gree; they envied the fortune of their brethren in Gaul, Spain, and Africa, whose victorious arms had acquired an independent and perpetual inheritance; and they insisted on their peremptory demand that a *third* part of the lands of Italy should be immediately divided among them. Orestes, with a spirit which, in another situation, might be entitled to our esteem, chose rather to encounter the rage of an armed multitude than to subscribe the ruin of an innocent people. He rejected the audacious demand; and his refusal was favorable to the ambition of Odoacer, a bold barbarian, who assured his fellow-soldiers that if they dared to associate under his command, they might soon extort the justice which had been denied to their dutiful petitions. From all the camps and garrisons of Italy, the confederates, actuated by the same resentment and the same hopes, impatiently flocked to the standard of this popular leader; and the unfortunate patrician, overwhelmed by the torrent, hastily retreated to the strong city of Pavia, the episcopal seat of the holy Epiphanites. Pavia was immediately besieged, the fortifications were stormed, the town was pillaged; and although the bishop might labor with much zeal and some success to save the property of the Church and the chastity of female captives, the tumult could only be appeased by the execution of Orestes.¹¹⁰ His brother Paul was slain in an action near Ravenna; and the helpless Augustulus, who could no longer command the respect, was reduced to implore the clemency, of Odoacer.

That successful barbarian was the son of Edecon, who, in some remarkable transactions, particularly described in a preceding chapter, had been the colleague of Orestes himself. The honor of an ambassador should be exempt from suspicion; and Edecon had listened to a conspiracy against the life of his sovereign. But this apparent guilt was expiated by his merit or repentance. His rank was eminent and conspicuous; he enjoyed the favor of Attila;

Odoacer King
of Italy.
A.D. 476-490.

¹¹⁰ See Ennodius (in Vit. Epiphan. Sirmond, tom. i. p. 1669, 1670). He adds weight to the narrative of Procopius, though we may doubt whether the devil actually contrived the siege of Pavia to distress the bishop and his flock.

and the troops under his command, who guarded, in their turn, the royal village, consisted of a tribe of Sciri, his immediate and hereditary subjects. In the revolt of the nations, they still adhered to the Huns; and, more than twelve years afterwards, the name of Edecon is honorably mentioned in their unequal contest with the Ostrogoths, which was terminated, after two bloody battles, by the defeat and dispersion of the Sciri.¹²⁰ Their gallant leader, who did not survive this national calamity, left two sons, Onulf and Odoacer, to struggle with adversity, and to maintain as they might, by rapine or service, the faithful followers of their exile. Onulf directed his steps towards Constantinople, where he sullied, by the assassination of a generous benefactor, the fame which he had acquired in arms. His brother Odoacer led a wandering life among the barbarians of Noricum, with a mind and a fortune suited to the most desperate adventures; and when he had fixed his choice, he piously visited the cell of Severinus, the popular saint of the country, to solicit his approbation and blessing. The lowness of the door would not admit the lofty stature of Odoacer; he was obliged to stoop; but in that humble attitude the saint could discern the symptoms of his future greatness; and, addressing him in a prophetic tone, "Pursue" (said he) "your design; proceed to Italy; you will soon cast away this coarse garment of skins; and your wealth will be adequate to the liberality of your mind."¹²¹ The barbarian, whose daring spirit accepted and ratified the prediction, was admitted into the service of the Western empire, and soon obtained an

¹²⁰ Jornandes, c. 53, 54, p. 392-395. M. de Buat (*Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. viii. p. 221-228) has clearly explained the origin and adventures of Odoacer. I am almost inclined to believe that he was the same who pillaged Angers, and commanded a fleet of Saxon pirates on the ocean. Greg. Turon. l. ii. c. 18, in tom. ii. p. 170.*

¹²¹ *Vade ad Italiam, vade vilissimis nunc pollibus coopertus: sed multis cito plurima largiturus* — Anonym. Vales. p. 717 [*Amm. Marc. l. ii. p. 305*, edit. Bignon]. He quotes the Life of St. Severinus, which is extant, and contains much unknown and valuable history; it was composed by his disciple Eugippius (A.D. 511), thirty years after his death. See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. xvi. p. 168-181.

* According to St. Martin, there is no foundation for this conjecture, vii. 75.—M.

honorable rank in the guards. His manners were gradually polished, his military skill was improved, and the confederates of Italy would not have elected him for their general unless the exploits of Odoacer had established a high opinion of his courage and capacity.¹²² Their military acclamations saluted him with the title of king; but he abstained during his whole reign from the use of the purple and diadem,¹²³ lest he should offend those princes whose subjects, by their accidental mixture, had formed the victorious army which time and policy might insensibly unite into a great nation.

Royalty was familiar to the barbarians, and the submissive people of Italy was prepared to obey, without a murmur, the authority which he should condescend to exercise as the vicegerent of the Emperor of the West. But Odoacer had resolved to abolish that useless and expensive office; and such is the weight of antique prejudice that it required some boldness and penetration to discover the extreme facility of the enterprise. The unfortunate Augustulus was made the instrument of his own disgrace; he signified his resignation to the senate; and that assembly, in their last act of obedience to a Roman prince, still affected the spirit of freedom and the forms of the constitution. An epistle was addressed, by their unanimous decree, to the Emperor Zeno, the son-in-law and successor of Leo, who had lately been restored, after a short rebellion, to the Byzantine throne. They solemnly "disclaim the necessity, or even the wish, of continuing any longer the imperial succession in Italy; since, in their opinion, the majesty of a sole monarch is sufficient to

Extinction of
the Western
empire.
A.D. 476, or
A.D. 479.

¹²² Theophanes, who calls him a Goth, affirms that he was educated, nursed (*τρέφεντος*), in Italy (p. 102 [tom. i. p. 184, edit. Bonn]); and as this strong expression will not bear a literal interpretation, it must be explained by long service in the imperial guards.

¹²³ *Nomen regis Odoacer assumpsit, cum tamen neque purpurâ nec regalibus uteretur insignibus.*—Cassiodor. in Chron. A.D. 476. He seems to have assumed the abstract title of a king without applying it to any particular nation or country.^a

^a Manso observes that Odoacer never called himself King of Italy, did not assume the purple, and no coins are extant with his name. *Geschichte Ostgoth. Reiches*, p. 36.—M.

pervade and protect, at the same time, both the East and the West. In their own name, and in the name of the people, they consent that the seat of universal empire shall be transferred from Rome to Constantinople; and they basely renounce the right of choosing their master, the only vestige that yet remained of the authority which had given laws to the world. The republic (they repeat that name without a blush) might safely confide in the civil and military virtues of Odoacer; and they humbly request that the emperor would invest him with the title of Patrician, and the administration of the *diocese* of Italy." The deputies of the senate were received at Constantinople with some marks of displeasure and indignation; and when they were admitted to the audience of Zeno, he sternly reproached them with their treatment of the two emperors, Anthemius and Nepos, whom the East had successively granted to the prayers of Italy. "The first" (continued he) "you have murdered; the second you have expelled—but the second is still alive, and whilst he lives he is your lawful sovereign." But the prudent Zeno soon deserted the hopeless cause of his abdicated colleague. His vanity was gratified by the title of sole emperor, and by the statues erected to his honor in the several quarters of Rome; he entertained a friendly though ambiguous correspondence with the *patrioian* Odoacer; and he gratefully accepted the imperial ensigns, the sacred ornaments of the throne and palace, which the barbarian was not unwilling to remove from the sight of the people.¹²⁴

In the space of twenty years since the death of Valentinian, nine emperors had successively disappeared; and the son of Orestes, a youth recommended only by his beauty, would be the least entitled to the notice of posterity if his reign, which was marked by the extinction of the Roman empire in the West, did not leave a memorable era

Augustulus is banished to the Lucullan villa.

¹²⁴ Malchus, whose loss excites our regret, has preserved (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 98 [edit. Paris; p. 235, edit. Bonn]) this extraordinary embassy from the senate to Zeno. The anonymous fragment (p. 717) and the extract from 'Andidus (apud Phot. p. 176 (p. 55, edit. Bekk.)) are likewise of some use.

in the history of mankind.¹²⁵ The patrician Orestes had married the daughter of Count *Romulus*, of Petovio, in Noricum; the name of *Augustus*, notwithstanding the jealousy of power, was known at Aquileia as a familiar surname; and the appellations of the two great founders, of the city and of the monarchy, were thus strangely united in the last of their successors.¹²⁶ The son of Orestes assumed and disgraced the names of *Romulus Augustus*; but the first was corrupted into *Momyllus* by the Greeks, and the second has been changed by the Latins into the contemptible diminutive *Augustulus*. The life of this inoffensive youth was spared by the generous clemency of Odoacer, who dismissed him, with his whole family, from the imperial palace, fixed his annual allowance at six thousand pieces of gold, and assigned the castle of *Lucullus*, in Campania, for the place of his exile or retirement.¹²⁷ As soon as the Romans breathed from the toils of the Punic war, they were attracted by the beauties and the pleasures of Campania; and the country-house of the elder *Scipio* at *Liternum* exhibited a lasting model of their rustic simplicity.¹²⁸ The delicious shores of the Bay of Naples were crowded with villas; and

¹²⁵ The precise year in which the Western empire was extinguished is not positively ascertained. The vulgar era of A.D. 476 appears to have the sanction of authentic chronicles. But the two dates assigned by *Jornandes* (c. 46, p. 680) would delay that great event to the year 479; and though *M. de Buat* has overlooked his evidence, he produces (tom. viii. p. 261–288) many collateral circumstances in support of the same opinion.

¹²⁶ See his medals in *Ducange* (Fam. Byzantin. p. 81), *Priscus* (Excerpt. Legat. p. 57 [p. 185, edit. Bonn]). *Maffei* (Osservazioni Letterarie, tom. ii. p. 314). We may allege a famous and similar case. The meanest subjects of the Roman empire assumed the illustrious name of *Patricius*, which, by the conversion of Ireland, has been communicated to a whole nation.

¹²⁷ *Ingrediens autem Ravennam deposuit Augustulum de regno, cujus infantiam misertus concessit ei sanguinem; et quia pulcher erat, tamen donavit ei redditum sex milia solidos, et misit eum intra Campaniam cum parentibus suis libere vivere.*—*Anonym. Vales* p. 716 [*Amm. Marc.* tom. ii. p. 303, edit. Bignon]. *Jornandes* says (c. 46, p. 680), “in *Lucullano* Campaniæ castello exilii poena damnavit.”

¹²⁸ See the eloquent *Declamation* of *Seneca* (Epist. lxxxvi.). The philosopher might have recollected that all luxury is relative; and that the elder *Scipio*, whose manners were polished by study and conversation, was himself accused of that vice by his ruder contemporaries (*Livy*, xxix. 19).

Sylla applauded the masterly skill of his rival, who had seated himself on the lofty promontory of Misenum, that commands, on every side, the sea and land, as far as the boundaries of the horizon.¹²⁹ The villa of Marius was purchased, within a few years, by Lucullus, and the price had increased from two thousand five hundred to more than fourscore thousand pounds sterling.¹³⁰ It was adorned by the new proprietor with Grecian arts and Asiatic treasures; and the houses and gardens of Lucullus obtained a distinguished rank in the list of imperial palaces.¹³¹ When the Vandals became formidable to the sea-coast, the Lucullan villa, on the promontory of Misenum, gradually assumed the strength and appellation of a strong castle, the obscure retreat of the last Emperor of the West. About twenty years after that great revolution, it was converted into a church and monastery, to receive the bones of St. Severinus. They securely reposed, amidst the broken trophies of Cimbric and Armenian victories, till the beginning of the tenth century; when the fortifications, which might afford a dangerous shelter to the Saracens, were demolished by the people of Naples.¹³²

¹²⁹ Sylla, in the language of a soldier, praised his *peritia castrametandi* (Plin. Hist. Natur. xviii. 7) Phædrus, who makes its shady walks (*lata viridia*) the scene of an insipid fable (ii. 5), has thus described the situation:

Cæsar Tiberius quum petens Neapolim,
In Misense villam venisset suam;
Quæ monte summo posita Luculli manu
Prospectat Siculum et despicit Tuscum mare.

¹³⁰ From seven myriads and a half to two hundred and fifty myriads of drachmæ. Yet even in the possession of Marius it was a luxurious retirement. The Romans derided his indolence; they soon bewailed his activity. See Plutarch in Mario [c. 84], tom. ii. p. 524.

¹³¹ Lucullus had other villas of equal though various magnificence at Baïæ, Naples, Tusculum, etc. He boasted that he changed his climate with the storks and cranes. Plutarch, in Lucull [c. 39] tom. iii. p. 193.

¹³² Severinus died in Noricum, A.D. 482. Six years afterwards, his body, which scattered miracles as it passed, was transported by his disciples into Italy. The devotion of a Neapolitan lady invited the saint to the Lucullan villa, in the place of Augustulus, who was probably no more. See Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 496, No. 50, 51) and Tillemont (Mém. Ecclési. tom. xvi. p. 178-181), from the original Life by Eugippius. The narrative of the last migration of Severinus to Naples is likewise an authentic piece.

Odoacer was the first barbarian who reigned in Italy over a people who had once asserted their just superiority above the rest of mankind. The disgrace of the Romans still Decay of the Roman spirit. excites our respectful compassion, and we fondly sympathize with the imaginary grief and indignation of their degenerate posterity. But the calamities of Italy had gradually subdued the proud consciousness of freedom and glory. In the age of Roman virtue the provinces were subject to the arms, and the citizens to the laws, of the republic, till those laws were subverted by civil discord, and both the city and the provinces became the servile property of a tyrant. The forms of the constitution, which alleviated or disguised their abject slavery, were abolished by time and violence; the Italians alternately lamented the presence or the absence of the sovereigns whom they detested or despised; and the succession of five centuries inflicted the various evils of military license, capricious despotism, and elaborate oppression. During the same period, the barbarians had emerged from obscurity and contempt, and the warriors of Germany and Scythia were introduced into the provinces as the servants, the allies, and at length the masters, of the Romans, whom they insulted or protected. The hatred of the people was suppressed by fear; they respected the spirit and splendor of the martial chiefs who were invested with the honors of the empire; and the fate of Rome had long depended on the sword of those formidable strangers. The stern Ricimer, who trampled on the ruins of Italy, had exercised the power, without assuming the title, of a king; and the patient Romans were insensibly prepared to acknowledge the royalty of Odoacer and his barbaric successors.

The King of Italy was not unworthy of the high station to which his valor and fortune had exalted him. His savage manners were polished by the habits of conversation; and he respected, though a conqueror and a barbarian, the institutions, and even the prejudices, of his subjects. After an interval of seven years, Odoacer restored the consulship of the West. For himself he modestly, or proudly, declined an honor which was still accepted by the

Character and
reign of
Odoacer.
A.D. 476-490.

emperors of the East; but the curule chair was successively filled by eleven of the most illustrious senators;¹³³ and the list is adorned by the respectable name of Basilus, whose virtues claimed the friendship and grateful applause of Sidonius, his client.¹³⁴ The laws of the emperors were strictly enforced, and the civil administration of Italy was still exercised by the Prætorian præfect and his subordinate officers. Odoacer devolved on the Roman magistrates the odious and oppressive task of collecting the public revenue; but he reserved for himself the merit of seasonable and popular indulgence.¹³⁵ Like the rest of the barbarians, he had been instructed in the Arian heresy; but he revered the monastic and episcopal characters, and the silence of the Catholics attests the toleration which they enjoyed. The peace of the city required the interposition of his præfect Basilus in the choice of a Roman pontiff. The decree which restrained the clergy from alienating their lands was ultimately designed for the benefit of the people, whose devotion would have been taxed to repair the dilapidations of the Church.¹³⁶ Italy was protected by the arms of its conqueror; and its frontiers were respected by the barbarians of Gaul and Germany, who had so long insulted the feeble race of Theodosius. Odoacer passed the Adriatic, to chastise the assassins of the Emperor Nepos, and to acquire the maritime province of Dalmatia. He passed the Alps, to rescue the remains of Noricum from Fava, or Feletheus, King of the Rugians, who held his residence beyond the Danube.

¹³³ The consular *Fasti* may be found in Pagi or Muratori. The consuls named by Odoacer, or perhaps by the Roman senate, appear to have been acknowledged in the Eastern empire.

¹³⁴ Sidonius Apollinaris (*l. i. Epist. 9, p. 22*, edit. Sirmond) has compared the two leading senators of his time (A.D. 468), Gennadius Avienus and Cœcina Basilus. To the former he assigns the specious, to the latter the solid, virtues of public and private life. A Basilus junior, possibly his son, was consul in the year 480.

¹³⁵ Epiphanius interceded for the people of Pavia, and the king first granted an indulgence of five years, and afterwards relieved them from the oppression of Pelagius, the Prætorian præfect (Ennodius, in *Vit. St. Epiphani.* in Sirmond. *Oper. tom. i. 1670 1672*).

¹³⁶ See Baronius, *Annal. Eccles. A.D. 483, No. 10-15*. Sixteen years afterwards the irregular proceedings of Basilus were condemned by Pope Symmachus in a Roman synod.

The king was vanquished in battle, and led away prisoner; a numerous colony of captives and subjects was transplanted into Italy; and Rome, after a long period of defeat and disgrace, might claim the triumph of her barbarian master.¹³⁷

Notwithstanding the prudence and success of Odoacer, his kingdom exhibited the sad prospect of misery and desolation.

Miserable state of Italy. Since the age of Tiberius the decay of agriculture had been felt in Italy; and it was a just subject of complaint that the life of the Roman people depended on the accidents of the winds and waves.¹³⁸ In the division and the decline of the empire, the tributary harvests of Egypt and Africa were withdrawn; the numbers of the inhabitants continually diminished with the means of subsistence; and the country was exhausted by the irretrievable losses of war, famine,¹³⁹ and pestilence. St. Ambrose has deplored the ruin of a populous district, which had been once adorned with the flourishing cities of Bologna, Modena, Rhegium, and Placentia.¹⁴⁰ Pope Gelasius was a subject of Odoacer; and he affirms, with strong exaggeration, that in *Æmilia*, Tuscany, and the adjacent provinces, the human species was almost extirpated.¹⁴¹ The plebeians of Rome, who were fed by the hand of their master, perished or disappeared as soon as his liberality was suppressed; the decline of the arts reduced the indus-

¹³⁷ The wars of Odoacer are concisely mentioned by Paul the Deacon (*de Gest. Langobard.* l. i. c. 19, p. 757, edit. Grot.) and in the two Chronicles of Cassiodorus and Cuspinian. The Life of St. Severinus, by Eugippius, which the Count de Buat (*Hist. des Peuples*, etc., tom. viii. c. 1, 4, 8, 9) has diligently studied, illustrates the run of Noricum and the Bavarian antiquities.

¹³⁸ Tacit. *Annal.* iii. 53 [54]. The *Recherches sur l'Administration des Terres chez les Romains* (p. 351–361) clearly state the progress of internal decay.

¹³⁹ A famine, which afflicted Italy at the time of the irruption of Odoacer, King of the Heruli, is eloquently described in prose and verse by a French poet (*Les Mois*, tom. ii. p. 174, 206, edit. in 12mo). I am ignorant from whence he derives his information, but I am well assured that he relates some facts incompatible with the truth of history.

¹⁴⁰ See the 89th epistle of St. Ambrose [tom. ii. p. 914, edit. Bened.], as it is quoted by Muratori, *Sopra le Antichità Italiane*, tom. i. Dissert. xxi. p. 354.

¹⁴¹ *Æmilia*, Tuscany, ceteraque provincie in quibus hominum prope nullus existit.—Gelasius, *Epist. ad Andromachum*, apud Baronium, *Annal. Eccles.* A.D. 496, No. 36.

trious mechanic to idleness and want; and the senators, who might support with patience the ruin of their country, bewailed their private loss of wealth and luxury.* One third of those ample estates to which the ruin of Italy is originally imputed¹⁴² was extorted for the use of the conquerors. Injuries were aggravated by insults; the sense of actual sufferings was embittered by the fear of more dreadful evils; and as new lands were allotted to new swarms of barbarians, each senator was apprehensive lest the arbitrary surveyors should approach his favorite villa or his most profitable farm. The least unfortunate were those who submitted without a murmur to the power which it was impossible to resist. Since they desired to live, they owed some gratitude to the tyrant who had spared their lives; and since he was the absolute master of their fortunes, the portion which he left must be accepted as his pure and voluntary gift.¹⁴³ The distress of Italy^b was mitigated by the prudence and humanity of Odoacer, who had bound himself, as the price of his elevation, to satisfy the demands of a licentious and turbulent multitude. The kings of the barbarians were frequently resisted, deposed, or murdered by their *native* subjects; and the various bands of Italian mercenaries, who associated under the standard of an elective general, claimed a larger privilege of freedom and rapine. A monarchy des-

¹⁴² Verumque confitentibus, latifundia perdidere Italiam.—Plin. Hist. Natur. xviii. 7 [§ 8].

¹⁴³ Such are the topics of consolation, or rather of patience, which Cicero (ad Familiares, l. ix. Epist. 17) suggests to his friend Papirius Pætus, under the military despotism of Cæsar. The argument, however, of “vivere pulcherrimum duxi” is more forcibly addressed to a Roman philosopher, who possessed the free alternative of life or death.

* Denina supposes that the barbarians were compelled by necessity to turn their attention to agriculture. Italy, either imperfectly cultivated or not at all, by the indolent or ruined proprietors, not only could not furnish the imposts on which the pay of the soldiery depended, but not even a certain supply of the necessities of life. The neighboring countries were now occupied by warlike nations; the supplies of corn from Africa were cut off; foreign commerce nearly destroyed; they could not look for supplies beyond the limits of Italy, throughout which the agriculture had been long in a state of progressive but rapid depression. (Denina, Rev. d’Italia, l. v. c. i.).—M.

^b Compare, on the desolation and change of property in Italy, Manso, Geschichte des ostgothischen Reiches, part ii. p. 73 seq.—M.

titute of national union and hereditary right hastened to its dissolution. After a reign of fourteen years, Odoacer was oppressed by the superior genius of Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths, a hero alike excellent in the arts of war and of government, who restored an age of peace and prosperity, and whose name still excites and deserves the attention of mankind.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Origin, Progress, and Effects of the Monastic Life.—Conversion of the Barbarians to Christianity and Arianism.—Persecution of the Vandals in Africa.—Extinction of Arianism among the Barbarians.

THE indissoluble connection of civil and ecclesiastical affairs has compelled and encouraged me to relate the progress, the persecutions, the establishment, the divisions, the final triumph, and the gradual corruption of Christianity. I have purposely delayed the consideration of two religious events interesting in the study of human nature, and important in the decline and fall of the Roman empire. I. The institution of the monastic life;¹ and, II. The conversion of the northern barbarians.

I. Prosperity and peace introduced the distinction of the *vulgar* and the *ascetic Christians*.² The loose and imperfect practice of religion satisfied the conscience of the multitude. The prince or magistrate, the soldier or merchant, reconciled their fervent zeal and implicit faith with the exercise of their profession, the pursuit of their interest, and the indulgence of their passions; but the ascetics, who obeyed and abused the rigid precepts of the Gospel, were inspired by the savage enthusiasm which represents man as a criminal and God as a tyrant. They seriously

I. THE MONASTIC LIFE.
Origin of the monks.

¹ The origin of the monastic institution has been laboriously discussed by Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 1419-1426), and Helyot (*Hist. des Ordres Monastiques*, tom. i. p. 1-66). These authors are very learned and tolerably honest, and their difference of opinion shows the subject in its full extent. Yet the cautious Protestant, who distrusts any Popish guides, may consult the seventh book of Bingham's *Christian Antiquities*.

² See Euseb. *Demonstrat. Evangel.* (l. i. p. 20, 21, edit. Græc. Rob. Stephani, Paris, 1545). In his *Ecclesiastical History*, published twelve years after the *Demonstration*, Eusebius (l. ii. c. 17) asserts the Christianity of the Therapeutæ; but he appears ignorant that a similar institution was actually revived in Egypt.

renounced the business and the pleasures of the age; abjured the use of wine, of flesh, and of marriage; chastised their body, mortified their affections, and embraced a life of misery, as the price of eternal happiness. In the reign of Constantine, the ascetics fled from a profane and degenerate world to perpetual solitude or religious society. Like the first Christians of Jerusalem,* they resigned the use or the property of their temporal possessions; established regular communities of the same sex and a similar disposition; and assumed the names of *Hermits*, *Monks*, and *Anchorets*, expressive of their lonely retreat in a natural or artificial desert. They soon acquired the respect of the world, which they despised; and the loudest applause was bestowed on this DIVINE PHILOSOPHY,† which surpassed, without the aid of science or reason, the laborious virtues of the Grecian schools. The monks might indeed contend with the Stoics in the contempt of fortune, of pain, and of death. The Pythagorean silence and submission were revived in their servile discipline; and they disdained as firmly as the Cynics themselves all the forms and decencies of civil society. But the votaries of this Divine Philosophy aspired to imitate a purer and more perfect model. They trod in the footsteps of the prophets, who had retired to the desert;‡ and

* Cassian (Collat. xviii. 5 [Max. Bibl. Patr. t. vii. p. 208]) claims this origin for the institution of the *Cenobites*, which gradually decayed till it was restored by Antony and his disciples.

† *Ὁφελιμώτατον γὰρ τι χρῆμα εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἐλθοῦσα παρὰ θεοῦ ἡ τοιαύτη φιλοσοφία*. These are the expressive words of Sozomen, who copiously and agreeably describes (l. i. c. 12, 13, 14) the origin and progress of this monkish philosophy (see Smicer. Thesaur. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 1441). Some modern writers, Lipsius (tom. iv. p. 448; *Manuduct. ad Philosoph. Stoic.* iii. 13), and La Mothe le Vayer (tom. ix. de la Vertu des Payens, p. 228–262) have compared the Carmelites to the Pythagoreans, and the Cynics to the Capucins.

‡ The Carmelites derive their pedigree in regular succession from the prophet Elijah (see the Theses of Beziers, A.D. 1682, in Bayle's *Nonvelles de la République des Lettres*, *Œuvres*, tom. i. p. 82, etc.; and the prolix irony of the *Ordres Monastiques*, an anonymous work, tom. i. p. 1–433, Berlin, 1751). Rome and the Inquisition of Spain silenced the profane criticism of the Jesuits of Flanders (Helyot,

* It has before been shown that the first Christian community was not strictly cenobitic. See vol. ii. p. 131.—M.

they restored the devout and contemplative life which had been instituted by the Essenians in Palestine and Egypt. The philosophic eye of Pliny had surveyed with astonishment a solitary people who dwelt among the palm-trees near the Dead Sea, who subsisted without money, who were propagated without women, and who derived from the disgust and repentance of mankind a perpetual supply of voluntary associates.*

Egypt, the fruitful parent of superstition, afforded the first example of the monastic life. Antony,† an illiterate‡ youth of the lower parts of Thebais, distributed his patrimony,§ deserted his family and native home, and executed his *monastic* penance with original and intrepid fanaticism. After a long and painful novitiate among the tombs and in a ruined tower, he boldly advanced into the

Antony and
the monks of
Egypt.
A.D. 805.

Hist. des Ordres Monastiques, tom. i. p. 282-300), and the statue of Elijah the Carmelite has been elected in the Church of St. Peter (Voyages du P. Labat, tom. iii. p. 87).

* Plin Hist. Natur. v. 15. "Gens sola, et in toto orbe præter ceteras mira, sine ullâ feminâ, omni venere abdicatâ, sine pecuniâ, socia palmarum. Ita per seculum milia (incredibile dictu) gens æterna est in quâ nemo nascitur. Tam fecunda illis aliorum vitæ pœnitentia est." He places them just beyond the noxious influence of the lake, and names Engaddi and Masada as the nearest towns. The Laura and monastery of St. Sabas could not be far distant from this place. See Reland, Palestin. tom. i. p. 295; tom. ii. p. 763, 874, 880, 890.

† See Athanas. Op. tom. ii. p. 450-505 [tom. i. p. 793-866, edit. Bened. 1698], and the Vit. Patrum, p. 26-74, with Rosweyde's Annotations. The former is the Greek original; the latter a very ancient Latin version by Evagrius, the friend of St. Jerome.

* Ἐράμματα μὲν μάθην οὐκ ᾔπισχετο. Athanas. tom. ii. in Vit. St. Anton. p. 452 [p. 795, edit. Bened. 1698; cf. c. 72, p. 849], and the assertion of his total ignorance has been received by many of the ancients and moderns. But Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. vii. p. 666) shows, by some probable arguments, that Antony could read and write in the Coptic, his native tongue; and that he was only a stranger to the *Greek letters*. The philosopher Synesius (p. 51 [edit. Paris, 1612]) acknowledges that the natural genius of Antony did not require the aid of learning.

† "Arura autem erant ei tacentæ uberes, et valde optimæ" (Vit. Patr. l. v. [l. i.] p. 36). If the *arura* be a square measure of a hundred Egyptian cubits (Rosweyde, Monasticon ad Vit. Patrum, p. 1014, 1015 [p. 1009]), and the Egyptian cubit of all ages be equal to twenty-two English inches (Greaves, vol. 1. p. 233), the *arura* will consist of about three quarters of an English acre.

desert three days' journey to the eastward of the Nile; discovered a lonely spot, which possessed the advantages of shade and water, and fixed his last residence on Mount Colzim, near the Red Sea, where an ancient monastery still preserves the name and memory of the saint.¹⁰ The curious devotion of the Christians pursued him to the desert, and when he was obliged to appear at Alexandria in the face of mankind, he supported his fame with discretion and dignity. He enjoyed the friendship of Athanasius, whose doctrine he approved; and the Egyptian peasant respectfully declined a respectful invitation

from the Emperor Constantine. The venerable patriarch (for Antony attained the age of one hundred and five years) beheld the numerous progeny which had been

formed by his example and his lessons. The prolific colonies of monks multiplied with rapid increase on the sands of Libya, upon the rocks of Thebais, and in the cities of the Nile. To the south of Alexandria, the mountain and adjacent desert of Nitria was peopled by five thousand anchorets; and the traveller may still investigate the ruins of fifty monasteries which were planted in that barren soil by the disciples of Antony.¹¹ In the Upper Thebais, the vacant island of Tabenne¹² was occupied by Pachomius and fourteen hundred of his brethren. That holy abbot successively founded nine monasteries of men and one of women; and the festival of Easter sometimes collected fifty thousand religious persons who fol-

¹⁰ The description of the monastery is given by Jerome (tom. i. p. 248, 249, in Vit. Hilarion [tom. ii. p. 31, edit. Vallars.]), and the P. Sicard (*Missions du Levant*, tom. v. p. 122-200). Their accounts cannot always be reconciled: the father painted from his fancy, and the Jesuit from his experience.

¹¹ Jerome, tom. i. p. 146, ad Eustochium [Ep. 22, p. 119, edit. Vall.]; Hist. Lausiac. c. 7, in Vit. Patrum, p. 712 [p. 982]. The P. Sicard (*Missions du Levant*, tom. ii. p. 29-79) visited and has described this desert, which now contains four monasteries and twenty or thirty monks. See D'Anville, *Description de l'Égypte*, p. 74.

¹² Tabenne is a small island in the Nile, in the diocese of Tentyra, or Dendera, between the modern town of Girge and the ruins of ancient Thebes (D'Anville, p. 194). M. de Tillemont doubts whether it was an isle; but I may conclude from his own facts that the primitive name was afterwards transferred to the great monastery of Bau or Paban (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vii. p. 678, 688).

lowed his *angelic* rule of discipline." The stately and populous city of Oxyrinchus, the seat of Christian orthodoxy, had devoted the temples, the public edifices, and even the ramparts to pious and charitable uses; and the bishop, who might preach in twelve churches, computed ten thousand females and twenty thousand males of the monastic profession.¹³ The Egyptians, who gloried in this marvellous revolution, were disposed to hope, and to believe, that the number of the monks was equal to the remainder of the people;¹⁴ and posterity might repeat the saying which had formerly been applied to the sacred animals of the same country, that in Egypt it was less difficult to find a god than a man.

Athanasius introduced into Rome the knowledge and practice of the monastic life; and a school of this new philosophy was opened by the disciples of Antony, who accompanied their primate to the holy threshold of the Vatican. The strange and savage appearance of these Egyptians excited, at first, horror and contempt, and, at length, applause and zealous imitation. The senators, and more especially the matrons, transformed their palaces and villas into religious houses; and the narrow institution of *six* Vestals was eclipsed by the frequent monasteries, which were seated on the ruins of ancient temples, and in the midst of the Roman forum.¹⁵ Inflamed by the example of Antony, a Syrian youth, whose name was Hilarion,¹⁶ fixed his dreary abode on a sandy beach between

Propagation
of the monastic
life at
Rome.
A.D. 341.

Hilarion in
Palestine.
A.D. 328.

¹³ See in the Codex Regularum (published by Lucas Holstenius, Rome, 1661) a preface of St. Jerome to his Latin version of the Rule of Pachomius, tom. i. p. 61 [tom. i. p. 25, edit. Angsb. 1759].

¹⁴ Rufin. c. 5, in Vit. Patrum, p. 459. He calls it "*civitas ampla valde et populosa*," and reckons twelve churches. Strabo (l. xvii. p. 1106 [p. 812, edit. Casaub.]) and Ammianus (xxii. 16) have made honorable mention of Oxyrinchus, whose inhabitants adored a small fish in a magnificent temple.

¹⁵ *Quanti populi habentur in urbibus, tantæ pene habentur in desertis multitudines monachorum.*—Rufin. c. 7, in Vit. Patrum, p. 461. He congratulates the fortunate change.

¹⁶ The introduction of the monastic life into Rome and Italy is occasionally mentioned by Jerome, tom. i. p. 119, 120, 199.

¹⁷ See the Life of Hilarion, by St. Jerome (tom. i. p. 241, 252 [tom. ii. p. 15, 24,

the sea and a morass, about seven miles from Gaza. The austere penance, in which he persisted forty-eight years, diffused a similar enthusiasm; and the holy man was followed by a train of two or three thousand anchorets whenever he visited the innumerable monasteries of Palestine. The fame of Basil¹⁸ is immortal in the monastic history of the East. With a mind that had tasted the learning and eloquence of Athens, with an ambition scarcely to be satisfied by the archbishopric of Cæsarea, Basil retired to a savage solitude in Pontus, and deigned for a while to give laws to the spiritual colonies which he profusely scattered along the coast of the Black Sea. In the West, Martin of Tours,¹⁹ a soldier, a hermit, a bishop, and a saint, established the monasteries of Gaul; two thousand of his disciples followed him to the grave; and his eloquent historian challenges the deserts of Thebais to produce, in a more favorable climate, a champion of equal virtue. The progress of the monks was not less rapid or universal than that of Christianity itself. Every province, and at last every city, of the empire was filled with their increasing multitudes; and the bleak and barren isles from Lerins to Lipari, that arise out of the Tuscan Sea, were chosen by the anchorets for the place of their voluntary exile. An easy and perpetual intercourse by sea and land connected the provinces of the Roman world; and the life of Hilarion displays the facility with which an indigent hermit of Palestine might traverse Egypt, embark for Sicily, escape to Epirus, and finally settle in the island of

Basil in Pontus.
A.D. 360.

Martin in Gaul.
A.D. 370.

edit. Vall.] The stories of Paul, Hilarion, and Malchus, by the same author, are admirably told; and the only defect of these pleasing compositions is the want of truth and common-sense.

¹⁸ His original retreat was in a small village on the banks of the Iris, not far from Neo-Cæsarea. The ten or twelve years of his monastic life were disturbed by long and frequent avocations. Some critics have disputed the authenticity of his ascetic rules; but the external evidence is weighty, and they can only prove that it is the work of a real or affected enthusiast. See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. ix. p. 636-644; Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres Monastiques*, tom. i. p. 175-181.

¹⁹ See his *Life*, and the three Dialogues by Sulpicius Severus, who asserts (*Dialog.* i. 16) that the booksellers of Rome were delighted with the quick and ready sale of his popular work.

Cyprus.²⁰ The Latin Christians embraced the religious institutions of Rome. The pilgrims who visited Jerusalem eagerly copied, in the most distant climates of the earth, the faithful model of the monastic life. The disciples of Antony spread themselves beyond the tropic, over the Christian empire of Æthiopia.²¹ The monastery of Banchor,²² in Flintshire, which contained above two thousand brethren, dispersed a numerous colony among the barbarians of Ireland;²³ and Iona, one of the Hebrides, which was planted by the Irish monks, diffused over the northern regions a doubtful ray of science and superstition.²⁴

These unhappy exiles from social life were impelled by the dark and implacable genius of superstition. Their mutual resolution was supported by the example of millions, of either sex, of every age, and of every rank; and each proselyte who entered the gates of a monastery was persuaded that he trod the steep and thorny path of eternal happiness.²⁵ But the operation of these religious mo-

Causes of its
rapid prog-
ress.

²⁰ When Hilarion sailed from Parætonium to Cape Pachynus, he offered to pay his passage with a book of the Gospels. Posthumian, a Gallic monk, who had visited Egypt, found a merchant-ship bound from Alexandria to Marseilles, and performed the voyage in thirty days (Sulp. Sever. Dialog. i. 1). Athanasius, who addressed his Life of St. Antony to the foreign monks, was obliged to hasten the composition, that it might be ready for the sailing of the fleets (tom. ii. p. 451 [tom. i. p. 794, edit. Bened. 1698]).

²¹ See Jerome (tom. i. p. 126), Assemani, *Bibliot. Orient.* tom. iv. p. 92, p. 857-919, and Geddes, *Church History of Æthiopia*, p. 20, 30, 31. The Abyssinian monks adhere very strictly to the primitive institution.

²² Camden's *Britannia*, vol. i. p. 666, 667.

²³ All that learning can extract from the rubbish of the Dark Ages is copiously stated by Archbishop Usher in his *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, c. xvi. p. 425-503.

²⁴ This small though not barren spot, Iona, Ily, or Columbkil, only two miles in length and one mile in breadth, has been distinguished—1. By the monastery of St. Columba, founded A.D. 563, whose abbot exercised an extraordinary jurisdiction over the bishops of Caledonia; 2. By a *classic* library, which afforded some hopes of an entire Livy; and, 3. By the tombs of sixty kings, Scots, Irish, and Norwegians, who reposed in holy ground. See Usher (p. 311, 360-370) and Buchanan (*Rev. Scot.* i. ii. p. 15, edit. Ruddiman).

²⁵ Chrysostom (in the first tome of the Benedictine edition) has consecrated three books to the praise and defence of the monastic life. He is encouraged, by the ex-

tives was variously determined by the temper and situation of mankind. Reason might subdue, or passion might suspend, their influence; but they acted most forcibly on the infirm minds of children and females; they were strengthened by secret remorse or accidental misfortune; and they might derive some aid from the temporal considerations of vanity or interest. It was naturally supposed that the pious and humble monks, who had renounced the world to accomplish the work of their salvation, were the best qualified for the spiritual government of the Christians. The reluctant hermit was torn from his cell, and seated, amidst the acclamations of the people, on the episcopal throne: the monasteries of Egypt, of Gaul, and of the East supplied a regular succession of saints and bishops; and ambition soon discovered the secret road which led to the possession of wealth and honors.²⁶ The popular monks, whose reputation was connected with the fame and success of the order, assiduously labored to multiply the number of their fellow-captives. They insinuated themselves into noble and opulent families; and the specious arts of flattery and seduction were employed to secure those proselytes who might bestow wealth or dignity on the monastic profession. The indignant father bewailed the loss, perhaps, of an only son;²⁷ the credulous maid was betrayed by vanity to violate the laws of nature; and the matron aspired to inaginary perfection by renouncing the virtues of domestic life. Paula yielded to the persuasive eloquence of Jerome;²⁸ and the pro-

ample of the ark, to presume that none but the elect (the monks) can possibly be saved (l. i. p. 55, 56). Elsewhere, indeed, he becomes more merciful (l. iii. p. 83, 84), and allows different degrees of glory, like the sun, moon, and stars. In his lively comparison of a king and a monk (l. iii. p. 116-121), he supposes (what is hardly fair) that the king will be more sparingly rewarded and more rigorously punished.

²⁶ Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 1426-1469) and Mabillon (*Œuvres Posthumes*, tom. ii. p. 115-158). The monks were gradually adopted as a part of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

²⁷ Dr. Middleton (vol. i. p. 110) liberally censures the conduct and writings of Chrysostom, one of the most eloquent and successful advocates for the monastic life.

²⁸ Jerome's devout ladies form a very considerable portion of his works: the

fane title of mother-in-law of God²⁹ tempted that illustrious widow to consecrate the virginity of her daughter Eustochium. By the advice and in the company of her spiritual guide, Paula abandoned Rome and her infant son; retired to the holy village of Bethlehem; founded a hospital and four monasteries; and acquired, by her alms and penance, an eminent and conspicuous station in the Catholic Church. Such rare and illustrious penitents were celebrated as the glory and example of their age; but the monasteries were filled by a crowd of obscure and abject plebeians,³⁰ who gained in the cloister much more than they had sacrificed in the world. Peasants, slaves, and mechanics might escape from poverty and contempt to a safe and honorable profession, whose apparent hardships were mitigated by custom, by popular applause, and by the secret relaxation of discipline.³¹ The subjects of Rome, whose persons and fortunes were made responsible for unequal and exorbitant tributes, retired from the oppression of the imperial government; and the pusillanimous youth preferred the penance of a monastic to the dangers of a military life. The affrighted provincials of every rank, who fled before the barbarians, found shelter and subsistence; whole legions were buried in these religious sanctuaries; and the same

particular treatise, which he styles the Epitaph of Paula (tom. i. p. 169-192 [Ep. 108, tom. 1. p. 684, edit. Vallars.]), is an elaborate and extravagant panegyric. The exordium is ridiculously turgid: "If all the members of my body were changed into tongues, and if all my limbs resounded with a human voice, yet should I be incapable," etc.

²⁹ "Socius Dei esse cœpisti" (Jerom. tom. i. p. 140, ad Eustochium). Rufinus (in Hieronym. Op. tom. iv. p. 223), who was justly scandalized, asks his adversary from what pagan poet he had stolen an expression so impious and absurd.

³⁰ Nunc autem veniunt *plerumque* ad hanc professionem servitutis Dei, et ex conditione servi, vel etiam liberati, vel propter hoc a Dominis liberati sive liberandi; et ex vitâ rusticanâ, et ex opificum exercitatione, et plebeio labore.—Augustin. de Oper. Monach. c. 22, ap. Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. iii. p. 1094. The Egyptian, who blamed Arsenius, owned that he led a more comfortable life as a monk than as a shepherd. See Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. xiv. p. 679.

³¹ A Dominican friar (Voyages du P. Labat, tom. i. p. 10), who lodged at Cadix in a convent of his brethren, soon understood that their repose was never interrupted by nocturnal devotion, "quoiqu'on ne laisse pas de sonner pour l'édification du peuple."

cause which relieved the distress of individuals impaired the strength and fortitude of the empire."

The monastic profession of the ancients²² was an act of voluntary devotion. The inconstant fanatic was threatened with the eternal vengeance of the God whom he deserted; but the doors of the monastery were still open for repentance. Those monks whose conscience was fortified by reason or passion were at liberty to resume the character of men and citizens; and even the spouses of Christ might accept the legal embraces of an earthly lover.²³ The examples of scandal and the progress of superstition suggested the propriety of more forcible restraints. After a sufficient trial, the fidelity of the novice was secured by a solemn and perpetual vow; and his irrevocable engagement was ratified by the laws of the Church and State. A guilty fugitive was pursued, arrested, and restored to his perpetual prison; and the interposition of the magistrate oppressed the freedom and merit which had alleviated, in some degree, the abject slavery of the monastic discipline.²⁴ The actions of a monk, his words, and even his thoughts were determined by an inflexible rule²⁵ or a ca-

²² See a very sensible preface of Lucas Holstenius to the *Codex Regularum*. The emperors attempted to support the obligation of public and private duties; but the feeble dikes were swept away by the torrent of superstition; and Justinian surpassed the most sanguine wishes of the monks (Thomassin, tom. i. p. 1782-1799, and Bingham, l. vii. c. 3, p. 253).

²³ The monastic institutions, particularly those of Egypt, about the year 400, are described by four curious and devout travellers—Rufinus (*Vit. Patrum*, l. ii. iii. p. 424-536), Posthumian (*Sulp. Sever. Dialog. i.*), Palladius (*Hist. Lausiac. in Vit. Patrum*, p. 709-863 [788]), and Cassian (see in tom. vii. *Biblioth. Max. Patrum*, his four first books of *Institutes*, and the twenty-four *Collations* or *Conferences*).

²⁴ The example of Malchus (*Jerom. tom. i. 256* [tom. ii. p. 44, edit. Vallars.]), and the design of Cassian and his friend (*Collation xxiv. 1*), are incontestable proofs of their freedom, which is elegantly described by Erasmus in his life of St. Jerome. See Chardon, *Hist. des Sacrements*, tom. vi. p. 279-300.

²⁵ See the *Laws of Justinian* (*Novell. cxxiii. No. 42* [Auth. Coll. ix. tit. vii.]), and of Lewis the Pious (in the *Historians of France*, tom. vi. p. 427), and the actual jurisprudence of France, in Denissart (*Decisions*, etc., tom. iv. p. 855, etc.).

²⁶ The ancient *Codex Regularum*, collected by Benedict Anianinus, the reformer of the monks in the beginning of the ninth century, and published in the seventeenth by Lucas Holstenius, contains thirty different rules for men and women.

precious superior. The slightest offences were corrected by disgrace or confinement, extraordinary fasts, or bloody flagellation; and disobedience, murmur, or delay was ranked in the catalogue of the most heinous sins." A blind submission to the commands of the abbot, however absurd, or even criminal, they might seem, was the ruling principle, the first virtue of the Egyptian monks; and their patience was frequently exercised by the most extravagant trials. They were directed to remove an enormous rock; assiduously to water a barren staff that was planted in the ground, till, at the end of three years, it should vegetate and blossom like a tree; to walk into a fiery furnace; or to cast their infant into a deep pond; and several saints, or madmen, have been immortalized in monastic story by their thoughtless and fearless obedience." The freedom of the mind, the source of every generous and rational sentiment, was destroyed by the habits of credulity and submission; and the monk, contracting the vices of a slave, devoutly followed the faith and passions of his ecclesiastical tyrant. The peace of the Eastern Church was invaded by a swarm of fanatics, incapable of fear, or reason, or humanity; and the imperial troops acknowledged, without shame, that they were much less apprehensive of an encounter with the fiercest barbarians."

Of these, seven were composed in Egypt, one in the East, one in Cappadocia, one in Italy, one in Africa, four in Spain, eight in Gaul or France, and one in England.

³⁷ The rule of Columbanus, so prevalent in the West, inflicts one hundred lashes for very slight offences (Cod. Reg. part ii. p. 174 [tom. i. p. 178, edit. 1759]). Before the time of Charlemagne the abbots indulged themselves in mutilating their monks or putting out their eyes—a punishment much less cruel than the tremendous *vade in pace* (the subterranean dungeon or sepulchre), which was afterwards invented. See an admirable discourse of the learned Mabillon (*Œuvres Posthumes*, tom. ii. p. 321–336), who, on this occasion, seems to be inspired by the genius of humanity. For such an effort, I can forgive his defence of the holy tear of Vendôme (p. 361–399).

³⁸ Snlp Sever. Dialog. i. 12, 13, p. 532, etc. [edit. Lugd. B. 1647]; Cassian. Institut. l. iv. c. 26, 27. "*Præcipua ibi virtus et prima est obedientia.*" Among the *Verba Seniorum* (in *Vit. Patrum*, l. v. p. 617), the fourteenth libel or discourse is on the subject of obedience; and the Jesuit Rosweyde, who published that huge volume for the use of convents, has collected all the scattered passages in his two copious indexes.

³⁹ Dr. Jortin (*Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iv. p. 161) has observed

Superstition has often framed and consecrated the fantastic garments of the monks;⁴⁰ but their apparent singularity sometimes proceeds from their uniform attachment to a simple and primitive model which the revolutions of fashion have made ridiculous in the eyes of mankind. The father of the Benedictines expressly disclaims all idea of choice or merit; and soberly exhorts his disciples to adopt the coarse and convenient dress of the countries which they may inhabit.⁴¹ The monastic habits of the ancients varied with the climate and their mode of life; and they assumed, with the same indifference, the sheepskin of the Egyptian peasants or the cloak of the Grecian philosophers. They allowed themselves the use of linen in Egypt, where it was a cheap and domestic manufacture; but in the West they rejected such an expensive article of foreign luxury.⁴² It was the practice of the monks either to cut or shave their hair; they wrapped their heads in a cowl to escape the sight of profane objects; their legs and feet were naked, except in the extreme cold of winter; and their slow and feeble steps were supported by a long staff. The aspect of a genuine anchoret was horrid and disgusting; every sensation that is offensive to man was thought acceptable to God; and the angelic rule of Tabenne condemned the salutary custom of bathing the limbs in water and of anointing them with oil.⁴³ The

Their dress
and habita-
tions.

the scandalous valor of the Cappadocian monks, which was exemplified in the banishment of Chrysostom.

⁴⁰ Cassian has simply though copiously described the monastic habit of Egypt (Institut. l. i.), to which Sozomen (l. iii. c. 14) attributes such allegorical meaning and virtue.

⁴¹ Regul. Benedict. c. 55, 'in Cod. Regul. part ii. p. 51 [tom. i. p. 130, edit. Augsb. 1759].

⁴² See the Rule of Ferreolus, Bishop of Uzès (c. 31, in Cod. Regul. part ii. p. 136 [tom. i. p. 162]), and of Isidore, Bishop of Seville (c. 13, in Cod. Regul. part ii. p. 214 [tom. i. p. 193]).

⁴³ Some partial indulgences were granted for the hands and feet. "Totum autem corpus nemo unguet nisi causâ infirmitatis, nec lavabitur aquâ nudo corpore, nisi languor perspicuus sit" (Regul. Pachom. xcii. part i. p. 78 [tom. i. p. 31]).

^a Athanasius (Vit. Ant. c. 47) boasts of Antony's holy horror of clean water, by which his feet were uncontaminated, except under dire necessity.—M.

austere monks slept on the ground, on a hard mat, or a rough blanket; and the same bundle of palm-leaves served them as a seat in the day and a pillow in the night. Their original cells were low narrow huts, built of the slightest materials; which formed, by the regular distribution of the streets, a large and populous village, enclosing within the common wall a church, a hospital, perhaps a library, some necessary offices, a garden, and a fountain or reservoir of fresh water. Thirty or forty brethren composed a family of separate discipline and diet; and the great monasteries of Egypt consisted of thirty or forty families.

Pleasure and guilt are synonymous terms in the language of the monks, and they had discovered by experience that rigid fasts and abstemious diet are the most effect-
 Their diet. ual preservatives against the impure desires of the flesh." The rules of abstinence which they imposed or practised were not uniform or perpetual. The cheerful festival of the Pentecost was balanced by the extraordinary mortification of Lent; the fervor of new monasteries was insensibly relaxed; and the voracious appetite of the Gauls could not imitate the patient and temperate virtue of the Egyptians." The disciples of Antony and Pachomius were satisfied with their daily pittance^a of twelve ounces of bread, or rather bis-

^a St. Jerome, in strong but indiscreet language, expresses the most important use of fasting and abstinence: "Non quod Deus universitatis Creator et Dominus, intestinorum nostrorum rugitū, et inanitate ventris, pulmonisque ardore delectatur, sed quod aliter pudicitia tuta esse non possit" (Op. tom. i. p. 187, ad Eustochium [Ep. 22, tom. i. p. 94, edit. Vallara.]). See the twelfth and twenty-second Collations of CASSIAN, De Castitate and De Illusionibus Nocturnis.

^a "Edacitas in Græcis gula est, in Gallis natura" (Dialog. i. c. 4, p. 521). Cassian fairly owns that the perfect model of abstinence cannot be imitated in Gaul, on account of the "aerum temperies" and the "qualitas nostræ fragilitatis" (Institut. iv. 11). Among the Western rules that of Columbanus is the most austere. He had been educated amidst the poverty of Ireland,^a as rigid, perhaps, and inflexible as the abstemious virtue of Egypt. The rule of Isidore of Seville is the mildest. On holidays he allows the use of flesh.

^a "Those who drink only water, and have no nutritious liquor, ought at least

^a St. Columban was educated in the monastery of Bangor (Benchoria), of which there were several, and it is uncertain whether in Wales, Scotland, or Ireland. Cod. Reg. i. 169. Order. Vitalis calls him an Irishman.—S.

cuit," which they divided into two frugal repasts, of the afternoon and of the evening. It was esteemed a merit, and almost a duty, to abstain from the boiled vegetables which were provided for the refectory; but the extraordinary bounty of the abbot sometimes indulged them with the luxury of cheese, fruit, salad, and the small dried fish of the Nile.⁴⁷ A more ample latitude of sea and river fish was gradually allowed or assumed; but the use of flesh was long confined to the sick or travellers; and when it gradually prevailed in the less rigid monasteries of Europe, a singular distinction was introduced; as if birds, whether wild or domestic, had been less profane than the grosser animals of the field. Water was the pure and innocent beverage of the primitive monks; and the founder of the Benedictines regrets the daily portion of half a pint of wine, which had been extorted from him by the intemperance of the age.⁴⁸ Such an allowance might be easily supplied by the vineyards of Italy; and his victorious disciples who passed the Alps, the Rhine, and the Baltic required, in the place of wine, an adequate compensation of strong beer or cider.

The candidate who aspired to the virtue of evangelical poverty abjured, at his first entrance into a regular community, the idea, and even the name, of all separate or exclusive possession.⁴⁹ The brethren were supported

Their manual labor.

to have a pound and a half (*twenty-four ounces*) of bread every day." *State of Prisons*, p. 40, by Mr. Howard.

⁴⁷ See Cassian. Collat. ii. 19, 20, 21. The small loaves or biscuit of six ounces each had obtained the name of *Paximacia* (Rosweyde, *Onomasticon*, p. 1046 [1038]). Pachomius, however, allowed his monks some latitude in the quantity of their food; but he made them work in proportion as they ate (*Pallad. in Hist. Lausiaca*. c. 38, 39, in *Vit. Patrum*, l. viii. p. 786, 737).

⁴⁸ See the banquet to which Cassian (*Collation viii. 1*) was invited by Serenus, an Egyptian abbot.

⁴⁹ See the Rule of St. Benedict, c. 39, 40 (in *Cod. Reg.* part ii. p. 41, 42 [tom. i. p. 129, edit. 1759]). "*Licet legamus vinum omnino monachorum non esse, sed quia nostris temporibus id monachis persuaderi non potest.*" He allows them a Roman *hemina*, a measure which may be ascertained from Arbutnot's Tables.

⁵⁰ Such expressions as *my book, my cloak, my shoes* (*Cassian. Institut. l. iv. c. 18*) were not less severely prohibited among the Western monks (*Cod. Regul. part ii. p. 174* [tom. i. p. 178, 235, 288]; and the Rule of Columbanus punished them

by their manual labor; and the duty of labor was strenuously recommended as a penance, as an exercise, and as the most laudable means of securing their daily subsistence.⁶¹ The garden and fields, which the industry of the monks had often rescued from the forest or the morass, were diligently cultivated by their hands. They performed without reluctance the menial offices of slaves and domestics; and the several trades that were necessary to provide their habits, their utensils, and their lodging were exercised within the precincts of the great monasteries. The monastic studies have tended, for the most part, to darken rather than to dispel the cloud of superstition. Yet the curiosity or zeal of some learned solitaries has cultivated the ecclesiastical and even the profane sciences; and posterity must gratefully acknowledge that the monuments of Greek and Roman literature have been preserved and multiplied by their indefatigable pens.⁶² But the more humble industry of the monks, especially in Egypt, was contented with the silent, sedentary occupation of making wooden sandals, or of twisting the leaves of the palm-tree into mats and baskets. The superfluous stock which was not consumed in domestic use supplied, by trade, the wants of the community. The boats of Tabenne and the other monasteries of Thebais descended the Nile as far as Alexandria; and, in a Christian market, the sanctity of the workmen might enhance the intrinsic value of the work.

But the necessity of manual labor was insensibly superseded.

with six lashes. The ironical author of the *Ordres Monastiques*, who laughs at the foolish nicety of modern convents, seems ignorant that the ancients were equally absurd.

⁶¹ Two great masters of ecclesiastical science, the P. Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. iii. p. 1090-1139) and the P. Mabillon (*Études Monastiques*, tom. i. p. 116-155), have seriously examined the manual labor of the monks, which the former considers as a *merit*, and the latter as a *duty*.

⁶² Mabillon (*Études Monastiques*, tom. i. p. 47-55) has collected many curious facts to justify the literary labors of his predecessors both in the East and West. Books were copied in the ancient monasteries of Egypt (*Cassian. Institut.* l. iv. c. 12), and by the disciples of St. Martin (*Sulp. Sever. in Vit. Martin.* c. 7, p. 473). Cassiodorus has allowed an ample scope for the studies of the monks; and we shall not be scandalized if their pen sometimes wandered from Chrysostom and Augustine to Homer and Virgil.

The novice was tempted to bestow his fortune on the saints in whose society he was resolved to spend the remainder of his life; and the pernicious indulgence of the laws permitted him to receive, for their use, any future accessions of legacy or inheritance." Melania contributed her plate (three hundred pounds' weight of silver), and Paula contracted an immense debt, for the relief of their favorite monks, who kindly imparted the merits of their prayers and penance to a rich and liberal sinner.⁴³ Time continually increased, and accidents could seldom diminish, the estates of the popular monasteries, which spread over the adjacent country and cities; and, in the first century of their institution, the infidel Zosimus has maliciously observed that, for the benefit of the poor, the Christian monks had reduced a great part of mankind to a state of beggary.⁴⁴ As long as they maintained their original fervor, they approved themselves, however, the faithful and benevolent stewards of the charity which was intrusted to their care. But their discipline was corrupted by prosperity. They gradually assumed the pride of wealth, and at last indulged the luxury of expense. Their public luxury might be excused by the magnificence of religious worship, and the decent motive of erecting durable habitations for an immortal society. But every age of the Church has accused the licentiousness of the degenerate monks, who no longer remembered the object of their institution, embraced the vain and sensual pleasures of the world which they had renounced,⁴⁵ and scan-

⁴³ Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. iii. p. 118, 145, 146, 171-179) has examined the revolution of the civil, canon, and common law. Modern France confirms the death which monks have inflicted on themselves, and justly deprives them of all right of inheritance.

⁴⁴ See Jerome (tom. i. p. 176, 188). The monk Pambo made a sublime answer to Melania, who wished to specify the value of her gift: "Do you offer it to me or to God? If to God, he who suspends the mountains in a balance need not be informed of the weight of your plate." (*Pallad. Hist. Lausiac. c. 10*, in the *Vit. Patrum*, l. viii. p. 715.)

⁴⁵ Τὸ πολὺ μέρος τῆς γῆς ὠκειώσαντο, προφάσει τοῦ μεταδιδόναι πάντων πτωχοῖς, πάντας (ὡς εἶπέν) πτωχοὺς καταστήσαντες.—Zosim. l. v. [c. 23] p. 325. Yet the wealth of the Eastern monks was far surpassed by the princely greatness of the Benedictines.

⁴⁶ The sixth general council (the Quinisext in Trullo, Canon xlvii. in Beveridge,

dalously abused the riches which had been acquired by the austere virtues of their founders." Their natural descent, from such painful and dangerous virtue, to the common vices of humanity, will not, perhaps, excite much grief or indignation in the mind of a philosopher.

The lives of the primitive monks were consumed in penance and solitude, undisturbed by the various occupations which fill the time and exercise the faculties of reasonable, active, and social beings. Whenever they were permitted to step beyond the precincts of the monastery, two jealous companions were the mutual guards and spies of each other's actions; and, after their return, they were condemned to forget, or at least to suppress, whatever they had seen or heard in the world. Strangers who professed the orthodox faith were hospitably entertained in a separate apartment; but their dangerous conversation was restricted to some chosen elders of approved discretion and fidelity. Except in their presence, the monastic slave might not receive the visits of his friends or kindred; and it was deemed highly meritorious if he afflicted a tender sister or an aged parent by the obstinate refusal of a word or look.⁸⁷ The monks themselves passed their lives, without personal attachments, among a crowd which had been formed by accident, and was detained in the same prison by force or prejudice. Recluse fanatics have few ideas or sentiments to communicate; a special license of the abbot regulated the time and duration of their familiar visits; and, at their silent meals, they were enveloped in their cowls, inaccessible,

tom. i. p. 213) restrains women from passing the night in a male, or men in a female, monastery. The seventh general council (the second Nicene, Canon xx. in Beveridge, tom. i. p. 325) prohibits the erection of double or promiscuous monasteries of both sexes; but it appears from Balsamon that the prohibition was not effectual. On the irregular pleasures and expenses of the clergy and *monks*, see Thomassin, tom. iii. p. 1834-1868.

⁸⁷ I have somewhere heard or read the frank confession of a Benedictine abbot: "My vow of poverty has given me a hundred thousand crowns a year; my vow of obedience has raised me to the rank of a sovereign prince." I forget the consequences of his vow of chastity.

⁸⁸ Pior, an Egyptian monk, allowed his sister to see him; but he shut his eyes during the whole visit. See Vit. Patrum, l. iii. p. 504. Many such examples might be added.

and almost invisible, to each other."⁸⁸ Study is the resource of solitude; but education had not prepared and qualified for any liberal studies the mechanics and peasants who filled the monastic communities. They might work; but the vanity of spiritual perfection was tempted to disdain the exercise of manual labor; and the industry must be faint and languid which is not excited by the sense of personal interest.

According to their faith and zeal, they might employ the day, which they passed in their cells, either in vocal or mental prayer; they assembled in the evening, and they were awakened in the night, for the public worship of the monastery. The precise moment was determined by the stars, which are seldom clouded in the serene sky of Egypt; and a rustic horn or trumpet, the signal of devotion, twice interrupted the vast silence of the desert."⁸⁹ Even sleep, the last refuge of the unhappy, was rigorously measured; the vacant hours of the monk heavily rolled along, without business or pleasure; and, before the close of each day, he had repeatedly accused the tedious progress of the sun."⁹⁰ In this comfortless state, superstition still pursued and tormented her wretched votaries."⁹¹ The repose which they had sought in the cloister was disturbed by tardy repentance, profane doubts, and guilty desires; and, while they considered each natural impulse as an unpardonable sin, they perpetually trembled on the edge of a flaming and bottomless abyss. From the painful struggles of disease and despair, these unhappy victims were some-

⁸⁸ The 7th, 8th, 29th, 30th, 31st, 34th, 57th, 60th, 86th, and 95th articles of the Rule of Pachomius impose most intolerable *laws* of silence and mortification.

⁸⁹ The diurnal and nocturnal prayers of the monks are copiously discussed by Cassian, in the third and fourth books of his *Institutions*; and he constantly professes the liturgy which an angel had dictated to the monasteries of Tabenne.

⁹⁰ Cassian, from his own experience, describes the *acedia*, or listlessness of mind and body, to which a monk was exposed when he sighed to find himself alone. "*Sæpiusque egreditur et ingreditur cellam, et solem velut ad occasum tardius properantem ciebrus intuetur*" (*Institut. x. 2*).

⁹¹ The temptations and sufferings of Stagirus were communicated by that unfortunate youth to his friend St. Chrysostom. See Middleton's *Works*, vol. i. p. 107-110. Something similar introduces the life of every saint; and the famous Inigo, or Ignatius, the founder of the *Jesuits* (*Vida de Inigo de Guipuscoa*, tom. i. p. 29-38) may serve as a memorable example.

times relieved by madness or death; and in the sixth century a hospital was founded at Jerusalem for a small portion of the austere penitents who were deprived of their senses.⁶⁶ Their visions, before they attained this extreme and acknowledged term of frenzy, have afforded ample materials of supernatural history. It was their firm persuasion that the air which they breathed was peopled with invisible enemies—with innumerable demons, who watched every occasion, and assumed every form, to terrify, and above all to tempt, their unguarded virtue. The imagination, and even the senses, were deceived by the illusions of distempered fanaticism; and the hermit, whose midnight prayer was oppressed by involuntary slumber, might easily confound the phantoms of horror or delight which had occupied his sleeping and his waking dreams.⁶⁷

The monks were divided into two classes—the *Cœnobites*, who lived under a common and regular discipline; and the *Anchorets*, who indulged their unsocial, independent fanaticism.⁶⁸ The most devout or the most ambitious of the spiritual brethren renounced the convent as they had renounced the world. The fervent monasteries of Egypt, Palestine, and Syria were surrounded by a *laura*,⁶⁹ a distant circle of solitary cells; and the extravagant penance of the hermits was stimulated by applause and emu-

The cœnobites and anchorets.

⁶⁶ Fleury, *Hist. Ecclésiastique*, tom. vii. p. 46. I have read somewhere in the *Vitæ Patrum*, but I cannot recover the place, that *several*, I believe *many*, of the monks who did not reveal their temptations to the abbot became guilty of suicide.

⁶⁷ See the seventh and eighth Collations of Cassian, who gravely examines why he demons were grown less active and numerous since the time of St. Antony. Bosweyde's copious index to the *Vitæ Patrum* will point out a variety of infernal censures. The devils were most formidable in a female shape.

⁶⁸ For the distinction of the *cœnobites* and the *hermits*, especially in Egypt, see Jerome (tom. i. p. 45, ad Rusticum [Ep. 125, tom. i. p. 932, edit. Vallars.]), the first Dialogue of Sulpicius Severus, Rufinus (c. 22, in *Vit. Patrum*, l. ii. p. 478), Palladius (c. 7, 69, in *Vit. Patrum*, l. viii. p. 712, 758), and, above all, the eighteenth and nineteenth Collations of Cassian. These writers, who compare the common and solitary life, reveal the abuse and danger of the latter.

⁶⁹ Suicer. *Thesaur. Ecclesiast.* tom. ii. p. 205, 218. Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 1501, 1502) gives a good account of these cells. When Gerasimus founded his monastery in the wilderness of Jordan, it was accompanied by a *laura* of seventy cells.

lation." They sank under the painful weight of crosses and chains; and their emaciated limbs were confined by collars, bracelets, gauntlets, and greaves of massy and rigid iron. All superfluous encumbrance of dress they contemptuously cast away; and some savage saints of both sexes have been admired, whose naked bodies were only covered by their long hair. They aspired to reduce themselves to the rude and miserable state in which the human brute is scarcely distinguished above his kindred animals; and the numerous sect of anchorites derived their name from their humble practice of grazing in the fields of Mesopotamia with the common herd." They often usurped the den of some wild beast which they affected to resemble; they buried themselves in some gloomy cavern which art or nature had scooped out of the rock; and the marble quarries of Thebais are still inscribed with the monuments of their penance." The most perfect hermits are supposed to have passed many days without food, many nights without sleep, and many years without speaking; and glorious was the *man* (I abuse that name) who contrived any cell or seat of a peculiar construction which might expose him, in the most inconvenient posture, to the inclemency of the seasons.

Among these heroes of the monastic life, the name and genius of Simeon Stylites⁹⁷ have been immortalized by the singular invention of an aerial penance. At the age of thirteen the young Syrian deserted the profession of a shepherd, and threw himself into an austere monastery. After a long and painful novitiate, in which

Simeon Stylites.
A.D. 896-451.

⁹⁷ Theodoret, in a large volume (the Philotheus in Vit. Patrum, l. ix. p. 793-863) has collected the lives and miracles of thirty anchorites. Evagrius (l. i. c. 21) more briefly celebrates the monks and hermits of Palestine.

⁹⁸ Sozomen, l. vi. c. 38. The great St. Ephrem composed a panegyric on these *βοσκoi*, or grazing monks (Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. viii. p. 292).

⁹⁹ The P. Sicard (Missions du Levant, tom. ii. p. 217-238) examined the caverns of the Lower Thebais with wonder and devotion. The inscriptions are in the old Syriac character, which was used by the Christians of Abyssinia.

¹⁰⁰ See Theodoret (in Vit. Patrum, l. ix. p. 848-854), Antony (in Vit. Patrum, l. i. p. 170-177), Cosmas (in Asseman. Bibliot. Oriental. tom. i. p. 239-253), Evagrius (l. i. c. 13, 14), and Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. xv. p. 347-392).

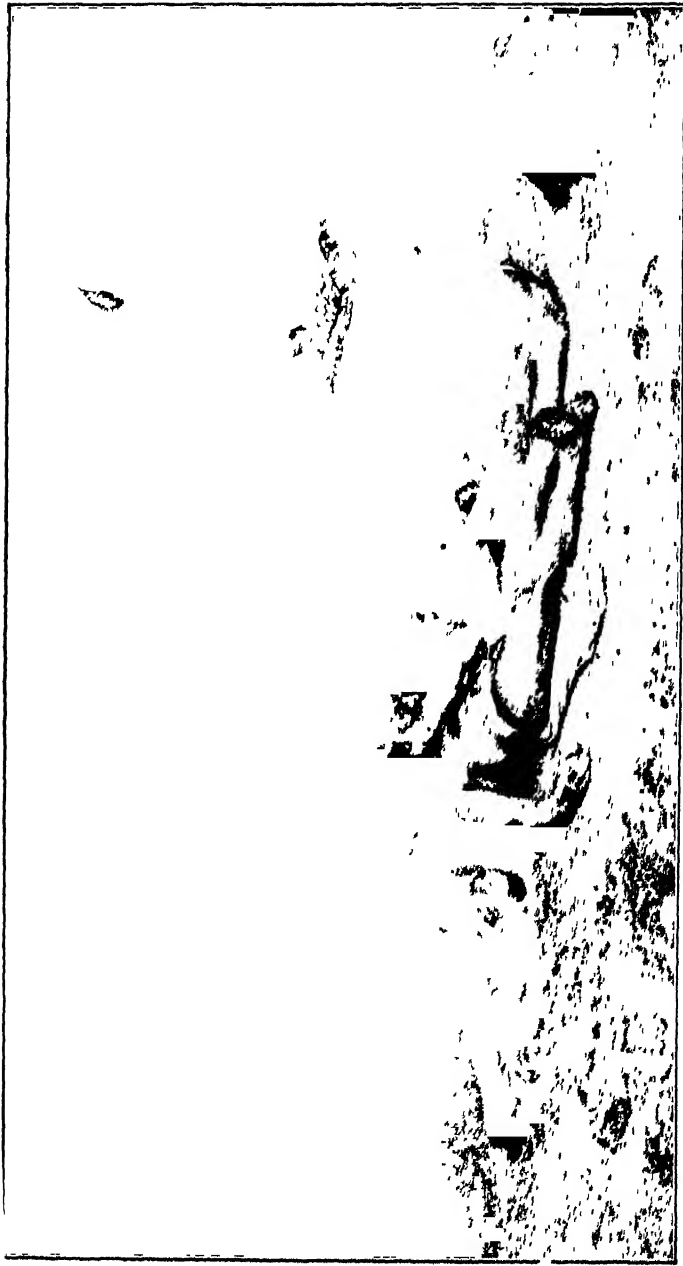
Simeon was repeatedly saved from pious suicide, he established his residence on a mountain, about thirty or forty miles to the east of Antioch. Within the space of a *mandra*, or circle of stones, to which he had attached himself by a ponderous chain, he ascended a column, which was successively raised from the height of nine to that of sixty feet from the ground.⁷¹ In this last and lofty station, the Syrian anchoret resisted the heat of thirty summers and the cold of as many winters. Habit and exercise instructed him to maintain his dangerous situation without fear or giddiness, and successively to assume the different postures of devotion. He sometimes prayed in an erect attitude, with his outstretched arms in the figure of a cross; but his most familiar practice was that of bending his meagre skeleton from the forehead to the feet; and a curious spectator, after numbering twelve hundred and forty-four repetitions, at length desisted from the endless account. The progress of an ulcer in his thigh⁷² might shorten, but it could not disturb, this *celestial* life; and the patient hermit expired without descending from his column. A prince who should capriciously inflict such tortures would be deemed a tyrant; but it would surpass the power of a tyrant to impose a long and miserable existence on the reluctant victims of his cruelty. This voluntary martyrdom must have gradually destroyed the sensibility both of the mind and body; nor can it be presumed that the fanatics who torment themselves are susceptible of any lively affection for the rest of mankind. A cruel, unfeeling temper has distinguished the monks of every age and country; their stern indifference, which is seldom mollified by personal friendship, is inflamed by religious hatred; and their merciless zeal has strenuously administered the holy office of the Inquisition.

⁷¹ The narrow circumference of two cubits, or three feet, which Evagrius assigns for the summit of the column is inconsistent with reason, with facts, and with the rules of architecture. The people who saw it from below might be easily deceived.

⁷² I must not conceal a piece of ancient scandal concerning the origin of this ulcer. It has been reported that the Devil, assuming an angelic form, invited him to ascend, like Elijah, into a fiery chariot. The saint too hastily raised his foot, and Satan seized the moment of inflicting this chastisement on his vanity.

The monastic saints, who excite only the contempt and pity of a philosopher, were respected and almost adored by the prince and people. Successive crowds of pilgrims from Gaul and India saluted the divine pillar of Simoon; the tribes of Saracens disputed in arms the honor of his benediction; the queens of Arabia and Persia gratefully confessed his supernatural virtue; and the angelic hermit was consulted by the younger Theodosius in the most important concerns of the Church and State. His remains were transported from the mountain of Telenissa, by a solemn procession of the patriarch, the Master-general of the East, six bishops, twenty-one counts or tribunes, and six thousand soldiers; and Antioch revered his bones as her glorious ornament and impregnable defence. The fame of the apostles and martyrs was gradually eclipsed by these recent and popular anchorets; the Christian world fell prostrate before their shrines; and the miracles ascribed to their relics exceeded, at least in number and duration, the spiritual exploits of their lives. But the golden legend of their lives¹³ was embellished by the artful credulity of their interested brethren; and a believing age was easily persuaded that the slightest caprice of an Egyptian or a Syrian monk had been sufficient to interrupt the eternal laws of the universe. The favorites of Heaven were accustomed to cure inveterate diseases with a touch, a word, or a distant message; and to expel the most obstinate demons from the souls or bodies which they possessed. They familiarly accosted, or imperiously commanded, the lions and serpents of the desert; infused vegetation into a sapless trunk; suspended iron on the surface of the water; passed the Nile on the back of a crocodile; and refreshed themselves in a fiery furnace. These extravagant tales, which display the fiction, without the genius, of poetry, have seriously affected the rea-

¹³ I know not how to select or specify the miracles contained in the *Vita Patrum* of Rosweyde, as the number very much exceeds the thousand pages of that voluminous work. An elegant specimen may be found in the *Dialogues* of Sulpicius Severus and his *Life* of St. Martin. He reveres the monks of Egypt; yet he insults them with the remark that *they* never raised the dead; whereas the Bishop of Tours had restored *three* dead men to life.



A CHRISTIAN ANCHORITE IN HIS CAVE
in the marble quarries of the Thabaria

son, the faith, and the morals of the Christians. Their credulity debased and vitiated the faculties of the mind; ^{Superstition of the age.} they corrupted the evidence of history; and superstition gradually extinguished the hostile light of philosophy and science. Every mode of religious worship which had been practised by the saints, every mysterious doctrine which they believed, was fortified by the sanction of divine revelation, and all the manly virtues were oppressed by the servile and pusillanimous reign of the monks. If it be possible to measure the interval between the philosophic writings of Cicero and the sacred legend of Theodoret, between the character of Cato and that of Simeon, we may appreciate the memorable revolution which was accomplished in the Roman empire within a period of five hundred years.

II. The progress of Christianity has been marked by two glorious and decisive victories—over the learned and luxurious citizens of the Roman empire; and over the warlike barbarians of Scythia and Germany, who subverted the empire and embraced the religion of the Romans. ^{II. CONVERSION OF THE BARBARIANS.} The Goths were the foremost of these savage proselytes; and the nation was indebted for its conversion to a countryman, or at least to a subject, worthy to be ranked among the inventors of useful arts who have deserved the remembrance and gratitude of posterity. A great number of Roman provincials had been led away into captivity by the Gothic bands who ravaged Asia in the time of Gallienus; and of these captives many were Christians, and several belonged to the ecclesiastical order. Those involuntary missionaries, dispersed as slaves in the villages of Dacia, successively labored for the salvation of their masters. The seeds which they planted of the evangelic doctrine were gradually propagated; and before the end of a century the pious work was achieved by the labors of Ulphilas, whose ancestors had been transported beyond the Danube from a small town of Cappadocia.*

* This is the statement of Philostorgius; but it is very suspicious, since Philostorgius was both a Cappadocian and an Arian, and may therefore have been naturally anxious to make Ulphilas a countryman. See Aschbach, *Geschichte der Westgothen*, p. 81.—S.

Ulphilas, the Bishop and Apostle of the Goth^s,^a acquired their love and reverence by his blameless life and indefatigable zeal, and they received with implicit confidence the doctrines of truth and virtue which he preached and practised. He executed the arduous task of translating the Scriptures into their native tongue, a dialect of the German or Teutonic language; but he prudently suppressed the four books of Kings, as they might tend to irritate the fierce and sanguinary spirit of the barbarians. The rude, imperfect idiom of soldiers and shepherds, so ill qualified to communicate any spiritual ideas, was improved and modulated by his genius; and Ulphilas, before he could frame his version, was obliged to compose a new alphabet of twenty-four letters,^a four of which he invented to express the peculiar sounds that were unknown to the Greek and Latin pronunciation.^b But

Ulphilas,
Apostle of
the Goth^s.
A.D. 380, etc.

^a On the subject of Ulphilas and the conversion of the Goth^s, see Sozomen. l. vi. c. 37; Socrates, l. iv. c. 33; Theodoret, l. iv. c. 37; Philostorg. l. ii. c. 5. The heresy of Philostorgius appears to have given him superior means of information.

^b A mutilated copy of the four Gospels in the Gothic version was published A.D. 1665, and is esteemed the most ancient monument of the Teutonic language, though Wetstein attempts, by some frivolous conjectures, to deprive Ulphilas of the honor of the work. Two of the four additional letters express the *W* and our own *T*. See Simon, *Hist. Critique du Nouveau Testament*, tom. ii. p. 219-228. Mill. *Prolegom.* p. 151, edit. Kuster. Wetstein, *Prolegom.* tom. i. p. 114.^b

^a This is the Mæso-Gothic alphabet, of which many of the letters are evidently formed from the Greek and Roman. M. St. Martin, however, contends that it is impossible but that some written alphabet must have been known long before among the Goth^s. He supposes that their former letters were those inscribed on the runes, which, being inseparably connected with the old idolatrous superstitions, were proscribed by the Christian missionaries. Everywhere the runes, so common among all the German tribes, disappear after the propagation of Christianity. St. Martin, iv. p. 97, 98.—M.

^b This manuscript, called the Codex Argenteus, found in the sixteenth century at Werden, in Westphalia, and now preserved at Upsal, contains rather more than half of the four Gospels. In 1762 Knettel discovered and published from a palimpsest MS. four chapters of the Epistle to the Romans; they were reprinted at Upsal, 1768. M. Mai has since that time discovered further fragments, and other remains of Mæso-Gothic literature, from a palimpsest at Milan. See Ulphilas *Partium Ineditarum in Ambrosianis Palimpsestis ab Ang. Maio Reportarum Specimen*, Milan, 4to, 1819.—M. and S.

Though there can be little doubt that Ulphilas made such a version, it is considered by many critics extremely doubtful whether it is contained in the MS. at Upsal, or even whether the language of that MS. is genuine Old Gothic. It is maintained that it is a century and a half later than the time of Ulphilas. See Aschbach, *Gesch. der Westgothen*, p. 35 seq.—S.

the prosperous state of the Gothic Church was soon afflicted by war and intestine discord, and the chieftains were divided by religion as well as by interest. Fritigern, the friend of the Romans, became the proselyte of Ulphilas; while the haughty soul of Athanaric disdained the yoke of the empire and of the Gospel. The faith of the new converts was tried by the persecution which he excited. A wagon, bearing aloft the shapeless image of Thor, perhaps, or of Woden, was conducted in solemn procession through the streets of the camp, and the rebels who refused to worship the god of their fathers were immediately burned with their tents and families. The character of Ulphilas recommended him to the esteem of the Eastern court, where he twice appeared as the minister of peace; he pleaded the cause of the distressed Goths, who implored the protection of Valens; and the name of *Moses* was applied to this spiritual guide, who conducted his people through the deep waters of the Danube to the Land of Promise." The devout shepherds, who were attached to his person and tractable to his voice, acquiesced in their settlement at the foot of the Mæsan mountains, in a country of woodlands and pastures, which supported their flocks and herds, and enabled them to purchase the corn and wine of the more plentiful provinces. These harmless barbarians multiplied in obscure peace and the profession of Christianity."

Their fiercer brethren, the formidable Visigoths, universally adopted the religion of the Romans, with whom they maintained a perpetual intercourse of war, of friendship, or of conquest. In their long and victorious march from the Danube to the Atlantic Ocean they converted their allies; they educated the rising generation; and the devotion which reigned in the camp of Alaric or the court of Toulouse might edify or disgrace the palaces of

The Goths,
Vandals, Bur-
gundians,
etc., embrace
Christianity.
A.D. 400, etc.

¹⁶ Philostorgius erroneously places this passage under the reign of Constantine; but I am much inclined to believe that it preceded the great emigration.

¹⁷ We are obliged to Jornandes (de Reb. Get. c. 51, p. 688) for a short and lively picture of these lesser Goths. "Gothi minores, populus immensus, cum suo Pontifice ipsoque primata Wulfila." The last words, if they are not mere tautology, imply some temporal jurisdiction.

Rome and Constantinople." During the same period, Christianity was embraced by almost all the barbarians who established their kingdoms on the ruins of the Western empire—the Burgundians in Gaul, the Suevi in Spain, the Vandals in Africa, the Ostrogoths in Pannonia, and the various bands of mercenaries that raised Odoacer to the throne of Italy. The Franks and the Saxons still persevered in the errors of paganism; but the Franks obtained the monarchy of Gaul by their submission to the example of Clovis; and the Saxon conquerors of Britain were reclaimed from their savage superstition by the missionaries of Rome. These barbarian proselytes displayed an ardent and successful zeal in the propagation of the faith. The Merovingian kings and their successors, Charlemagne and the Othos, extended by their laws and victories the dominion of the cross. England produced the apostle of Germany; and the evangelic light was gradually diffused from the neighborhood of the Rhine to the nations of the Elbe, the Vistula, and the Baltic."

The different motives which influenced the reason or the passions of the barbarian converts cannot easily be ascertained.

Motives of their faith. They were often capricious and accidental: a dream, an omen, the report of a miracle, the example of some priest or hero, the charms of a believing wife, and, above all, the fortunate event of a prayer or vow which in a moment of danger they had addressed to the God of the Christians.⁷⁸ The early prejudices of education were insensibly erased by the habits of frequent and familiar society; the moral precepts of the Gospel were protected by the extravagant virtues of the monks; and a spiritual theology was supported by the visible power of relics and the pomp of religious worship.

⁷⁸ At non ita Gothi non ita Vandali; malis licet doctoribus instituti, meliores tamen etiam in hac parte quam nostri.—Salvian de Gubern. Dei, l. vii. p. 213 [edit. Par. 1608].

⁷⁹ Mosheim has slightly sketched the progress of Christianity in the North, from the fourth to the fourteenth century. The subject would afford materials for an ecclesiastical, and even philosophical, history.

⁸⁰ To such a cause has Socrates (l. vii. c. 30) ascribed the conversion of the Burgundians, whose Christian piety is celebrated by Orosius (l. vii. c. 19 [82]).

But the rational and ingenious mode of persuasion which a Saxon bishop⁶¹ suggested to a popular saint might sometimes be employed by the missionaries who labored for the conversion of infidels. "Admit," says the sagacious disputant, "whatever they are pleased to assert of the fabulous and carnal genealogy of their gods and goddesses, who are propagated from each other. From this principle deduce their imperfect nature and human infirmities, the assurance that they were *born*, and the probability that they will *die*. At what time, by what means, from what cause, were the eldest of the gods or goddesses produced? Do they still continue, or have they ceased, to propagate? If they have ceased, summon your antagonist to declare the reason of this strange alteration. If they still continue, the number of the gods must become infinite; and shall we not risk, by the indiscreet worship of some impotent deity, to excite the resentment of his jealous superior? The visible heavens and earth, the whole system of the universe which may be conceived by the mind, is it created or eternal? If created, how or where could the gods themselves exist before the creation? If eternal, how could they assume the empire of an independent and pre-existing world? Urge these arguments with temper and moderation; insinuate, at seasonable intervals, the truth and beauty of the Christian revelation; and endeavor to make the unbelievers ashamed without making them angry." This metaphysical reasoning, too refined perhaps for the barbarians of Germany, was fortified by the grosser weight of authority and popular consent. The advantage of temporal prosperity had deserted the pagan cause and passed over to the service of Christianity. The Romans themselves, the most powerful and enlightened nation of the globe, had renounced their ancient superstition; and if the ruin of their empire seemed to accuse the efficacy of the new faith, the disgrace was already retrieved by the conversion of the victorious Goths. The valiant and fortunate bar-

⁶¹ See an original and curious epistle from Daniel, the first bishop of Winchester (Beda, *II. Hist. Eccles. Anglorum*, l. v. c. 18, p. 208, edit. Smith), to St. Boniface, who preached the Gospel among the savages of Hesse and Thuringia. *Epist. Bonifacii*, lxvii. in the *Maxima Bibliotheca Patrum*, tom. xiii. p. 98.

barbarians who subdued the provinces of the West successively received and reflected the same edifying example. Before the age of Charlemagne, the Christian nations of Europe might exult in the exclusive possession of the temperate climates, of the fertile lands which produced corn, wine, and oil; while the savage idolaters and their helpless idols were confined to the extremities of the earth, the dark and frozen regions of the North.⁸²

Christianity, which opened the gates of heaven to the barbarians, introduced an important change in their moral and political condition. They received at the same time the use of letters, so essential to a religion whose doctrines are contained in a sacred book; and while they studied the divine truth, their minds were insensibly enlarged by the distant view of history, of nature, of the arts, and of society. The version of the Scriptures into their native tongue, which had facilitated their conversion, must excite among their clergy some curiosity to read the original text, to understand the sacred liturgy of the Church, and to examine, in the writings of the fathers, the chain of ecclesiastical tradition. These spiritual gifts were preserved in the Greek and Latin languages, which concealed the inestimable monuments of ancient learning. The immortal productions of Virgil, Cicero, and Livy, which were accessible to the Christian barbarians, maintained a silent intercourse between the reign of Augustus and the times of Clovis and Charlemagne. The emulation of mankind was encouraged by the remembrance of a more perfect state; and the flame of science was secretly kept alive to warm and enlighten the mature age of the Western world. In the most corrupt state of Christianity the barbarians might learn justice from the *law*, and mercy from the *Gospel*; and if the knowledge of their duty was insufficient to guide their actions or to regulate their passions, they were sometimes restrained by conscience, and frequent-

⁸² The sword of Charlemagne added weight to the argument; but when Daniel wrote this epistle (A.D. 728), the Mahometans, who reigned from India to Spain, might have retorted it against the Christians.

ly punished by remorse. But the direct authority of religion was less effectual than the holy communion, which united them with their Christian brethren in spiritual friendship. The influence of these sentiments contributed to secure their fidelity in the service or the alliance of the Romans, to alleviate the horrors of war, to moderate the insolence of conquest, and to preserve, in the downfall of the empire, a permanent respect for the name and institutions of Rome. In the days of paganism the priests of Gaul and Germany reigned over the people and controlled the jurisdiction of the magistrates; and the zealous proselytes transferred an equal, or more ample, measure of devout obedience to the pontiffs of the Christian faith. The sacred character of the bishops was supported by their temporal possessions; they obtained an honorable seat in the legislative assemblies of soldiers and freemen; and it was their interest as well as their duty to mollify by peaceful counsels the fierce spirit of the barbarians. The perpetual correspondence of the Latin clergy, the frequent pilgrimages to Rome and Jerusalem, and the growing authority of the popes cemented the union of the Christian republic, and gradually produced the similar manners and common jurisprudence which have distinguished from the rest of mankind the independent, and even hostile, nations of modern Europe.

But the operation of these causes was checked and retarded by the unfortunate accident which infused a deadly poison into the cup of Salvation. Whatever might be the early sentiments of Ulphilas, his connections with the empire and the Church were formed during the reign of Arianism. The apostle of the Goths subscribed the creed of Rimini; professed with freedom, and perhaps with sincerity, that the Son was not equal or consubstantial to the FATHER;²² communicated these errors to the clergy and peo-

They are involved in the Arian heresy.

²² The opinions of Ulphilas and the Goths inclined to semi-Arianism, since they would not say that the Son was a *creature*, though they held communion with those who maintained that heresy. Their apostle represented the whole controversy as a question of trifling moment which had been raised by the passions of the clergy. Theodoret, l. iv. c. 37.

ple; and infected the barbaric world with a heresy⁴⁴ which the great Theodosius proscribed and extinguished among the Romans. The temper and understanding of the new proselytes were not adapted to metaphysical subtleties; but they strenuously maintained what they had piously received as the pure and genuine doctrines of Christianity. The advantage of preaching and expounding the Scriptures in the Teutonic language promoted the apostolic labors of Ulphilas and his successors; and they ordained a competent number of bishops and presbyters for the instruction of the kindred tribes. The Ostrogoths, the Burgundians, the Suevi, and the Vandals, who had listened to the eloquence of the Latin clergy,⁴⁵ preferred the more intelligible lessons of their domestic teachers; and Arianism was adopted as the national faith of the warlike converts who were seated on the ruins of the Western empire. This irreconcilable difference of religion was a perpetual source of jealousy and hatred; and the reproach of *Barbarian* was embittered by the more odious epithet of *Hæretic*. The heroes of the North, who had submitted with some reluctance to believe that all their ancestors were in hell,⁴⁶ were astonished and exasperated to learn that they themselves had only changed the mode of their eternal condemnation. Instead of the smooth applause which Christian kings are accustomed to expect from their loyal prelates, the orthodox bishops and their clergy were in a state of opposition to the Arian courts; and their indiscreet opposition frequently became criminal, and might sometimes be dangerous.⁴⁷ The pulpit—

⁴⁴ The Arianism of the Goths has been imputed to the Emperor Valens: "Itaque justo Dei judicio ipsi eum vivum incenderunt, qui propter eum etiam mortui, vitio erroris arsurus sunt."—Orosius, l. vii. c. 83, p. 554. This cruel sentence is confirmed by Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vi. p. 604-610), who coolly observes, "un seul homme entraîne dans l'enfer un nombre infini de Septentrionaux," etc. Salvian (*de Gubern. Dei*, l. v. p. 150, 151) pities and excuses their involuntary error.

⁴⁵ Orosius affirms, in the year 416 (l. vii. c. 41, p. 580), that the churches of Christ (of the Catholics) were filled with Huns, Suevi, Vandals, Burgundians.

⁴⁶ Radbod, King of the Frisians, was so much scandalized by this rash declaration of a missionary that he drew back his foot after he had entered the baptismal font. See Fleury, *Hist. Ecclés.* tom. ix. p. 167.

⁴⁷ The epistles of Sidonius, Bishop of Clermont under the Visigoths, and of

the Africans, who had fled before him in the field, still presumed to dispute his will in synods and churches; and his ferocious mind was incapable of fear or of compassion. His Catholic subjects were oppressed by intolerant laws and arbitrary punishments. The language of Genseric was furious and formidable; the knowledge of his intentions might justify the most unfavorable interpretation of his actions; and the Arians were reproached with the frequent executions which stained the palace and the dominions of the tyrant. Arms and ambition were, however, the ruling passions of the mon-

Huneric.
A.D. 477. arch of the sea. But Huneric, his inglorious son, who seemed to inherit only his vices, tormented the

Catholics with the same unrelenting fury which had been fatal to his brother, his nephews, and the friends and favorites of his father; and even to the Arian patriarch, who was inhumanly burned alive in the midst of Carthage. The religious war was preceded and prepared by an insidious truce; persecution was made the serious and important business of the Vandal Court; and the loathsome disease which hastened the death of Huneric revenged the injuries, without contributing to the deliverance, of the Church. The throne of Africa

Gundamund.
A.D. 484. was successively filled by the two nephews of Huneric—by Gundamund, who reigned about twelve,

and by Thrasimund, who governed the nation above twenty-seven, years. Their administration was hostile and oppressive to the orthodox party. Gundamund appeared to emulate, or even to surpass, the cruelty of his uncle; and if at length he relented, if he recalled the bishops and restored the freedom of Athanasian worship, a premature death intercepted the benefits of his tardy clemency. His brother Thrasimund

Thrasimund.
A.D. 496. was the greatest and most accomplished of the Vandal kings, whom he excelled in beauty, prudence, and magnanimity of soul. But this magnanimous character was degraded by his intolerant zeal and deceitful clemency. Instead of threats and tortures, he employed the gentle but efficacious powers of seduction. Wealth, dignity, and the royal favor were the liberal rewards of apostasy. The Catholics who had violated the laws might purchase their pardon by the renun-

ciation of their faith; and whenever Thrasimund meditated any rigorous measure, he patiently waited till the indiscretion of his adversaries furnished him with a specious opportunity. Bigotry was his last sentiment in the hour of death; and he exacted from his successor a solemn oath that he would never

tolerate the sectaries of Athanasius. But his successor, Hilderic, the gentle son of the savage Hunneric, preferred the duties of humanity and justice to the vain obligation of an impious oath; and his accession was gloriously marked by the restoration of peace and universal freedom.

The throne of that virtuous though feeble monarch was usurped by his cousin Gelimer, a zealous Arian; but the Vandal kingdom, before he could enjoy or abuse his power, was subverted by the arms of Belisarius; and the orthodox party retaliated the injuries which they had endured."

The passionate declamations of the Catholics, the sole historians of this persecution, cannot afford any distinct series of

causes and events, any impartial view of characters or counsels; but the most remarkable circumstances that deserve either credit or notice may be referred

to the following heads: I. In the original law, which is still extant,⁹⁰ Hunneric expressly declares—and the declaration appears to be correct—that he had faithfully transcribed the regulations and penalties of the imperial edicts against the heretical congregations, the clergy and the people, who dissented from the established religion. If the rights of conscience had been understood, the Catholics must have condemned their

A general
view of the
persecution
in Africa.

⁹⁰ The original monuments of the Vandal persecution are preserved in the five books of the history of Victor Vitensis (*de Persecutione Vandalicâ*), a bishop who was exiled by Hunneric; in the Life of St. Fulgentius, who was distinguished in the persecution of Thrasimund (in *Biblioth. Max. Patrum*, tom. ix. p. 4-16); and in the first book of the Vandalic War by the impartial Procopius (c. 7, 8, p. 196, 197, 198, 199 [edit. Paris; tom. i. p. 344 seq. edit. Bonn]). Dom Ruinart, the last editor of Victor, has illustrated the whole subject with a copious and learned apparatus of notes and supplement (Paris, 1694).

⁹¹ Victor, iv. 2, p. 65. Hunneric refuses the name of Catholics to the *Homoousians*. He describes as the "*veri Divinæ Majestatis cultores*" his own party, who professed the faith confirmed by more than a thousand bishops in the synods of Rimini and Seleucia.

past conduct, or acquiesced in their actual sufferings. But they still persisted to refuse the indulgence which they claimed. While they trembled under the lash of persecution, they praised the *laudable* severity of Hunneric himself, who burned or banished great numbers of Manichæans;²² and they rejected with horror the ignominious compromise that the disciples of Arius and of Athanasius should enjoy a reciprocal and similar toleration in the territories of the Romans and in those of the Vandals.²³ II. The practice of a conference, which the Catholics had so frequently used to insult and punish their obstinate antagonists, was retorted against themselves.²⁴ At the command of Hunneric, four hundred and sixty-six orthodox bishops assembled at Carthage; but when they were admitted into the hall of audience, they had the mortification of beholding the Arian Cyrila exalted on the patriarchal throne. The disputants were separated, after the mutual and ordinary reproaches of noise and silence, of delay and precipitation, of military force and of popular clamor. One martyr and one confessor were selected among the Catholic bishops; twenty-eight escaped by flight, and eighty-eight by conformity; forty-six were sent into Corsica to cut timber for the royal navy; and three hundred and two were banished to the different parts of Africa, exposed to the insults of their enemies, and carefully deprived of all the temporal and spiritual comforts of life.²⁵ The hardships of ten years' exile must have reduced their numbers; and if they had complied with the law of

²² Victor, ii. 1, p. 21, 22, "*Laudabilior . . . videbatur.*" In the MSS. which omit this word the passage is unintelligible. See Ruinart, Not. p. 161.

²³ Victor, ii. 2, p. 22, 23 [21, 22]. The clergy of Carthage called these conditions *periculosæ*; and they seem, indeed, to have been proposed as a snare to entrap the Catholic bishops.

²⁴ See the narrative of this conference and the treatment of the bishops in Victor, ii. 13-18, p. 35-42, and the whole fourth book, p. 63-71. The third book, p. 42-62, is entirely filled by their apology or confession of faith.

²⁵ See the list of the African bishops, in Victor, p. 117-140, and Ruinart's notes, p. 215-397. The schismatic name of *Donatus* frequently occurs, and they appear to have adopted (like our fanatics of the last age) the pious appellations of *Deodatus*, *Deogratias*, *Quidvultdeus*, *Uabetdeum*, etc.^a

^a These names appear to have been introduced by the Donatists.—M.

Thrasimund, which prohibited any episcopal consecrations, the orthodox Church of Africa must have expired with the lives of its actual members. They disobeyed; and their disobedience was punished by a second exile of two hundred and twenty bishops into Sardinia, where they languished fifteen years, till the accession of the gracious Hilderic." The two islands were judiciously chosen by the malice of their Arian tyrants. Seneca, from his own experience, has deplored and exaggerated the miserable state of Corsica," and the plenty of Sardinia was overbalanced by the unwholesome quality of the air." III. The zeal of Genseric and his successors for the conversion of the Catholics must have rendered them still more jealous to guard the purity of the Vandal faith. Before the churches were finally shut, it was a crime to appear in a barbarian dress; and those who presumed to neglect the royal mandate were rudely dragged backwards by their long hair." The palatine officers who refused to profess the religion of their prince were ignominiously stripped of their honors and employments, banished to Sardinia and Sicily, or condemned to the servile labors of slaves and peasants in the fields of Utica. In the districts which had been peculiarly allotted to the Vandals, the exercise of the Catholic worship was more strictly prohibited; and severe penalties were denounced against the guilt both of the missionary and the proselyte. By these arts the faith of the barbarians was preserved, and

⁶⁶ Fulgent. Vit. c. 16-29. Thrasimund affected the praise of moderation and learning; and Fulgentius addressed three books of controversy to the Arian tyrant, whom he styles *piissime Rex*. Biblioth. Maxim. Patrum, tom. ix. p. 41. Only sixty bishops are mentioned as exiles in the Life of Fulgentius; they are increased to one hundred and twenty by Victor Tunnunensis and Isidore; but the number of two hundred and twenty is specified in the *Historica Miscella* and a short authentic chronicle of the times. See Ruinart, p. 570, 571.

⁶⁷ See the base and insipid epigrams of the Stoic, who could not support exile with more fortitude than Ovid. Corsica might not produce corn, wine, or oil; but it could not be destitute of grass, water, and even fire.

⁶⁸ Si ob gravitatem cœli interissent, *vile damnum*.—Tacit. Annal. ii. 85. In this application Thrasimund would have adopted the reading of some critics, "*utile damnum*."

⁶⁹ See these preludes of a *general* persecution in Victor, ii. c. 3, 4, 7, and the two edicts of Hunneric, l. ii. p. 35, l. iv. p. 64.

their zeal was inflamed. They discharged with devout fury the office of spies, informers, or executioners; and whenever their cavalry took the field, it was the favorite amusement of the march to defile the churches and to insult the clergy of the adverse faction.¹⁰⁰ IV. The citizens who had been educated in the luxury of the Roman province were delivered, with exquisite cruelty, to the Moors of the desert. A venerable train of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, with a faithful crowd of four thousand and ninety-six persons, whose guilt is not precisely ascertained, were torn from their native homes by the command of Hunneric. During the night they were confined, like a herd of cattle, amidst their own ordure: during the day they pursued their march over the burning sands; and if they fainted under the heat and fatigue, they were goaded or dragged along till they expired in the hands of their tormentors.¹⁰¹ These unhappy exiles, when they reached the Moorish huts, might excite the compassion of a people whose native humanity was neither improved by reason nor corrupted by fanaticism; but if they escaped the dangers, they were condemned to share the distress, of a savage life. V. It is incumbent on the authors of persecution previously to reflect whether they are determined to support it in the last extreme. They excite the flame which they strive to extinguish; and it soon becomes necessary to chastise the contumacy as well as the crime of the offender. The fine which he is unable or unwilling to discharge exposes his person to the severity of the law; and his contempt of lighter penalties suggests the use and propriety of capital punishment. Through the veil of fiction and declamation we may clearly perceive that the Catholics, more especially under the reign of Hunneric, endured the most cruel and ignominious treatment.¹⁰² Respectable cit-

¹⁰⁰ See Procopius de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 7 [c. 8], p. 197, 198 [tom. i. p. 341 seq. edit. Bonn]. A Moorish prince endeavored to propitiate the God of the Christians by his diligence to erase the marks of the Vandal sacrilege.

¹⁰¹ See this story in Victor, ii. 8-12, p. 30-34. Victor describes the distress of these confessors as an eye-witness.

¹⁰² See the fifth book of Victor. His passionate complaints are confirmed by the sober testimony of Procopius and the public declaration of the Emperor Julian. Cod. l. i. tit. xxvii.

izens, noble matrons, and consecrated virgins were stripped naked and raised in the air by pulleys, with a weight suspended at their feet. In this painful attitude, their naked bodies were torn with scourges, or burned in the most tender parts with red-hot plates of iron. The amputation of the ears, the nose, the tongue, and the right hand was inflicted by the Arians; and although the precise number cannot be defined, it is evident that many persons, among whom a bishop¹⁰³ and a proconsul¹⁰⁴ may be named, were entitled to the crown of martyrdom. The same honor has been ascribed to the memory of Count Sebastian, who professed the Nicene creed with unshaken constancy; and Genseric might detest as a heretic the brave and ambitious fugitive whom he dreaded as a rival.¹⁰⁵

VI. A new mode of conversion, which might subdue the feeble and alarm the timorous, was employed by the Arian ministers. They imposed, by fraud or violence, the rites of baptism; and punished the apostasy of the Catholics if they disclaimed this odious and profane ceremony, which scandalously violated the freedom of the will and the unity of the sacrament.¹⁰⁶ The hostile sects had formerly allowed the validity of each other's baptism; and the innovation, so fiercely maintained by the Vandals, can be imputed only to the example and advice of the Donatists.

VII. The Arian clergy surpassed in religious cruelty the king and his Vandals; but they were incapable of cultivating the spiritual vineyard which they were so desirous to possess. A patriarch¹⁰⁷ might seat himself on the throne of Carthage; some bishops, in the principal cities, might usurp the place of their rivals; but the smallness of

¹⁰³ Victor, ii. 18, p. 41.

¹⁰⁴ Victor, v. 4, p. 74, 75. His name was Victorianus, and he was a wealthy citizen of Adrumetum, who enjoyed the confidence of the king, by whose favor he had obtained the office, or at least the title, of Proconsul of Africa.

¹⁰⁵ Victor, i. 6, p. 8, 9. After relating the firm resistance and dexterous reply of Count Sebastian, he adds, "quare alio [alius] generis argumento postea bellicum virum occidit."

¹⁰⁶ Victor, v. 12, 13. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. vi. p. 609.

¹⁰⁷ *Primate* was more properly the title of the Bishop of Carthage; but the name of *patriarch* was given by the sects and nations to their principal ecclesiastic. See Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 155, 158.

their numbers, and their ignorance of the Latin language,¹⁰⁸ disqualified the barbarians for the ecclesiastical ministry of a great Church; and the Africans, after the loss of their orthodox pastors, were deprived of the public exercise of Christianity. VIII. The emperors were the natural protectors of the Homoousian doctrine; and the faithful people of Africa, both as Romans and as Catholics, preferred their lawful sovereignty to the usurpation of the barbarous heretics. During an interval of peace and friendship Hunneric restored the cathedral of Carthage, at the intercession of Zeno, who reigned in the East, and of Placidia, the daughter and relict of emperors and the sister of the Queen of the Vandals.¹⁰⁹ But this decent regard was of short duration; and the haughty tyrant displayed his contempt for the religion of the empire by studiously arranging the bloody images of persecution in all the principal streets through which the Roman ambassador must pass in his way to the palace.¹¹⁰ An oath was required from the bishops who were assembled at Carthage that they would support the succession of his son Hilderic, and that they would renounce all foreign or *transmarine* correspondence. This engagement, consistent, as it should seem, with their moral and religious duties, was refused by the more sagacious members¹¹¹ of the assembly. Their refusal, faintly colored by the pretence that it is unlawful for a Christian to swear, must provoke the suspicions of a jealous tyrant.

The Catholics, oppressed by royal and military force, were

¹⁰⁸ The patriarch Cyrila himself publicly declared that he did not understand Latin (Victor, ii. 18, p. 42)—“*Nescio Latine*”—and he might converse with tolerable ease, without being capable of disputing or preaching in that language. His Vandal clergy were still more ignorant; and small confidence could be placed in the Africans who had conformed.

¹⁰⁹ Victor, ii. 1, 2, p. 22.

¹¹⁰ Victor, v. 7, p. 77. He appeals to the ambassador himself, whose name was Uranius.

¹¹¹ *Astutiores*, Victor, iv. 4, p. 70. He plainly intimates that their quotation of the Gospel, “*Non jurabitis in toto*,” was only meant to elude the obligation of an inconvenient oath. The forty-six bishops who refused were banished to Corsica; the three hundred and two who swore were distributed through the provinces of Africa.

far superior to their adversaries in numbers and learning.

Catholic
frauds, With the same weapons which the Greek¹¹³ and Latin fathers had already provided for the Arian controversy, they repeatedly silenced or vanquished the fierce and illiterate successors of Ulphilas. The consciousness of their own superiority might have raised them above the arts and passions of religious warfare. Yet, instead of assuming such honorable pride, the orthodox theologians were tempted, by the assurance of impunity, to compose fictions which must be stigmatized with the epithets of fraud and forgery. They ascribed their own polemical works to the most venerable names of Christian antiquity; the characters of Athanasius and Augustine were awkwardly personated by Vigilius and his disciples;¹¹⁴ and the famous creed which so clearly expounds the mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation is deduced, with strong probability, from this African school.¹¹⁵ Even the Scriptures themselves were profaned by their rash and sacrilegious hands. The memorable text which asserts the unity of the THREE who bear witness in heaven¹¹⁶ is condemned by

¹¹³ Fulgentius, Bishop of Ruspe, in the Byzacene province, was of a senatorial family and had received a liberal education. He could repeat all Homer and Menander before he was allowed to study Latin, his native tongue (Vit. Fulgent. c. 1). Many African bishops might understand Greek, and many Greek theologians were translated into Latin.

¹¹⁴ Compare the two prefaces to the Dialogue of Vigilius of Thapsus (p. 118, 119, edit. Chifflet). He might amuse his learned reader with an innocent fiction; but the subject was too grave, and the Africans were too ignorant.

¹¹⁵ The P. Quesnel started this opinion, which has been favorably received. But the three following truths, however surprising they may seem, are now universally acknowledged (Gerard Vossius, tom. vi. p. 516-522; Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. viii. p. 667-671). 1. St. Athanasius is not the author of the creed which is so frequently read in our churches. 2. It does not appear to have existed within a century after his death. 3. It was originally composed in the Latin tongue, and, consequently, in the Western provinces. Gennadius, Patriarch of Constantinople, was so much amazed by this extraordinary composition that he frankly pronounced it to be the work of a drunken man. Petav. Dogmat. Theologica, tom. ii. l. vii. c. 8, p. 687.

¹¹⁶ 1 John v. 7. See Simon, Hist. Critique du Nouveau Testament, part i. ch. xviii. p. 208-218; and part ii. ch. ix. p. 99-121; and the elaborate Prolegomena and Annotations of Dr. Mill and Wurstwein to their editions of the Greek Testament. In 1689, the Papist Simon strove to be free; in 1707, the Protestant Mill wished

the universal silence of the orthodox fathers, ancient versions, and authentic manuscripts."¹¹⁶ It was first alleged by the Catholic bishops whom Hunneric summoned to the conference of Carthage.¹¹⁷ An allegorical interpretation, in the form perhaps of a marginal note, invaded the text of the Latin Bibles which were renewed and corrected in a dark period of ten centuries.¹¹⁸ After the invention of printing,¹¹⁹ the editors of the Greek Testament yielded to their own prejudices, or those of the times;¹²⁰ and the pious fraud, which was embraced with equal zeal at Rome and at Geneva, has been infinitely multiplied in every country and every language of modern Europe.

to be a slave; in 1751, the Arminian Wetstein used the liberty of his times and of his sect.^a

¹¹⁶ Of *all* the MSS. now extant, above fourscore in number, some of which are more than 1200 years old (Wetstein *ad loc.*). The *orthodox* copies of the Vatican, of the Complutensian editors, of Robert Stephens, are become invisible; and the two MSS. of Dublin and Berlin are unworthy to form an exception. See Emlyn's Works, vol. ii. p. 227-255, 269-299; and M. de Missy's four ingenious letters, in tom. viii. and ix. of the Journal Britannique.

¹¹⁷ Or, more properly, by the *four* bishops who composed and published the profession of faith in the name of their brethren. They styled this text "*luce clarius*" (Victor Vitensis de Persecut. Vandal. l. iii. c. 11, p. 54). It is quoted soon afterwards by the African polemic "Vigilius and Fulgentius."

¹¹⁸ In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Bibles were corrected by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, and by Nicolas, Cardinal and Librarian of the Roman Church, "*secundum orthodoxam fidem*" (Wetstein, Prolegom. p. 84, 85). Notwithstanding these corrections, the passage is still wanting in twenty-five Latin MSS. (Wetstein *ad loc.*), the oldest and the fairest—two qualities seldom united, except in manuscripts.

¹¹⁹ The art which the Germans had invented was applied in Italy to the profane writers of Rome and Greece. The original Greek of the New Testament was published about the same time (A.D. 1514, 1516, 1520) by the industry of Erasmus and the munificence of Cardinal Ximenes. The Complutensian Polyglot cost the cardinal 50,000 ducats. See Mattaire, *Annal. Typograph.* tom. ii. p. 2-8, 125-133; and Wetstein, *Prolegomena*, p. 116-127.

¹²⁰ The three witnesses have been established in our Greek Testaments by the prudence of Erasmus, the honest bigotry of the Complutensian editors, the typographical fraud or error of Robert Stephens in the placing a crotchet, and the deliberate falsehood or strange misapprehension of Theodore Beza.

^a This controversy has continued to be agitated, but with declining interest, even in the more religious part of the community, and may now be considered to have terminated in an almost general acquiescence of the learned in the conclusions of Porson in his Letters to Travis. See the pamphlets of the late Bishop of Salisbury and of Crito Cantabrigiensis (Dr. Turton, of Cambridge).—M.

The example of fraud must excite suspicion ; and the specious miracles by which the African Catholics have defended the truth and justice of their cause may be ascribed and miracles. with more reason to their own industry than to the visible protection of Heaven. Yet the historian who views this religious conflict with an impartial eye may condescend to mention *one* preternatural event, which will edify the devout and surprise the incredulous. Tipasa,¹²¹ a maritime colony of Mauritania, sixteen miles to the east of Cæsarea, had been distinguished in every age by the orthodox zeal of its inhabitants. They had braved the fury of the Donatists ;¹²² they resisted or eluded the tyranny of the Arians. The town was deserted on the approach of an heretical bishop ; most of the inhabitants who could procure ships passed over to the coast of Spain ; and the unhappy remnant, refusing all communion with the usurper, still presumed to hold their pious but illegal assemblies. Their disobedience exasperated the cruelty of Hunneric. A military count was despatched from Carthage to Tipasa ; he collected the Catholics in the Forum, and, in the presence of the whole province, deprived the guilty of their right hands and their tongues. But the holy confessors continued to speak without tongues ; and this miracle is attested by Victor, an African bishop, who published a history of the persecution within two years after the event.¹²³ “ If any one,” says Victor, “ should doubt of the truth, let him repair to Constantinople, and listen to the clear and perfect language of Restitutus, the subdeacon, one of these glorious sufferers, who is now lodged in the palace of the Emperor Zeno, and is respected by the devout empress.” At Constantinople we are astonished to find a cool, a learned, and unexceptionable witness, without interest and without passion. Æneas of Gaza, a Platonic philosopher, has accurately described his own observations on these African

¹²¹ Plin. Hist. Natural. v. 1 ; Itinerar. Wesseling, p. 15 ; Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii. part ii. p. 127. This Tipasa (which must not be confounded with another in Numidia) was a town of some note, since Vespasian endowed it with the right of Latium.

¹²² Optatus Milevitanus de Schism. Donatist. l. ii. p. 38.

¹²³ Victor Vitenensis, v. 6, p. 76. Ruinart, p. 483-487.

sufferers. "I saw them myself; I heard them speak. I diligently inquired by what means such an articulate voice could be formed without any organ of speech: I used my eyes to examine the report of my ears. I opened their mouth, and saw that the whole tongue had been completely torn away by the roots—an operation which the physicians generally suppose to be mortal."¹²⁴ The testimony of Æneas of Gaza might be confirmed by the superfluous evidence of the Emperor Justinian, in a perpetual edict; of Count Marcellinus, in his Chronicle of the times; and of Pope Gregory the First, who had resided at Constantinople as the minister of the Roman pontiff.¹²⁵ They all lived within the compass of a century; and they all appeal to their personal knowledge or the public notoriety for the truth of a miracle which was repeated in several instances, displayed on the greatest theatre of the world, and submitted, during a series of years, to the calm examination of the senses. This supernatural gift of the African confessors, who spoke without tongues, will command the assent of those, and of those only, who already believe that their language was pure and orthodox. But the stubborn mind of an infidel is guarded by secret, incurable suspicion; and the Arian or Socinian, who has seriously rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, will not be shaken by the most plausible evidence of an Athanasian miracle.*

¹²⁴ Æneas Gazæus in Theophrasto, in Biblioth. Patrum, tom. viii. p. 664, 665. He was a Christian, and composed this Dialogue (the Theophrastus) on the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body; besides twenty-five Epistles, still extant. See Cave (Hist. Litteraria, p. 208) and Fabricius (Biblioth. Græc. tom. i. p. 422).

¹²⁵ Justinian. Codex, l. i. tit. xxvii. [leg. 1]; Marcellin. in Chron. p. 45, in Thesaur. Temporum Scalger; Procopius de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 8, p. 196 [edit. Par.; tom. i. p. 345, edit. Bonn]; Gregor. Magnus, Dialog. iii. 32. None of these witnesses have specified the number of the confessors, which is fixed at sixty in an old menology (apud Ruinart, p. 486). Two of them lost their speech by fornication; but the miracle is enhanced by the singular instance of a boy who had never spoken before his tongue was cut out.

* The evidence seems conclusive that the African confessors possessed the power of speech after their tongues had been amputated; but Mr. Twisleton, in his exhaustive monograph, *The Tongue not Essential to Speech* (London, 1878), has shown that the fact need not be regarded as miraculous, and has brought forward

The ruin of
Arianism
among the
barbarians.
A.D. 500-700.

The Vandals and the Ostrogoths persevered in the profession of Arianism till the final ruin of the kingdoms which they had founded in Africa and Italy. The barbarians of Gaul submitted to the orthodox dominion of the Franks; and Spain was restored to the Catholic Church by the voluntary conversion of the Visigoths.

This salutary revolution¹²⁶ was hastened by the example of a royal martyr, whom our calmer reason may style an ungrateful rebel. Leovigild, the Gothic monarch of Spain, deserved the respect of his enemies and the love of his subjects; the Catholics enjoyed a free toleration, and his Arian synods attempted, without much success, to reconcile their scruples by abolishing the unpopular rite of a *second* baptism. His eldest son, Hermenegild, who was invested by his father with the royal diadem and the fair principality of Bætica, contracted an honorable and orthodox alliance with a Merovingian princess, the daughter of Sigebert, King of Austrasia, and of the famous Brunichild. The beautiful Ingundis, who was no more than thirteen years of age, was received, beloved, and persecuted in the Arian court of Toledo; and her religious constancy was alternately assaulted with blandishments and violence by Goisvintha, the Gothic Queen, who abused the double claim of maternal authority.¹²⁷

Incensed by her resistance, Goisvintha seized the Catholic princess by her long hair, inhumanly dashed her against the ground, kicked her till she was covered with blood, and at last

¹²⁶ See the two general historians of Spain, Mariana (*Hist. de Rebus Hispaniæ*, tom. i. l. v. c. 12-15, p. 182-194) and Ferreras (French translation, tom. ii. p. 206-247). Mariana almost forgets that he is a Jesuit, to assume the style and spirit of a Roman classic. Ferreras, an industrious compiler, reviews his facts and rectifies his chronology.

¹²⁷ Goisvintha successively married two kings of the Visigoths: Athanigild, to whom she bore Brunichild, the mother of Ingundis; and Leovigild, whose two sons, Hermenegild and Recared, were the issue of a former marriage.

several well-authenticated instances of persons being able to speak after their tongues had been amputated, in which the hypothesis of a miracle is inadmissible. These cases are all attested by credible eye-witnesses, and some of them by eminent surgeons and scientific men of the present day.—S.

gave orders that she should be stripped and thrown into a basin or fish-pond.¹²⁸ Love and honor might excite Hermenegild to resent this injurious treatment of his bride; and he was gradually persuaded that Ingundis suffered for the cause of divine truth. Her tender complaints, and the weighty arguments of Leander, Archbishop of Seville, accomplished his conversion; and the heir of the Gothic monarchy was initiated in the Nicene faith by the solemn rites of confirmation.¹²⁹ The rash youth, inflamed by zeal, and perhaps by ambition, was tempted to violate the duties of a son and a subject; and the Catholics of Spain, although they could not complain of persecution, applauded his pious rebellion against an heretical father. The civil war was protracted by the long and obstinate sieges of Merida, Cordova, and Seville, which had strenuously espoused the party of Hermenegild. He invited the orthodox barbarians, the Suevi and the Franks, to the destruction of his native land; he solicited the dangerous aid of the Romans, who possessed Africa and a part of the Spanish coast; and his holy ambassador, the Archbishop Leander, effectually negotiated in person with the Byzantine court. But the hopes of the Catholics were crushed by the active diligence of a monarch who commanded the troops and treasures of Spain; and the guilty Hermenegild, after his vain attempts to resist or to escape, was compelled to surrender himself into the hands of an incensed father. Leovigild was still mindful of that sacred character; and the rebel, despoiled of the regal ornaments, was still permitted, in a decent exile, to profess the Catholic religion. His repeated and unsuccessful treasons at length provoked the indignation of the Gothic king; and the sentence of death, which he pronounced with apparent reluctance, was

¹²⁸ *Iracundiæ furore succensa, adprehensam per comam capitis puellam in terram conludit, et diu calcibus verberatam, ac sanguine clementatam, jussit expoliari, et piscinæ immergi.*—Greg. Turon. l. v. c. 39, in tom. ii. p. 255. Gregory is one of our best originals for this portion of history.

¹²⁹ The Catholics, who admitted the baptism of heretics, repeated the rite, or, as it was afterwards styled, the sacrament, of confirmation, to which they ascribed many mystic and marvellous prerogatives, both visible and invisible. See Charadon, *Hist. des Sacramens*, tom. i. p. 405–552.

privately executed in the tower of Seville.^a The inflexible constancy with which he refused to accept the Arian communion, as the price of his safety, may excuse the honors that have been paid to the memory of St. Hermenegild. His wife and infant son were detained by the Romans in ignominious captivity; and this domestic misfortune tarnished the glories of Leovigild, and embittered the last moments of his life.

His son and successor, Recared, the first Catholic king of Spain, had imbibed the faith of his unfortunate brother, which he supported with more prudence and success. Instead of revolting against his father, Recared patiently expected the hour of his death. Instead of condemning his memory, he piously supposed that the dying monarch had abjured the errors of Arianism, and recommended to his son the conversion of the Gothic nation. To accomplish that salutary end, Recared convened an assembly of the Arian clergy and nobles, declared himself a Catholic, and exhorted them to imitate the example of their prince. The laborious interpretation of doubtful texts, or the curious pursuit of metaphysical arguments, would have excited an endless controversy; and the monarch discreetly proposed to his illiterate audience two substantial and visible arguments—the testimony of Earth and of Heaven. The *Earth* had submitted to the Nicene synod: the Romans, the barbarians, and the inhabitants of Spain unanimously professed the same orthodox creed; and the Visigoths resisted, almost alone, the consent of the Christian world. A superstitious age was prepared to reverence, as the testimony of *Heaven*, the preternatural cures which were performed by the skill or virtue of the Catholic clergy; the baptismal fonts of Osset, in Bætica,¹²⁰

¹²⁰ Osset, or Julia Constantia, was opposite to Seville, on the northern side of the Bætic (Plin. Hist. Natur. iii. 3); and the authentic reference of Gregory of Tours (Hist. Francor. i. vi. c. 43, p. 288) deserves more credit than the name of Lusitania (de Gloriâ Martyr. c. 24), which has been eagerly embraced by the vain and superstitious Portuguese (Ferrerias, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. ii. p. 166).

^a At Tarragona, according to Aschbach, on the authority of Joannes Biclari. Chron. An. iii. Mauriti Imp. See Aschbach, Gesch. der Westgothen, p. 215.—S.

which were spontaneously replenished each year on the vigil of Easter;¹²¹ and the miraculous shrine of St. Martin of Tours, which had already converted the Suevic prince and people of Galicia.¹²² The Catholic king encountered some difficulties on this important change of the national religion. A conspiracy, secretly fomented by the queen-dowager, was formed against his life; and two counts excited a dangerous revolt in the Narbonnese Gaul. But Recared disarmed the conspirators, defeated the rebels, and executed severe justice, which the Arians, in their turn, might brand with the reproach of persecution. Eight bishops, whose names betray their barbaric origin, abjured their errors; and all the books of Arian theology were reduced to ashes, with the house in which they had been purposely collected. The whole body of the Visigoths and Suevi were allured or driven into the pale of the Catholic communion. The faith, at least of the rising generation, was fervent and sincere; and the devout liberality of the barbarians enriched the churches and monasteries of Spain. Seventy bishops, assembled in the Council of Toledo, received the submission of their conquerors; and the zeal of the Spaniards improved the Nicene creed by declaring the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son as well as from the Father—a weighty point of doctrine, which produced long afterwards the schism of the Greek and Latin churches.¹²³ The royal proselyte immediately saluted and consulted Pope Gregory, surnamed the Great, a learned and holy prelate, whose reign was distinguished by the conversion of heretics and infidels. The ambassadors of Recared respectfully offered on the threshold of the Vatican his rich presents of gold and gems; they

¹²¹ This miracle was skilfully performed. An Arian king sealed the doors and dug a deep trench round the church without being able to intercept the Easter supply of baptismal water.

¹²² Ferreras (tom. ii. p. 168-175, A.D. 550) has illustrated the difficulties which regard the time and circumstances of the conversion of the Suevi. They had been recently united by Leovigild to the Gothic monarchy of Spain.

¹²³ This addition to the Nicene, or rather the Constantinopolitan, creed was first made in the eighth Council of Toledo, A.D. 653; but it was expressive of the popular doctrine (Gerard Vossius, tom. vi. p. 527, de *Tribus Symbolis*).

accepted, as a lucrative exchange, the hairs of St. John the Baptist, a cross which enclosed a small piece of the true wood, and a key that contained some particles of iron which had been scraped from the chains of St. Peter.¹²⁴

The same Gregory, the spiritual conqueror of Britain, encouraged the pious Theodelinda, Queen of the Lombards, to propagate the Nicene faith among the victorious
Conversion of
the Lombards
of Italy.
A.D. 600, etc. savages, whose recent Christianity was polluted by the Arian heresy. Her devout labors still left room for the industry and success of future missionaries, and many cities of Italy were still disputed by hostile bishops. But the cause of Arianism was gradually suppressed by the weight of truth, of interest, and of example; and the controversy, which Egypt had derived from the Platonic school, was terminated, after a war of three hundred years, by the final conversion of the Lombards of Italy.¹²⁵

The first missionaries who preached the Gospel to the barbarians appealed to the evidence of reason, and claimed the benefit of toleration.¹²⁶ But no sooner had they estab-
Persecution
of the Jews
in Spain.
A.D. 612-712. lished their spiritual dominion than they exhorted the Christian kings to extirpate, without mercy, the remains of Roman or barbaric superstition. The successors of Olovis inflicted one hundred lashes on the peasants who refused to destroy their idols; the crime of sacrificing to the demons was punished by the Anglo-Saxon laws with the heavier penalties of imprisonment and confiscation; and even the wise Alfred adopted, as an indispensable duty, the extreme rigor of the Mosaic institutions.¹²⁷ But the punishment and

¹²⁴ See Gregor. Magn. l. vii. Epist. 126, apud Baronium, Annal. Eccles. A.D. 599, No. 25, 26 [l. ix. Epist. 122, tom. ii p 1031, edit. Bened.].

¹²⁵ Paul Warnefrid (de Gestis Langobard. l. iv. c. 44, p. 853, edit. Grot.) allows that Arianism still prevailed under the reign of Rotharis (A.D. 636-652). The pious *deacon* does not attempt to mark the precise era of the national conversion, which was accomplished, however, before the end of the seventh century.

¹²⁶ Quorum fidei et conversioni ita congratulatus esse rex perhibetur, ut nullum tamen cogere ad Christianismum. . . . Didicerat enim a doctoribus auctoribusque suæ salutis, servitium Christi voluntarium non coactitium esse debere.—Bede Hist. Ecclesiastic. l. i. c. 26, p. 62, edit. Smith.

¹²⁷ See the Historians of France, tom. iv. p. 114; and Wilkins, Leges Anglo-

the crime were gradually abolished among a Christian people; the theological disputes of the schools were suspended by propitious ignorance; and the intolerant spirit which could find neither idolaters nor heretics was reduced to the persecution of the Jews. That exiled nation had founded some synagogues in the cities of Gaul; but Spain, since the time of Hadrian, was filled with their numerous colonies.¹²⁹ The wealth which they accumulated by trade and the management of the finances invited the pious avarice of their masters; and they might be oppressed without danger, as they had lost the use, and even the remembrance, of arms. Sisebut, a Gothic king who reigned in the beginning of the seventh century, proceeded at once to the last extremes of persecution.¹³⁰ Ninety thousand Jews were compelled to receive the sacrament of baptism; the fortunes of the obstinate infidels were confiscated, their bodies were tortured, and it seems doubtful whether they were permitted to abandon their native country. The excessive zeal of the Catholic king was moderated even by the clergy of Spain, who solemnly pronounced an inconsistent sentence—that the sacraments should not be forcibly imposed; but that the Jews who had been baptized should be constrained, for the honor of the Church, to persevere in the external practice of a religion which they disbelieved and detested. Their frequent relapses provoked one of the successors of Sisebut to banish the whole nation from his dominions; and a council of Toledo published a decree that every Gothic king should swear to maintain this salutary edict. But the tyrants were unwilling to dismiss the victims whom they delighted to torture, or

Saxonica, p. 11, 31. “*Siquis sacrificium immolaverit præter Deo soli morte moriatur.*”

¹²⁹ The Jews pretend that they were introduced into Spain by the fleets of Holofernes and the arms of Nebuchadnezzar; that Hadrian transported forty thousand families of the tribe of Judah and ten thousand of the tribe of Benjamin, etc. Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, tom. vii. ch. 9, p. 240–256.

¹³⁰ Isidore, at that time Archbishop of Seville, mentions, disapproves, and congratulates the zeal of Sisebut (*Chron. Goth.* p. 728 [edit. Grot.]). Baronius (A.D. 614, No. 41) assigns the number on the evidence of Aimoin (l. iv. c. 22); but the evidence is weak, and I have not been able to verify the quotation (*Historians of France*, tom. iii. p. 127).

to deprive themselves of the industrious slaves over whom they might exercise a lucrative oppression. The Jews still continued in Spain, under the weight of the civil and ecclesiastical laws, which in the same country have been faithfully transcribed in the Code of the Inquisition. The Gothic kings and bishops at length discovered that injuries will produce hatred, and that hatred will find the opportunity of revenge. A nation, the secret or professed enemies of Christianity, still multiplied in servitude and distress; and the intrigues of the Jews promoted the rapid success of the Arabian conquerors.¹⁴⁶

As soon as the barbarians withdrew their powerful support, the unpopular heresy of Arius sank into contempt and oblivion. But the Greeks still retained their subtle and loquacious disposition: the establishment of an obscure doctrine suggested new questions and new disputes; and it was always in the power of an ambitious prelate or a fanatic monk to violate the peace of the Church, and perhaps of the empire. The historian of the empire may overlook those disputes which were confined to the obscurity of schools and synods. The Manichæans, who labored to reconcile the religions of Christ and of Zoroaster, had secretly introduced themselves into the provinces. But these foreign sectaries were involved in the common disgrace of the Gnostics, and the imperial laws were executed by the public hatred. The rational opinions of the Pelagians were propagated from Britain to Rome, Africa, and Palestine, and silently expired in a superstitious age. But the East was distracted by the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies, which attempted to explain the mystery of the incarnation, and hastened the ruin of Christianity in her native land. These controversies were first agitated under the reign of the younger Theodosius; but their impor-

¹⁴⁶ Basnage (tom. viii. ch. 13, p. 388-400) faithfully represents the state of the Jews. But he might have added, from the canons of the Spanish councils and the laws of the Visigoths, many curious circumstances essential to his subject, though they are foreign to mine.*

* Compare Milman, *Hist. of Jews*, iii. 256, 266.—M.

tant consequences extend far beyond the limits of the present volume. The metaphysical chain of argument, the contests of ecclesiastical ambition, and their political influence on the decline of the Byzantine empire, may afford an interesting and instructive series of history, from the general councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon to the conquest of the East by the successors of Mahomet.

END OF VOL. III.

